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	PAGE
The Canadian Navy—C. Frederick Hamilton	175
British Diplomacy and Canada—Andrew Macphail	188
The Labrador Boundary—James White	215
Some Smaller American Colleges—John Valent	225
On Some Definitions of Poetry—J. A. Dale	250
Milton—Frederick George Scott	268
What of the West—W. D. McBride	274
Canadian Life and Character—J. Castell Hopkins	291
A Confession of Faith and a Protest—Pelham Edgar	305
Fame—Marjorie L. C. Pickthall	316
The Marriage Broker—Chester Cornish	317
To Lesbia—Chief Justice Sir Glenholme Falconbridge; Mr. Justice Riddell; W. P.; Principal Hutton	323
The Privilege of Self-Defence—W. R. Givens	326
East and West—E. B. Thompson	333
The Church and the Social Crisis—William Munroe	341
At a Concert of Music—Eva Macfarlane	348

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Errata et Corrigendum.—Vol. VIII. p. 166, line 7, for Schmiedal read Schmiedel; p. 170, line 15, for John read "Q." Vol. VIII., p. 543, par. 2, The despatch concerning the Canadian loan should have been attributed to a special Agency, not to the Canadian Associated Press.

THE CANADIAN NAVY

CANADIAN public opinion is turning towards the establishing of some form of a distinctively Canadian naval force. The process is slow, but the proposal is so thoroughly in line with our past development and our present aspirations that it seems only a question of time when it will be realized. Indeed, it now seems to be time to divert our discussion from the question—Shall we have a naval force of our own? to—What sort of naval force shall we have? This latter question I propose to discuss.

One thing I shall take for granted. It must be a naval force of our own. The proposal that we pay a cash contribution to the Royal Navy—let our defence out to contract, hire Englishmen to do our maritime fighting for us—has been discussed; and I think that the sense of the nation has turned decisively against it.

First, we must decide at what to aim. If we look at Canada from the standpoint of the Empire as a whole, we perceive that she is one of its food-supply countries, and that her principal military function is to help to feed the United Kingdom. To use military terms, she is a base of supplies—of food supplies—and the Atlantic Ocean is an Imperial line of communication. Bases must be garrisoned, lines of communication must be protected. If we look at the situation from our own special point of view, the fact which draws our attention is that an interruption of our trade in food-stuffs with Great Britain would embarrass us, and that for hostile cruisers to beset our coast-line would be to stop that trade altogether, and that would mean ruin. Imperial and local considerations thus unite in prescribing the guarding of our trade with the Mother Country. So we must aim at protecting our maritime trade.

A maritime trade can be guarded—apart from the general protection which is given by winning command of the sea—partly by keeping the coast which it quits and the coast which it approaches clear of the enemy's ships; and partly by patrolling the sea-routes which the vessels traverse in the ocean itself. Of these the first is by far the more important, for the ocean is so wide that a search for ships once in blue water is a sort of hide-and-seek affair, whereas a ship approaching Canada must either thread the Strait of Belle Isle, pass between Newfoundland and Cape Breton, or enter Halifax or St. John; so that our trade must concentrate at a few fixed points which an enemy able to keep the sea could watch.

Thus it seems suitable that our naval force should be devoted at the outset to coastal defence. We should guard our coasts so well that no enemy's cruiser would care to haunt them, and that our ships sailing to England could gain the blue water without molestation. Later, when our coastal defence is organized, we may consider the advisability of discouraging hostile cruisers from hanging about in the North Atlantic; but that is matter for a fairly distant future.

The weapon of weapons for coastal defence is the torpedo. Once let our coast be infested with our own torpedo-boats, destroyers, and submarines, and we may be certain that hostile vessels will on ordinary occasions give it a wide berth. We could count on a zone, perhaps a hundred miles wide, within which no enemy's cruiser would willingly venture, and the existence of this zone of safety would enable our merchant vessels to steer courses on the oceanic part of their voyage calculated to baffle a patrolling foe. A torpedo defence alone is not final, as a cruiser can destroy a torpedo vessel if she can get within range of it in daylight; to complete our immunity we must have larger vessels, able to meet in open fight any ships likely to be sent against our shores. Like everything else, this is a

relative matter, and it will be a long time before Canada can afford to maintain a force strong enough to make the impunity absolute.

Secondly, having decided upon our general aim, we must decide how to attain it. All our preparations must be based on the human factor. Men are and always will be more important than machinery. Inventions may succeed each other, the best ships of to-day may be useless a decade hence, but a force of men, bold, well-trained, disciplined, and patriotic, with a good tradition of service ever being passed on by the older to the younger, always will be a nation's most efficient protection. When a naval force is backed by a whole people, resolute, constant in purpose, with clear and accurate information as to the conditions under which their country holds its footing in the world, it becomes permissible for its writers to devote attention to questions of *matériel*. But when a nation like Canada is only beginning to turn its attention to the subject, when interest is slight and information is lacking, it is worse than useless to fix our eyes upon elaborate apparatus; it is only when men are concerned—living, breathing, human men, and men of our own kin—that the country really will pay heed to the problem.

At the outset we must face a perplexity. We have seen that a torpedo flotilla would be the best protection to our coasts. Now torpedo service presents certain peculiarities which may be set down as follows:

1. Torpedo vessels are fragile boxes of machinery. Susceptible in any event to accident, in order to fulfil their purpose they must be worked under conditions of speed, company, fog, storm, and darkness which increase the likelihood of mishap.

2. The work is wearing, harassing and dangerous to an unusual degree, and also is highly technical. The men who are to man these ships must be specially well-trained, and must be exceptionally good men as regards physique, nerve and *morale*. Nearly all the crew of a de-

stroyer are expert mechanics, specially skilled in some direction. The seamanship required in navigating these vessels, often huddled close together, rushing at the speed of an express train, not infrequently manœuvring at night or in fog, is of the highest order. The strain upon the nerves of the navigator is excessive, and temperance of life is needed as well as skill. In addition to all these, youth is essential; after he is thirty-five and the first edge has gone off his nerve a man has no business upon a torpedo vessel.

3. The crews are small. The later types of sea-going destroyers, known as the "River" and "Tribal" classes from the system of nomenclature adopted for them, have from 60 to 72 men each. The 26-knot vessels which began life as "coastal destroyers" and now are described as "first-class torpedo-boats" have a complement of thirty-five. Smaller torpedo-boats have crews of 15 or 20, and a submarine needs only six or seven men.

As soon as we look at these conditions the difficulties become obvious. These vessels, small, narrow, of low freeboard, crowded with machinery, uncomfortable to a degree, lacking in accommodation, are unsuited for the training of recruits or of young officers. They are specialized craft, adapted only for the finished product. Then we must find some occupation for the older men, more especially for the older officers; for sea-going mechanics who are expert enough to hold a place on a destroyer should experience little difficulty in getting work in civil life. We could not keep officers of 40, 50 or 60 years of age on torpedo vessels; apart from the injustice, we should not get full value out of the vessels so commanded. Yet we could not dismiss our officers as soon as they reached thirty-five. There is this further complication, that no naval force could be composed exclusively of men suited to so peculiar and hazardous a service as that of the torpedo flotilla. In short, all of our youngest officers and men, all of our older officers and men, and some of our young officers and men will not

be suitable. In other words, we need ships of one type for war and of another type for training purposes.

These are some of our difficulties. In addition, we have no naval establishment worthy of the name. We have no naval service, no naval officers, no seamen of the type of training needed, no ships of the required military qualities. It is impossible for us to obtain on short notice extraordinarily well-trained and splendidly disciplined officers, in the prime of youth, specially instructed artificers and other seamen, and the innumerable appliances necessary to a navy.

The conclusion seems irresistible that it is the part of wisdom to concentrate our attention on our men. First let us organize and train a force; during the period of organization and training let us select vessels with an eye to their value in training rather than with actual war service in view; as the force approaches war-efficiency it will be time to get the particular type of ship demanded by strictly strategical considerations.

Naval warfare is one of the most highly-specialized pursuits on earth, and demands a peculiarly high standard of skill, knowledge, and discipline. This standard can only be realized by the possession of a corps of professional officers; some of the subordinate ranks also must be long-service, that is, professional, naval sailors. It takes time to create a professional corps; you must begin with boys of tender years and wait till they have grown up before your work is at all complete; also, such a service is expensive. Contemplating these circumstances, we become aware of the lesser difficulty, that the funds which our Government can devote to naval protection are limited; of the larger difficulty, that the building up of a professional force will be slow, and of the most formidable difficulty of all, that the standard of public service in Canada is so low that without external aid it would be slow and difficult work to raise an indigenous force possessing the peculiar devotion to duty required of a navy. At the same time we become aware of two important considerations. One is the bias of our

people towards militia methods of defence. The other is that our Atlantic coast is rich in seamen, fishermen, and men who, while nominally belonging to other vocations, none the less are habituated to the sea and at all events are good boat-sailors. On the Atlantic coast those who fall into these several categories probably number about 20,000 men.

If we fix our attention on this plentiful supply of good seamen, if we bear in mind this natural bias, and if we bring to bear on these two conditions the fact that we have in the Royal Navy a reservoir of the best professional skill and discipline in the world, we begin to see light.

It seems clear that we have special facilities for the raising of a naval militia which might attain to an appreciable degree of efficiency. As seamen many of its men would be the finished product at the moment of enlistment, and they could learn quickly enough some of the duties of naval seamen. There is at once a use for a naval militia, and sharp limitations to its use. No one in his senses will suppose that a body of naval militia could board a warship, furnish officers, man her exclusively, and render effective service. A warship needs a nucleus of highly-trained specialists—gunners, torpedo men, artificers, engineers who understand the peculiarities of warship engines, wireless operators, fire-control operators, signalmen, etc.—as well as professional officers. But in addition to these specialists a warship, especially a large vessel, employs a number of men who need not possess special technical training, who may be comparatively unskilled. Such an element could be supplied by a naval militia.

Thus we see that we need: (1) a professional element, every man of which must be a highly-trained specialist; (2) a militia element. And we must look to the militia element to supply the popular foundation of our force. So let us consider the militia element first.

Such a force might render valuable services in two ways. First, a naval war in which the Empire is involved

would not unlikely include in its events a determined attack upon our food-ships by converted cruisers, that is, by private steamers taken into Government and armed; the "volunteer cruisers" of the Russo-Japanese war are an example. It might prove feasible to arm our larger freight carriers with 4.7-inch and 6-inch guns, man them with seamen trained in our naval militia, and trust to this armament to enable them to beat off the attacks of such small fry. An armed merchantman could not, of course, resist a warship, but she might match a converted cruiser. In this way our food-ships from the St. Lawrence might be able to get through when unarmed merchantmen would be captured. In this way our naval militia might render a valuable service to Canada as well as to Britain in helping to keep the food-trade open.

Secondly, a more direct means of aiding the Imperial forces might offer itself. Naval opinion sways backward and forward on the question whether losses in a campaign will fall with greater severity upon *personnel* or *matériel*, whether after a few months of fighting the Admiralty would find itself with plenty of ships but a scarcity of men, or with plenty of men and not ships enough on which to bestow them. Should the former prove the case, a good and numerous naval militia could supply the Admiralty with recruits who would be eagerly welcomed. This is absolutely in line with the present trend of Imperial development. When the Imperial land forces in South Africa needed reinforcement, our Government raised sundry corps from its land militia and turned them over to the Imperial authorities. It would be analogous if in a naval war our Government were to raise contingents from our sea-militia and send them over to help the Royal Navy.

There is thus an Imperial political aspect to the proposal that we have a fairly large naval militia. Another political aspect is to be noted and not to be despised. Such a force would have innumerable tentacles among the people of the Provinces supplying it; public interest would result,

and public interest in time would do its work in promoting increased knowledge of this phase of national policy.

Next we must look more narrowly at this naval militia which we have been discussing at large. There are the seamen proper of course, the total number of these in Canada being 10,000; the Atlantic coast has over 6,000 men described in the census as fishermen; and there must be enough seashore farmers, etc., to bring our numbers up to the 20,000 I have mentioned. From so large a body of men it should be practicable to raise a naval militia of several thousand. There seems no reason to apprehend difficulties as to training. The winter, for example, should furnish an excellent training season; in it the customary vocations of many of the men who would enlist are suspended, and the drill period might be welcomed as a change, and as a means of making a little additional money.

In addition to this element of excellent seamen, there must be a certain number of men whose occupations fit them for service as stokers; such men would form an essential portion of any naval militia. Mechanics, electricians, and other skilled tradesmen also would be useful. We might avail ourselves of another element in the population. The Maritime Provinces must contain a number of young men who, without being seamen, yet are sufficiently at home upon the water not to get sea-sick on finding themselves on a heaving deck and who could be trained to some duties, such as the handling of guns. Thus it seems practicable to find the men for a naval militia several thousand strong, seamen, stokers, artificers, naval artillery; such a force could fit into a permanent professional force and could strengthen it immensely.

Next we must consider the professional element.

It would be too flattering to say that we have a beginning in our fisheries protection fleet; it comprises a few very small vessels of no fighting value, and actually inferior as sea-boats and for training purposes to torpedo vessels. At present this force seems to have little or none of the

discipline essential to a navy; it includes in its numbers no competent instructors; having been designed for civil purposes, it naturally is a civilian force. This should be transformed as rapidly as possible into a naval force, with good discipline, good instruction in technical subjects such as gunnery, and with such equipment in vessels as its progress and our requirements would indicate as advisable. For example, we might, after a careful study of the situation on the Great Lakes, fix upon a class of vessels which, while not too large for the canals, would carry a fairly heavy armament in guns and torpedoes. A squadron of such vessels could be built, and, while the Rush-Bagot Agreement would keep them in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, their existence would affect the situation on the lakes. Such vessels would prove a substantial advance upon our present craft, and might for some years suffice our officers and men for training purposes. Then, as skill increased, as a class of daring and competent young officers was reared, our torpedo flotilla would become the effective protection to our coasts. Then larger vessels, able to forbid our coasts to all but the heaviest of an enemy's cruisers and to convoy our ships across the Atlantic; who can foresee all the developments? But the men first; then the ships.

But now we come to the most serious problem of all. A carefully organized and well-trained naval militia, a competent and well-disciplined permanent force, an enterprising torpedo service,—all these absolutely depend upon the officers; and the great difficulty is how to form such a corps of officers. A naval officer is the product of long and careful training. He should begin his career in his early teens. He will need every month of his life from these tender years to the time when he is grey-bearded to acquire the information and training which are necessary. He must be enthusiastic, quick of intellect, alert, and of unusual bodily strength, activity, and hardiness. He must have a sense of discipline and duty which will make him ready to break his own brother if that brother offends. Human nature being what it is, we can expect to obtain such qualities, so

laborious a life, so constant an application, so high-minded a devotion to duty, only if we offer a career to the men whom we ask to serve us. Few lads of unusual promise will enter a service which is clouded by the uncertainties of political patronage, which offers slow promotion, and which holds out no better prospect than the command at the age of sixty or seventy of a tiny little ship which in the Royal Navy would be committed to a youngster of twenty-six or thereabouts. At present the "Canada," a little vessel mounting nothing more formidable than a pom-pom or two, has a sexagenarian for captain.

A glance at the Royal Navy will help us. One feature which strikes a Canadian about the Navy is its extraordinarily high standard of service and of duty. Accustomed as we are to an infinite toleration of blunders, carelessness and worse, provided they occur in the service of the Government, it is a distinct shock to us to contemplate a service whose members are as ruthlessly just to each other as are the servants of a great railway corporation, where one mistake ruins a career, where no mercy is shown to weakness or wrong-doing. Again, we are accustomed to seeing Government departments inert and hidebound; the Admiralty is one of the most alert institutions in the world. It seized upon and helped to improve wireless telegraphy; it took up submarine navigation and made rapid strides in it; its dealings with marine boilers and turbine engines have outstripped the enterprise of commercial firms; in connexion with guns and torpedoes it has a singular list of inventions to its credit; it is laying down a funnelless battleship in advance of the great shipping companies; and its recent exploits in originating the "all-big-gun-battleship," the cruiser-battleship, and the giant destroyer have been most impressive.

Our problem can be stated in two ways. What chance have we in Canada, with our lax public morality, with our low standards of public service, of building up in a reasonably short time a naval service and a naval administration which could compare for a moment with the Royal Navy

and with the Admiralty? What career could a small naval force, with a few small ships, offer to a man of 40, who had spent a laborious youth in small craft and now was beyond the age for torpedo work? Or, to put it from the other point of view, does it not seem bad economy, bad management, to cut ourselves off from the co-operation of a service so magnificent, of an administration so superbly alert, enterprising and sound? Does it not seem of dubious wisdom to keep our men in a small and confined service when we can obtain for them participation in the careers offered by the Royal Navy?

It is evident from recent developments that our Australian fellow-subjects are feeling this difficulty keenly, and do not see quite how to overcome it. Unquestionably, it is most formidable. Perhaps I may, with great diffidence, make a suggestion.

My suggestion is that we make it our object to have our officers imbued with the Royal Navy tradition and with the alertness which characterizes the Admiralty of to-day. In other words, let us begin by having them educated in the Royal Navy. Let us induce the Admiralty to make room at Osborne for our naval cadets, and let the youngsters grow up in the atmosphere, absorb the points of view and habit of life, which are the inheritance from Drake, Howard, Blake, Shovel, Anson, Hawke, Hood, St. Vincent, Collingwood, and Nelson. Next, let us induce the Admiralty to bear these men on its lists, subject to a special arrangement whereby they may alternate between our own service and the Royal Navy. The Militia Department is working out a scheme not greatly dissimilar to this by arranging a system of exchanges; an essential feature of this is that when an officer has served for portions of his career in both services both Governments pay his pension in proportion. The naval system whereby all officers belong to the one corps, and whereby an officer's career is divided into successive "commissions" of two or three years each, lends itself to this sort of thing more easily than does the military system of regiments and messes. Our Canadian naval cadet after

graduating might return to Canada and spend two or three years in our service; then serve a commission in the Channel or the Mediterranean Fleet; then revert to Canada for another period; and so on through his career. Such of our Canadian officers as proved especially talented might attain high rank in the big navy; such as developed along special lines of activity might be absorbed into the berths which a great navy affords for specialists; many would turn aside into the numerous billets which a Canadian service gradually would create. It would be advisable to have a free influx of British-born officers into our own service. We should have our own little navy, and yet our men would be kept fresh and up to the mark by their recurring plunges into the life and work of the big navy, and by the coming and going of men whose future in the big navy would be affected by their work in our little navy. I am aware that a thousand administrative difficulties would arise in working out the details of such a scheme; but administrative difficulties have been overcome before, and can be again.

Meanwhile, our Canadian Government could be acquiring the ships—gun-vessels, small cruisers, big cruisers, torpedo craft, submarines—as the progress of the service rendered necessary, and could be building upon the shore establishments which go with ships. The ownership of the *matériel* should be strictly Canadian. Meanwhile, also, the officers so trained could be organizing a force of professional naval sailors, engineers, etc. Here again the Royal Navy should be used to the full; our expert gunners should be trained in the "Excellent," our torpedo specialists should pass through the "Vernon," and all our permanent men given a commission or two in the big fleets of the Empire. Still, the permanent forces should be our own, and should be distinctively Canadian. And finally, these professional officers should have the naval militia under their care. Its training would be slight for its duties, so its instructors and leaders should be the best possible.

The remark may be interjected here that such a development would be greatly assisted if the Canadian naval

force, on getting suitable vessels, were to assume charge of the patrolling of the West Indies. Already we have begun to send our little fishery cruiser—the “Canada”—into those waters for winter cruises. Were we to build a flotilla of gun-vessels or small cruisers, we could easily take over the policing of those seas, which form a climatic complement to our own. Such a step would fit admirably into conceivable political developments.

It will be observed that so far I have confined my discussion of projects to the Atlantic coast. Our principal international preoccupation at present is trans-Atlantic. On the Pacific coast the situation is rendered excessively difficult by the circumstance that British Columbia seems to possess few Canadian fishermen and seamen. By a curious tariff complication, the deep sea fisheries of our Pacific Province are in American hands. Oriental labour is understood to have displaced white labour to a disturbing extent in the inshore fisheries. This is a subject for a governmental investigation, and not for an off-hand solution; but it may be observed that it is of the utmost political and economic importance for a nation to have a strong fishing and sea-faring population, and that the Government would be justified in taking considerable pains to build up such a class on our Pacific littoral. The subject should be examined officially and exhaustively; it may not be presumptuous to suggest that a naval militia and a small standing force of gun-vessels and possibly of torpedo craft—the calmer waters of the Pacific render this service less arduous than is the case in the fogs and storms of the Atlantic—might prove powerful assistants in the breeding of such a population.

“An army takes twenty years to create, and a navy half a century.” The man who writes that is the Military Correspondent of the “Times,” one of the most competent military authors now living. The remark should make us think soberly of our efforts; it should also make us in haste to begin.

C. FREDERICK HAMILTON

BRITISH DIPLOMACY AND CANADA

V. Concluded.

IT requires about thirty-three years to remove a false impression from the public mind, and about the same length of time to replace it by a correct one. This formula may be employed under ordinary circumstances, and will be found sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes in cases which are not complicated by self-interest, national jealousy, or theological hatred.

No one in Canada has any especial interest in entertaining or propagating the delusion that British diplomacy has been inept or that the area of Canada was unnecessarily abridged by any negotiations which had been undertaken in the ordinary course of Imperial diplomacy. And yet, up to a few years ago such opinion did prevail, and not alone in the minds of the most foolish or the most ignorant. The reason probably is that no one had any especial interest in disseminating the truth.

But comparatively recently there has been a remarkable recrudescence of feeling for everything pertaining to the Empire, and a desire to be informed upon all the circumstances which led to its establishment. Scholars have undertaken investigations, but the results of their researches lie in transactions of learned Societies, which but slowly filter down through the magazines and newspapers into the common mind. Much labour and love has been bestowed upon the history of British diplomacy in its relation to Canada, and the record is now open to all who choose to read. The incurably stupid and the wilfully ignorant may be left to themselves. This writing is not for them. It is rather for those who are oppressed with public cares, who are entangled in the intricacies of practical politics, and have not that reasonable leisure which is necessary for forming opinions upon the results of enquiry made at first hand; since it is an obligation upon

those who are in possession of correct opinions to take upon themselves that labour which is necessary for the illumination of the public mind.

It is hard for statesmen who are brought up in the simple Canadian conditions surrounding farm, factory, shop, and law-office to understand how complicated an affair the world really is. They are in the mental situation of the housemaid from the country, who thinks of a water supply in terms of springs and wells, who associates milk with cattle, light with candles, and heat with glowing logs. Nurtured in peace, a peaceful life is the normal life to them; war the ultimate wickedness of which humanity, left to itself, is capable; Government comes to mean an association for purposes of trade, and public finance a multiplicity of perplexing regulations. They are entirely incapable of comprehending that the ultimate appeal of a nation is to the ordeal of battle and that all negotiations are an attempt to arrive at a solution by an easier method.

Those alone are competent to conduct the operations which end in a compromise, who have the fear of war before their eyes, who have dealt in blood, and have seen the tears of the widow. It is easy to call for battles which one is not compelled to fight, to be rash when one's life is not the forfeit, to engage in the high play of war when there is nothing at stake. All negotiations which have for their object the maintenance of peace must be regarded not with the feeble light of the court room but in the lurid glare of war.

Diplomatists whose chief concern is with tariffs, and preferences, and reciprocities may fail to arrive at a conclusion, and things will be as they were. Possibly a farmer may be obliged to sell his wheat at a diminished price or a manufacturer may continue to enjoy an unnatural profit. Failure may lose them an election; but the issues of life and death are not in their hands. The one is the business of a politician: the other is the business of an ambassador with plenary power.

The two sides are well illustrated by the incident which occurred between Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, who is in addition the leader of a party. Speaking at Ottawa April 2nd 1907, the Canadian Premier said: "Mr. Bryce has been on this continent but a few weeks, and it is nothing but the literal truth to say that he has turned a new leaf in the history of the continent of America. We have to realize that John Bull has not always done his duty to his Canadian son. If we take all the treaties from the Treaty of 1783 up to the Treaty of 1903, we Canadians do not feel particularly cheerful over the way we have been treated by the British plenipotentiaries." To these remarks Mr. Bryce made a very direct reference in his speech in Toronto on the following day: "I will ask you to suspend your judgement upon all those questions in which it is alleged that British diplomacy has not done its best for you. In these matters you have only heard one side of the case; and I feel it is my duty to my country and to the Government which I represent to tell you this, and that I believe you are entirely mistaken if you think that British diplomacy has been indifferent to Canada or has not done the best it could for Canada."

It is a curious manifestation of the human mind that what it desires earnestly it becomes convinced in time that it really does possess. Mr. Bagehot gives an amusing illustration of this irrational conviction from his own experience. He stood for a borough in the West of England and was defeated by seven votes. Almost immediately afterwards there was a second election at which he was not a candidate, and a member of his party won. For years he had the deepest conviction that he should be the member, and no amount of reasoning could get it out of his head. The feeling was ineradicable and prevented him from taking interest in another constituency where his chances of election would have been at least rational.

With two main exceptions the Atlantic sea-board of Canada is ice-bound for six months in the year. A glance at

the map shows how desirable it would be to possess the harbours of New York, Boston, and Portland. Such an ambition would indicate an excess of national aspiration, and by an act of self-abnegation Canadians are content with the theoretical occupation of Portland. The imagination is probably stimulated by the fact that for many years the principal Canadian railway had its terminus in that harbour, but it might have fixed itself upon possession of New York or New Orleans, had these been the only ports of entry available during the winter.

It would be a desirable thing truly that Canada should be bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. It might have been so, had George III. not been an obstinate fool, and Lord North a faithful servant; but it is also worth reminding ourselves that if it had not been for British diplomacy there might to-day be no Canada at all. These speculations are not for essayists alone: they should afford reflection for public men and restrain their utterance upon subjects about which it is not in their own interests or to the public good that they should remain ignorant. Politics have to do mainly with facts, and not with surmises about how things would be if something different had happened. It is a fact which Canadian statesmen would do well to make their point of departure that something did happen at Yorktown, October 19th 1781. All British diplomacy since that time in so far as it concerns Canada has been governed by the inexorable logic of the surrender of Cornwallis. There is no escape from the relentlessness of events which have happened.

Canadians cast their eyes upon the timbered slopes of the Columbia River as it winds its way through Oregon territory to the Pacific. This land is so desirable, so convenient, and they remember that at one time England asserted some kind of claim to its possession, that they think it must have been wantonly cast away. They know nothing of the circumstances under which the rival claims were adjusted, or of the opposition to any compromise whatever. To them Stephen A. Douglas is nothing more than a name; and yet at one time

he held the first place in public importance, far in advance of that occupied by Abraham Lincoln. His countrymen with that peculiar lack of felicity in humour which has always characterized them described him as "the little giant," and they must have attached some value to his words, when he declared, May 13th 1846, "I am as ready and willing to fight for 54° 40' as for the Rio Del Norte."

These oracular words will bear some amplification. It is found in Douglas's speeches. He was pledged to move a declaration of war if England tried to take Oregon. He declared in his impassioned way that he would administer Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity, and would not stop till he had blotted out the national lines on the map and made the area of liberty as broad as the boundaries of the continent itself. Translated into English this means that, rather than surrender Oregon, the United States would go to war with England for the possession of Canada. If British diplomacy did not secure Oregon it prevented a war and preserved Canada as it exists to-day.

This intensity of feeling is further illustrated by a speech delivered in the House of Representatives by a member from Indiana. The language is amusing but the meaning of it is clear: "The march of your people is onward, and it is westward; that is their destiny. They are going onward to the Pacific; and if in the path which leads there the British lion shall lay him down, shall we on that account be craven to our duty and our destiny? No; never. The American eagle shall stick his claws into the nose of the lion, and make his blood spout like a whale. This, too, is inevitable destiny. The British may make pretensions to Oregon, but rights they have none. Do we not want it? Yes, and we must have it. We want it to hold our people. Yes, Sir, and I will tell you another thing. The American multiplication table is at work. Go into our Western cabins and you will find a young man of six feet, and all the rest of him in proportion, with a companion not much less than himself, and round their feet you will find a little company of twenty children.

Ay, Sir, that is the American multiplication table. And now do you take our present numbers, and reckon twenty for every two, and where do you think we shall find hunting ground for them? I tell you we must have Oregon. The multitude of the West is demanding it at our hands, and they must have it."

It was a moment of great expansion in the United States. The purchase of Mexican territory was under immediate discussion, and with it went the whole matter of what was then called their Northwest, consisting of Territories which were formed by ordinance of Congress in 1787, and comprising the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota which lies to the east of the Mississippi River. When a nation is in the process of swarming it is in no mood to be hampered or restrained. But the situation was much more dangerous, since it was inextricably bound up with the horrid institution of slavery.

When it was proposed to acquire Mexican territory by purchase the Wilmot Proviso was attached to an Appropriation Bill for that purpose by which slavery should be prohibited in the new possession. Under the Missouri Compromise, which was an agreement embodied in a clause of the act of Congress admitting Missouri as one of the United States, March 2nd 1821, it was enacted that, in all that part of the territories ceded by France under the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, lying above 36° 30' north latitude slavery should be prohibited forever. It was upon this concession by the pro-slavery party that Missouri was admitted as a slave state.

This compromise was abrogated by an act of Congress passed in 1854, providing for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which sanctioned the principle of "squatter sovereignty" or local option in the matter of slavery. This measure was the direct cause of the disruption between the Whigs, which in turn led to the formation of the Republican party. New territory was desired not so much for its value as for the opportunity of

creating new States in which slavery would be adopted as an institution, and the States in which it was prohibited would accordingly be put in a minority. The struggle came in Kansas. Three Constitutions, the Topeka, the Lecompton, and the Wyandotte were adopted within four years from 1855 to 1859, each one alternately forbidding and permitting slavery. Kansas was admitted as a free State January 29th 1861, and civil war was inevitable, as the issue proved.

When the bill for the organization of the Territory of Oregon was passed August 13th 1848, it excluded slavery ostensibly in accordance with the "conditions, restrictions, and prohibitions" of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, but in reality by a recognition of the dangerous principle of "squatter sovereignty," under which the people of the Territory had already forbidden slavery within its borders. If they could forbid it, they could also allow it, and it was in contravention of that doctrine that the North appealed to the sword.

All political problems are one problem; and not even in China are they confined to the country in which they appear most perplexing. The various disputes over the boundary between the two countries had their origin in the movement of population in the United States. Northward pressure in Oregon really originated on the Atlantic sea-board and the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico; and it in turn was due to two main causes: the institution of slavery and that political unrest in Europe which manifested itself between 1830 and 1850 in revolutions and *coups d'état*. In colonial times there was a large migration up the tributaries of the Atlantic and across the Alleghanies, accompanying or following such sectional struggles as Bacon's rebellion in Virginia in 1676, Shay's attempt a century later in Western Massachusetts, Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island as late as 1842, and the dissatisfaction with the patroon system in Western New York. It was not till 1830 that this tide of foreign immigration reached the shores of the Atlantic. It quickly showed itself in the West, where in ten years the population of Indiana doubled.

In Illinois it rose from 157,445 to 476,183, and in Ohio from something under a million to a million and a half.

But the growth of the South was even more remarkable in those years. The increase was due to the contrivance of Eli Whitney in 1793, by which cotton-seeds might be separated from the fibre. The use of the cotton-gin permitted the profitable production of the short-fibred variety of cotton on the uplands of the Southern States. In 1811 Alabama produced no cotton; in 1834 the crop was larger than that of Georgia or South Carolina, and the population had doubled.

Slave holding and cotton growing went together, and as they advanced, the free population was obliged either to buy slaves or move out into Tennessee, Kentucky, and the valley of the Ohio. This movement was joined by the great New England migration along the Erie Canal and the Lakes, as far West as Oregon and as far North as the Canadian boundary. This then is the genesis of the North and the South. How they clashed every one knows. Their temper was rising with their hunger for land, and that was the moment when Douglas declared he was ready for war with England, not for Oregon alone, but for the whole continent. One might well surmise that if this war had occurred the people of the United States would have had sufficient occupation to prevent them from fighting between themselves as they did twelve years later. But I have complicated the matter sufficiently without introducing political speculation.

The Oregon over which the United States was breathing defiance was not the present little State which lies below $46^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude. It was that enormous territory which extends between the parallels of 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$. It included all that area between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, between Alaska on the North and California on the South, an area of 400,000 square miles, drained by such rivers as the Columbia, the Fraser, and the Skeena.

No one now contends that the title of Great Britain to this region was incontestable. Spain had a claim on the ground of priority by discovery, though discovery, unat-

tended by permanent occupation and settlement constitutes the lowest degree of title; and the only right which Great Britain secured from Spain was that which was conceded under the Nootka Convention of 1790 and confirmed by the treaty of Madrid in 1814, that British subjects might settle and trade in the territory north of California. This arrangement was made in the interests of traders who formed the Northwest Company and its successor the Hudson's Bay Company; but such occupation is a precarious one upon which to found a title.

On the other hand the United States was in possession of certain claims which had to be considered unless war was to be declared quite apart from the right or the wrong of the case. They were successors in title to Spain which, by the treaty of Florida in 1819, had ceded all her claims to territory north of 42°. They were successors to France under the Louisiana Purchase to any title which she might have possessed; and there is no doubt that Gray, the master of a United States trading vessel, was the first to sail upon the Columbia River, knowing it to be a river, and that Lewis and Clarke were the first to explore the lower portion of the river and its branches.

The title of the United States was good enough to have warranted them in proceeding with the settlement of the territory, or rather to allow the migration of their own citizens, which had been going on, and say nothing about it. Douglas had the right of it when he recommended that the territories be organized and settled without attempt to define the boundaries; but his "Americanism" got the better of him; and his talk of Hannibal's oath, eternal enmity, liberty, and the blotting out of national lines made England take notice.

Up to this time there had been a joint occupancy of the whole territory, and the master stroke of British diplomacy was in perceiving that the American settlers were advancing North and carrying their Provisional Government with them; that they would eventually invade by the peaceful method of settlement, if allowed to roam at will, what is now the Province of British Columbia. Indeed, if gold had been discovered

on the Fraser River before the Oregon Award as it was discovered ten years later, there would have been an inrush of Americans into the disputed territory, which would then be lost forever to the British Crown. The fact of the matter is that at the time of the Oregon Award all that portion of the western coast of America between California and Alaska was already lost to Great Britain by the inexorable law of effective occupation. The population had risen to 7,500, of whom not more than 400 were British subjects. The people were pro-American, and the virtual governor of the Canadian Northwest, McLaughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the sure instinct of the trader, had joined himself to their Provisional Government. If the people of the United States had consulted the genius of the British Constitution they would have done nothing. But they clamoured for a treaty and England was quite willing to allow them the privilege of exchanging the reality for the shadow.

The attitude of Great Britain was her habitual one in the making of treaties, dignified and firm. She admitted that the United States had certain rights, and she stood ready to agree upon a boundary which was equitable and even generous. She was willing to concede ports in Puget Sound, which would afford free access to the territory which she offered; but until overwhelmed by the immigration from the United States she had stood firmly by the Columbia River. Rather than lose all she yielded half. By methods of peace she secured what would hardly have been won at the cost of war.

But England had not been idle during the long period between the rebellion of the Thirteen Colonies and the Oregon Award. For no part of the Empire, save India, did the people of the little Island work so hard as for Canada. In 1790, as the turmoil of European politics was beginning, England was concerning herself with the fag end of the world on the Pacific coast. That was the year in which the Nootka Convention was made, providing for the restoration of all property seized by the Spaniards at Nootka and the payment of indemnity

for wrongs done to her far away subjects. It established the right of British subjects to make settlements on the Pacific coast of North America, and liberty to trade in all that territory which was afterwards in dispute. By this convention Spain was forced to abandon the claim which she had acquired in virtue of the discovery of America. It was a concession that, even admitting priority of discovery, this right could not be regarded as subsisting for ever to the exclusion of other nations. It was made under threat of war. The moment was well chosen to break that *pacte de famille* between the French and Spanish Bourbons under which each guaranteed the territories of the other. In 1761 Spain joined France in war against England, but in 1790 France was in no situation to help her ally. England broke up the compact and, in doing so, laid the foundations of the Canadian West. It is questionable if Mr. Aylesworth, or Sir Louis Jetté, or even Lord Alverstone would have been so far-seeing.

In 1794 England was at work again upon the Jay Treaty, under which "the two parties will proceed by amicable negotiations to regulate the boundary line according to justice and mutual convenience." Again in 1803 the Hawkesbury-King Convention was arranged; but it was not confirmed by the United States Senate on account of the recent dealings with France over the Louisiana Purchase. Three years afterwards England was at it once more, proposing a new boundary which the United States Commissioners accepted, but never submitted to the Senate. In 1814 new negotiations were undertaken which resulted in the treaty of Ghent; but again the United States refused to ratify. In 1818 a Convention was agreed upon under which the territory should be free and open for ten years to the subjects of both nations without prejudice to claims of either. In 1821 we find England protesting against the assertion of sovereignty by Russia, and four years later exacting from Russia a treaty by which that power renounced all claims to territories south of latitude 54° 40'. In 1826 negotiations with the United States were

resumed but all that could be effected was an extension of the joint occupation.

England did not flinch from her duty in protecting her territory. In 1843 the Lynn Bill was introduced into the United States Senate providing for the erection of forts, for free grants of lands to settlers, and for the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States to the disputed territory. Lord Palmerston, who was then of the Opposition in the British House of Commons, affirmed that the passage of the Bill would be a declaration of war. The Bill passed the Senate, but no action was taken upon it by the House of Representatives.

Finally in 1844, and in March, 1845, Great Britain proposed arbitration, but both offers were declined by the United States, and when Polk declared in his inaugural message for the whole of Oregon to $54^{\circ} 40'$, Great Britain began making extensive preparations for war. Cathcart, who had learned the business of war in Russia, as aide-de-camp to his father in all the great battles against Napoleon in Germany, and to the Duke of Wellington at Quatre-Bras and Waterloo, was sent out to Canada as Commander of the King's Dragoon Guards to put the country in a posture of defence. At that moment intimation was given by the United States that they "would not reject an offer to settle" upon the line of 49° . In the following April a formal proposal of this line as a boundary was made by Great Britain and accepted. For sixty years England had wrought upon this problem, persistently offering peace, and yet holding herself ready for war, the only means by which peace can ever be secured.

It is a relief to turn from these complicated operations of diplomacy in the West to consider the simple stages by which the boundary between the United States and Canada was established in the East, under the terms of the Ashburton treaty. In the outset a word in defence of Lord Ashburton is due. Few British servants have been more widely condemned; and yet his conduct must be viewed in the light of the ethics of diplomacy. No question which is so difficult

that it must be submitted to arbitration has all the right upon one side and all the wrong upon the other. When the negotiations began neither he nor his opponents were convinced where the line should fall. It was not a problem in mensuration or metaphysics in which there is no middle standing ground between what is true and what is false. It was a case of interpreting documents written a century before by honest but ignorant men. I shall cite only one example. A curious difficulty was introduced into the negotiation by the pedantic precision of a draughtsman. In 1621 James I. granted "Nova Scotia" to Sir William Alexander, the western boundary of which extended from the source of the St. Croix river "towards the North" to the nearest waters draining into the St. Lawrence. In the light of modern knowledge this line runs W. N. W., but in 1763 the clerk who drew the Commission to Montague Wilmot, Governor of Nova Scotia, in defining the limits of the province described it as following a "due north" line from the source of the St. Croix. The subsequent dispute turned upon the identity of the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia" which great Britain claimed was the source of the St. Croix; the United States claimed this point lay about twenty miles from the St. Lawrence.

In a court of law the duty of the advocate is clear and the duty of the judge is clear. But the ethics of advocacy are quite distinct from the ethics of diplomacy. An arbitrator is at once advocate and judge. He must contend only to meet contention and thereby establish an equity. Lord Ashburton acted upon the best information available. He joined in a judgement upon the case as it appeared, and a judge must not be held to account because he is not informed of what a missing witness might have disclosed. According to that sound principle of law and morality it must not be laid to the charge of Lord Ashburton that he secured for England and for Canada 900 square miles of territory more than she was entitled to. The United States accepted the award under a misapprehension which was not of his making. In further defence it must be put forward that it would

be crediting him with too great a degree of astuteness to allege that he was aware that the acquisition by England of this 900 miles of United States territory would enable the engineers of the national Transcontinental Railway to locate their line in that very territory, and so avoid the mountainous region west of Lake Temiscouata. Indeed it was not until forty years after the signing of the treaty that the idea of a Canadian transcontinental railway of any kind had formulated itself.

I am quite well aware that even yet there are persons in Canada who profess to hold the belief—that is, if the word “belief” may be employed in connexion with a matter which one has neither the desire nor capacity to understand—that England did not receive an award of all the territory to which she was fairly entitled. The origin of this grotesque fancy is extremely simple. The Senate of the United States, which ultimately passes upon all treaties, was as recalcitrant to reason in those days as it is now, and could only be induced to ratify the treaty by being persuaded that they had received the best of the bargain. Daniel Webster, by the simple device of showing the Senators an old map with a red line drawn upon it, easily convinced those statesmen who had the minds, and conceptions, and characters of traders that they were getting a good thing, and they voted for the Treaty.

The astute Webster knew his own countrymen and he took the easiest way. He also knew that two States, Maine and New Hampshire, whose territory was at stake were bitterly opposed to the treaty and that the failure of the negotiations meant the outbreak of hostilities. Indeed hostilities had already broken out in the “Restook War,” as it was called. Arrests were made by the authorities of New Brunswick and of Maine. The President was authorized to call out the militia, and ten million dollars were voted for military defense. Unfortunately the Senators, who were not remarkable for enlargement of mind, could not refrain from telling how clever they had been, and some Canadians believed the accounts which they heard. The most vulgar

form in which the legend appears is that Ashburton accepted as a basis for negotiations a map which Webster had pulled out of his pocket on which was shown the St. Croix River issuing into the Atlantic to the South of Portland. The foolish story goes that, when Ashburton accepted the St. Croix as a boundary, he thought he was getting all the seaboard and inter-land lying north of a point which would give Portland to Canada,—an excellent bargain truly.

Shorn of all mythical details the facts are these: After the Treaty of Paris the Count de Vergennes, he who promoted the alliance with the United States, requested Franklin to send him a certain map. Franklin sent the copy on which, as he stated in a covering letter, he had drawn in red the boundary line between the United States and Canada as agreed upon. In 1842 a map was found in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Paris, containing a line which approximated to that contended for by Great Britain. It was one of many maps in the department, but there was nothing to indicate that it was the one which Franklin had sent to Vergennes. This was the famous "red line" map which Webster produced before the Senate as evidence that the United States were gaining territory to which under the Treaty of Paris they were not entitled.

But there was another map. On March 27th 1843, reference was made in the Queen's Speech to the settlement of the boundary dispute by the Ashburton Treaty. Within the next four days a map was exhibited in Parliament as proof that Great Britain had not been imposed upon. It was referred to by Mr. Everett, then United States Minister to London, in a dispatch under date 31st March, 1843. The essential part of this dispatch is contained in a speech by Senator Benton from which I quote: "We all know that in one of the debates which took place in the British House of Commons on the Ashburton Treaty, and after that treaty was ratified and past recall, mention was made of a certain map called the King's Map, which had belonged to the late King George III, and hung in his library during his lifetime,

and afterwards in the Foreign Office, from which said office the said map silently disappeared about the time of the Ashburton Treaty, and which was not before our Senate at the time of the ratification of that treaty. Well, the member who mentioned it in Parliament said there was a strong red line upon it, about the tenth of an inch wide, running all along where the Americans said the true boundary was, with these words written along it in four places in King George's handwriting: 'This is Oswald's line'; meaning it is the line of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Oswald on the British side and therefore called Oswald's line."

It is a curious fact that, although this map was referred to in at least two speeches made in the United States Senate, in the "Life of Shelburne," and in Moore's "Treaties and Arbitrations," there was no record of the place in which it might be found. In the summer of 1908 Mr. James White, Chief Geographer for Canada, discovered a map in the British Museum, and noticed at a glance that Mr. Everett was correct in his statement that the line marked, "As described by Mr. Oswald," was in accordance with the contention of the United States. Mr. White had a copy of the map made, and published it in the UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE, December, 1908.

I am afraid there is evidence that British diplomacy has not always been the naive, guileless thing its friends would have us believe. Certainly the moment chosen by this map for losing itself was peculiarly opportune. Referring to this question, Mr. Justice Winsor says: "If this map was not known to the British Government at the time of the mission of Lord Ashburton, there was a convenient ignorance enjoyed by the heads of the administration which was not shared by the under officers, for it was well known, as Lord Brougham acknowledged, in Lord Melbourne's time when it was removed from the British Museum to the Foreign Office. During the discussion in the House of Commons upon the motion for a formal vote of thanks to Lord Ashburton, the disappearance of this map was referred to, and one member intimated that he thought British honour would have been better con-

sulted by showing this map to the American negotiator. Lord Brougham who moved the motion thought it would be carrying frankness a little too far for the British negotiator to have set out with showing "that he had no case, and that he had not a leg to stand upon."

The boundary between the United States and Canada was settled by the Treaty of Paris. There was nothing to dispute about. The line extended "along the highlands which divided the waters which emptied themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which flowed into the Atlantic Ocean." It would appear that any man who knew his right hand from his left, and could follow a ridge without crossing any water flowing to the right or the left would define the boundary in the very words of the treaty; but it would bring the United States frontier within twenty miles of the city of Quebec and would cut off communication between it and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It commanded the capital of British North America and flanked the principal British Province for near 200 miles. This was the situation which Ashburton had to face. Lord Ashburton was well chosen. As Mr. Alexander Baring, the head of the great banking house of Baring Brothers, he had a large business connexion with the people and the Government of the United States. His wife was an American woman, and attached to him were Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Brice, and Mr. Stepping who were described as gentlemen "of mind, tact, and pleasing deportment." It was a special mission and was looked upon as a mark of honour to the United States. Even Mr. Fox, the resident Minister at Washington, was not regarded as sufficiently important to share in it. Lord Ashburton received the formal thanks of Parliament for his labours, on the ground that he had accomplished every object that Great Britain desired and left undone everything which she wished to remain as it was.

The feeling in the United States at the time, over the treaty is well expressed by Senator Thomas A. Benton, of Missouri, in his "Thirty Years' View." "The treaty, he pro-

tested, retired the whole line from the heights which flanked Lower Canada and cut off as much of Maine as admitted of a pretty direct communication between Halifax and Quebec. It made a new boundary in the Northwest, depriving the United States of the great line of transportation between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. It bound the United States to pay for Rouse's Point, and to keep up a squadron in conjunction with the British on the coast of Africa for the suppressing of the slave trade. An extradition clause was also wanted by Great Britain, and she got it, broad enough to cover the recapture of her subjects whether innocent or guilty, and to secure political offenders whilst professing to take only common felons. These were the points, he declared, Great Britain wished settled and she got them all arranged according to her own wishes. Others which the United States wished settled were omitted and indefinitely adjourned.

We have heard much about British diplomacy. Let us now turn attention to our own, and enquire what luck we had upon that important occasion when the boundary of Alaska was defined under an award dated October 20th 1903. The draft of the convention was submitted to the Canadian Government in January and was approved by it. The Convention was signed in Washington, January 24th 1903. The ratifications were exchanged March 3rd 1903. All these dates are comparatively recent. Upon this tribunal we had three jurors, and two of them were Canadians, able men, men of truth, hating covetousness, such as Jethro recommended to his famous son-in-law. And yet we were not satisfied with the award. Indeed one of the jurors, Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, referring to the results of the labour in which he had a share, described it as a "travesty of justice," which is a sad confession of the ineptitude of a tribunal whose constitution Canadians approved. I think, however, that Mr. Aylesworth is too deprecatory of our first essay in serious diplomacy, and that in reality we obtained all which we could reasonably have expected.

The matter in dispute was very simple. As reported to his government by Mr. Dell, of the Smithsonian Institute, there was a discrepancy between the maps and the text of the narrative; that if the maps were to govern the possession of the islands they ought to go to the United States, and that if the treaty was "tried by the text" they ought all to go to Great Britain. The United States arbitrators consequently treated the maps as of primary importance and insisted that the award should not be based upon the narrative.

Up to this point we have been dealing with diplomatic negotiations which were undertaken for defining boundaries and in two cases for the avoidance of war. Let us now turn to the lighter matters of trade, and deal with the attempts at agreements for reciprocal relations with the United States. One attempt succeeded; all others ended in failure from 1865, when Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, and Galt went to London, and Galt and Howland went to Washington; until 1906, when Sir Wilfrid returned and announced that the attempt was hopeless, and that there would be no more pilgrimages to Washington. Nearly every public man in Canada for thirty years tried his hand at this branch of diplomacy,—Rose, Hincks, Macdonald, Tupper, Cartwright, Thompson, Bowell, Foster, Laurier,—and failed.

The single exception was the Reciprocity treaty of 1854, which was negotiated by Lord Elgin. The year before the operation of this treaty the trade of Canada with the United States amounted to \$20,000,000; the first year the treaty was in force the volume of trade at once increased to thirty-three millions. In 1855 it was 42 millions; in 1857, it was 46 millions; in 1859, 48 millions; in 1863, 55 millions; in 1864, 67 millions; in 1865, 71 millions; and in 1866, the year in which the treaty was abrogated by the American Government, it had reached the high figure of eighty-four million dollars. As a result of this treaty Canada's trade with the United States had nearly quadrupled in twelve years.

There is nothing so amusing in the history of diplomacy as the account of the method by which Lord Elgin extracted

this treaty from the United States. The facts are set forth by Lawrence Oliphant, who acted as Secretary to Lord Elgin during the negotiations. When Lord Elgin arrived at Washington he was informed by the President and the Secretary of State that it was quite hopeless to think that any such treaty as he proposed could be carried through in the face of the opposition on the part of the Democrats who held a majority in the Senate. A few days later the Secretary remarked to his Chief, "I find that all my most intimate friends are Democratic Senators." Under his subtle touch the opposition disappeared, and in fourteen days the treaty was ratified.

One cannot refrain from dwelling upon the incident to illustrate the truth that a diplomatist who has a thing to do must do it in the best way it can be done. Lord Elgin's skill lay in discovering the method. At the end of a week "the serious business of the visit was not yet in train." The Secretary was engaged every morning making arrangements with ministers who were "cute, dodgy fellows, with a sinister motive in the back-ground which it was sometimes difficult to discover." "It is necessary to the success of our mission," he wrote, "that we conciliate everybody, and to refuse their invitations would be considered insulting. Lord Elgin pretends to drink immensely, but I watched him and I don't believe he drank a glass between two and twelve." After such a feat of deception in the face of the Senators of those days, perhaps we shall hear less of the simplicity of the Englishman. "Lord Elgin," his secretary continues, "is the most thorough diplomat possible,—never loses sight for a moment of his object, and while he is chaffing Yankees, and slapping them on the back, he is systematically pursuing that object." "At present," this faithful servant adds, "I am as satisfied that it is my duty to go to balls as to go to Sunday-school was."

One night they dined with rather a singular house-full of people: the master of the house was a Senator, Methodist preacher, and teetotaler. Consequently they had nothing to

drink but iced water. This experience appears to have been rather exceptional, because the record of the gaieties shows that everybody drank champagne, and in addition "there was usually a bowl on the table in which you might have drowned a baby, a most delicious and insinuating concoction." The wife of the host was not present, but her place was taken by her daughter who wore a reform dress which used to be described forty years ago as a Bloomer. The husband of this young lady is described as an "avowed and rampant infidel"; so that altogether it must have been a curious assemblage. Upon another occasion, after a grand dinner, the Senators were so enamoured by Elgin's faculty of brilliant repartee and racy anecdote that he was persuaded to accompany them to the house of a popular and influential politician. In the group was Senator Mason, afterwards of Mason and Slidell notoriety. It was midnight when they arrived, and their host was in bed. When he was aroused, he appeared at the door clad only in a very short night-shirt. "All right, boys," he said, "you go in and I'll go down and get the drink." Presently he returned with his arms filled with bottles of champagne, on the top of which were two large lumps of ice. Whilst the bottles were being opened he proceeded to dress himself and all prepared to spend a pleasant evening. In the course of the conversation a member of the party, in a fit of exuberant enthusiasm, addressed Lord Elgin: "As for our dear old host the Governor here, I tell you Lord *Elgine*, he is a perfect king in his own country. There a'int a man in Mussoorie dar' say a word against him; if any of your darned English Lords was to go down there and dar' to he'd tell them"——. Here followed an expression of those terms which the Governor might be expected to employ in the circumstances mentioned. "That's a lie," said the Governor. "I can blaspheme, and profane, and rip, and snort with any man, but I never make use of a vulgar expression to a guest." Other Senators joined in the apology and assured Lord Elgin that if all English Lords were like him and would become naturalized Americans they could

“run the country.” They thought it a thousand pities that he had not been born an American and so have been eligible for the Presidency.

The festivities preliminary to the signing of Treaty were enlivened by a ball given by Sir Philip Crampton in honour of the Queen's birthday. The following account of the affair is taken from a Washington newspaper: “As for the ladies present our pen fairly falters in the attempt to do justice to their charms. Our artists and modistes had racked their brains, and exhausted their magazines of dainty and costly fabrics, in order to convince the world in general, and the English people in particular, that the sovereign fair ones of Washington regarded their sister sovereign of England with feelings, not only of ‘the most distinguished consideration,’ but of downright love, admiration, and respect—love, for the woman, admiration, for the wife of the handsomest man in Europe—and respect, for the mother of nine babies. More was accomplished last evening in the way of negotiation than had been accomplished from the days of Ashburton to the advent of Elgin. We regard the fishery question as settled, both parties having partaken freely of the bait so liberally provided by the noble host.

“Amid the soft footfalls of fairy feet—the glittering of jewels—the graceful sweep of five-hundred-dollar dresses—the sparkling of eyes which shot forth alternately flashes of lightning and love—there were two gentlemen who appeared to be the ‘observed of all observers.’ One was the Earl of Elgin, and the other Sir Charles Gray. Lord Elgin is a short, stout gentleman, on the shady side of forty, and is decidedly John Bullish in walk, talk, appearance, and carriage. His face, although round and full, beams with intellect, good-feeling, and good-humour. His manners are open, frank, and winning. Sir Charles Gray is a much larger man than his noble countryman, being both taller and stouter. He is about sixty years of age, and his manners are particularly grave and dignified.

“The large and brilliant company broke up at a late hour, and departed for their respective homes—pleased with their courtly and courteous host; pleased with the monarchical form of government in England; pleased with the republican form of government in the United States; pleased with each other, themselves, and the rest of mankind.”

This was a fair beginning for negotiating a treaty, and in due season Elgin informed President Pierce and Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, that all was ready. This Marcy is described as a comical old gentleman whose popularity with his countrymen rested chiefly on the fact that he had charged the Government fifty cents “for repairing his breeches,” when he was upon a mission to enquire into certain transactions in which great financial irregularities had taken place.

Mr. Oliphant gives a vivid account of the signing of the only Reciprocity treaty which Canada has ever had with the United States: “It was in the dead of night, during the last five minutes of the 5th of June, and the first five minutes of the 6th of the month aforesaid, that four individuals might have been observed seated in a spacious chamber lighted by six wax candles and an Argand lamp. Their faces were expressive of deep and earnest thought, not un-mixed with suspicion. Their feelings, however, to the acute observer, manifested themselves in different ways; but this was natural, as two were in the bloom of youth, one in the sere and yellow leaf, and one in the prime of middle age. This last it is whose measured tones alone break the silence of midnight, except when one or other of the younger auditors, who are both poring intently over voluminous MSS., interrupts him to interpolate an ‘and’ or erase a ‘the’.

They are, in fact, checking him as he reads; and the aged man listens, while he picks his teeth with a pair of scissors, or cleans out the wick of a candle with their points, which he afterwards wipes on his grey hair. He may occasionally be observed to wink, from either conscious ‘cuteness’ or unconscious drowsiness. Presently the clock strikes twelve,

and there is a doubt whether the date should be to-day or yesterday. There is a moment of solemn silence, when the reader, having finished the document, lays it down, and takes a pen which had been previously impressively dipped in the ink by the most intelligent-looking of the young men, who appears to be his 'secretary,' and who keeps his eye warily fixed upon the other young man, who occupied the same relation to the aged listener with the scissors.

"There is something strangely mysterious and suggestive in the scratching of that midnight pen, for it may be scratching fortunes or ruin to toiling millions. Then the venerable statesman takes up the pen to append his signature. His hand does not shake, though he is very old, and knows the abuse that is in store for him from members of Congress and an enlightened press. That hand, it is said, is not all unused to a revolver; and it does not now waver, though the word he traces may be an involver of a revolver again. He is now Secretary of State; before that, he was a Judge of the Supreme Court; before that, a General in the army; before that, Governor of a state; before that, Secretary of War; before that, Minister in Mexico; before that, a member of the House of Representatives; before that, a politician; before that, a cabinet maker. He ends, as he began, with cabinet work, and he is not, at his time of life and with his varied experience, afraid either of the wrath of his countrymen or the wiles of an English lord. So he gives us his blessing and the Treaty duly signed; and I retire to dream of its contents, and to listen in my troubled sleep to the perpetually recurring refrain of the three impressive words with which the pregnant document concludes,—'unmanufactured—tobacco—rags.'"

There is nothing discreditable in all this to Lord Elgin or to the Americans either. They showed themselves to be humane, kindly men; and anyone who would deal with them must treat them with at least an appearance of respect, with genuine good humour, sweetness of temper, and kindness.

A British subject cannot approach the Treaty of Paris with much glee. This treaty which was signed September

3rd 1783, by Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Franklin, Adams, and Jay on the part of the United States, is what Mr. White describes as the "date line" in the territorial history of Canada. The chief negotiator on behalf of Great Britain was Richard Oswald, who is described by Franklin as "a pacifical man," and again as "a plain and sincere old man who seems now to have no desire but that of being useful in doing good." Fitzmaurice, the biographer of Shelburne, who, as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, had charge of the negotiations, refers to Oswald as a man "whose simplicity of mind and straightforwardness of character struck all who knew him." It is an easy guess what luck this simple-minded merchant with those specifically Scotch characteristics of simplicity and straightforwardness would have in such company as Franklin, Adams, and Jay, who were practising a method of diplomacy hitherto unknown amongst civilized men. The experienced M. de Vergennes instructed the French Minister at Philadelphia to inform the American Secretary of State that the Commissioners had deceived him and had been guilty of a gross breach of faith. Mr. Henry Strachey, who was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was not so amiable as the Frenchman. Adams admitted that he "presses every point as far as it can possibly go. He is a most eager, earnest, and pointed spirit"; and Oswald wrote to Townsend: "He enforced our pretensions by every argument that reason, justice, and humanity could suggest." American historians are not so complacent over Mr. Strachey as they are over Oswald, and he is described as "an exponent of English arrogance, insolence, and general offensiveness." But Mr. Strachey wrote in return: "These Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew." There is some evidence that even in our own day this proclivity has not entirely ceased. The late Sir John Macdonald, who himself was not precisely a simpleton, writing confidentially to a colleague in 1871 respecting the protocols on the Treaty of Washington, said: "The language put into the mouths of the British Commissioners is strictly correct; but I cannot say as much

for that of our American colleagues. They have inserted statements as having been made by them, which in fact were never made, in order that they may have an effect on the Senate. My English colleagues were a good deal surprised at the proposition; but as the statements did not prejudice England, we left them at liberty."

It is some extenuation of the conduct of Mr. Oswald to say that his information about Canada was not in excess of that which was possessed by the men of his time. It was the common belief that the "back lands of Canada was a country worth nothing and of no importance." The character in "Candide," who described Canada as nothing more than *quelques arpents de neige* was giving expression to the geographical knowledge current in the time of Voltaire; and Professor Lafleur reminds me that Burke once gave utterance to the opinion that its value was only that of a few hundred wild-cat skins. Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, another negotiator for Great Britain, has left it on record that "many of the best men in England were for giving up Canada and Nova Scotia."

Mr. Oswald could not know how desperate was the financial and military outlook in the United States, that the treasury was empty and the army importuning for their pay, that Washington had reported that it was impossible to recruit his forces by voluntary enlistment, and that the abolition of paper money, the length of the war, the arrears of debt, and the slender thread by which public credit hung made it totally out of their power to make any further great exertions.

It must also be remembered that the American Commissioners were of the opinion that "England should make a voluntary offer of Canada." They asserted that, "by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Canada was expressly and irrevocably ceded by France to the King of Great Britain, and that the United States are in consequence of the Revolution in their government entitled to the benefits of that cession." They claimed that England should offer reparation for the towns and villages which had been burned by her troops and her

Indian allies, amounting to half a million pounds sterling. In addition they demanded free trade in England and Ireland, and full freedom of fishing in British waters.

With beings who are human and therefore neither infallible nor omniscient there must at times be a choice of duties. When a man would gird up his loins for the saving of his life he must not be chided too bitterly for his extravagance in casting away all hampering garments. Nor will an Admiralty court censure too severely the seaman who jettisons his deck-load to lighten his ship in the face of an impending storm. The trader who protests, after the storm has been weathered, that his goods were damaged will receive scant consideration; and even if the negotiators of the Treaty of Paris appear to deserve the scorn which has been heaped upon them, we must remember that England was freeing her hands for that great struggle which was to decide whether she was to establish her supremacy as a sea-power, or whether she was to take her place by the side of Holland and spend her days reflecting upon her departed glory.

ANDREW MACPHAIL

THE LABRADOR BOUNDARY

CONSIDERED broadly, the position of the Labrador boundary depends upon the respective boundaries of New France, of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s territories and of other British territorial possessions at the date of the cession of Canada, 1763, subject to the modifying effect of the Imperial Acts of Parliament and Royal Proclamations affecting Canada and Newfoundland, passed since 1763.

In the last analysis, the most important factor is the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, and the writer has endeavoured in this article to demonstrate that: I. The Hudson's Bay Company had not, prior to the cession of Canada, acquired in the Ungava peninsula any territorial rights south of a line from cape Grimington, on the Atlantic coast, to either lake Mistassini or to the mouth of the Eastmain—the former, the British contention under the Treaty of Ryswick, and the latter, their contention under the Treaty of Utrecht. Whether the Company's territorial rights were determined by their own formal offer, in 1701, to accept the Eastmain line or by the instructions to Commissary Bladen in 1719, they could not, later, perfect their title to any territory south of the boundary thus determined. Any later cession was a cession to Great Britain and the Company could not, of course, perfect a title as against the Crown. II. The Acts of Parliament of 1774, 1809 and 1825, state explicitly that it was the "coast" that was transferred; they nowhere make mention of the hinterland; the preambles of the Proclamation of 1763 and of the Act of 1774 explicitly state and the Acts of 1809 and 1825 state inferentially, that the legislation respecting the boundaries of this "coast" was solely to provide for the fishing industry, and the correspondence between the Imperial Government and the governments of Newfoundland and of Canada demonstrates that the aim and object of all this legislation

was "to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon, the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands."

On May 2nd, 1607, King Charles II granted to his "dear entirely beloved Cousin, Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine," and others, "the sole trade and commerce of all the seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by, or granted to, any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State. . . . and that the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, called 'Rupert's Land.' "

The most important clauses in the charter, so far as the Hudson's Bay Company's territorial rights are concerned, are the limitations to the area draining into Hudson bay and strait and to the portion of the territory in this area not possessed by or granted to British subjects, or—as France was the only other nation claiming territory in this region—to subjects of France.

In 1697, at the close of the war with France, the Company held but one post, viz., Albany, the others, six in number, having been taken by the French. The Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, provided for the appointment of Commissioners to "examine and determine the rights and pretensions which either of the said Kings hath to the places situated in Hudson's Bay, but the possession of those places which were taken by the French during the peace that preceded this present war and were re-taken by the English during this war, shall be left to the French." Had the Commissioners adjudicated on the question, they would have awarded to the French the only post left in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Albany.

Later, the French Ambassador made proposals respecting the boundary but, before an agreement was arrived at, war broke out again and was only terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. During these abortive negotiations the Hudson's Bay Company made statements of their claims. In 1700, they offered to accept the Albany river on the west coast, and Rupert river on the east coast, as the boundary between their territories and the French. In 1701, the Lords for Trade and Plantations having intimated the desirability of further concessions if the French refused to accept the Albany-Rupert line, the Hudson's Bay Company offered to accept the Albany on the west coast, and the Canuse (East-main) river on the east coast, as the boundaries.

In 1711, overtures for peace were made by France and in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. It provided for the restoration to "the kingdom and Queen of Great Britain" of "the Bay and Streights of Hudson;" commissaries to be appointed within a year, to determine "the limits which are to be fixed between the said bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French."

The commissaries exchanged notes but did not arrive at a settlement. Commissary Bladen was instructed to endeavour to get a boundary from Grimington island or cape Perdrix, in lat. $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. on the coast of Labrador, thence southwestward through lake Mistassini, to lat. 49° N., thence, due west along the 49th parallel; that "the said boundaries be understood to regard the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company only;" that it did not concede any rights of possession to the French, in the country south or southwest of these limits. In the memorandum sent by the English commissaries to the French, the initial point of the line was placed at Davis bay in lat $56\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., two degrees further south than in Bladen's instructions.

The French demanded a line from cape Chidley, thence to a point midway between Fort Rupert and the French post on lake Nemiskau—an expansion of Rupert river—thence to a point halfway between the French fort at lake Abitibi and

Moose Factory. As the commissaries could not come to an agreement, the matter remained unsettled till the surrender of Canada transferred the whole country to Great Britain. That the matter remained unsettled, is shown by the *Private Instructions to M. de Vaudreuil*, April 1, 1755, in which it is stated that the British commissaries withdrew "and did not again make their appearance." In 1761, the Duc de Choiseul said, respecting the Hudson Bay boundaries, "Nothing was done."

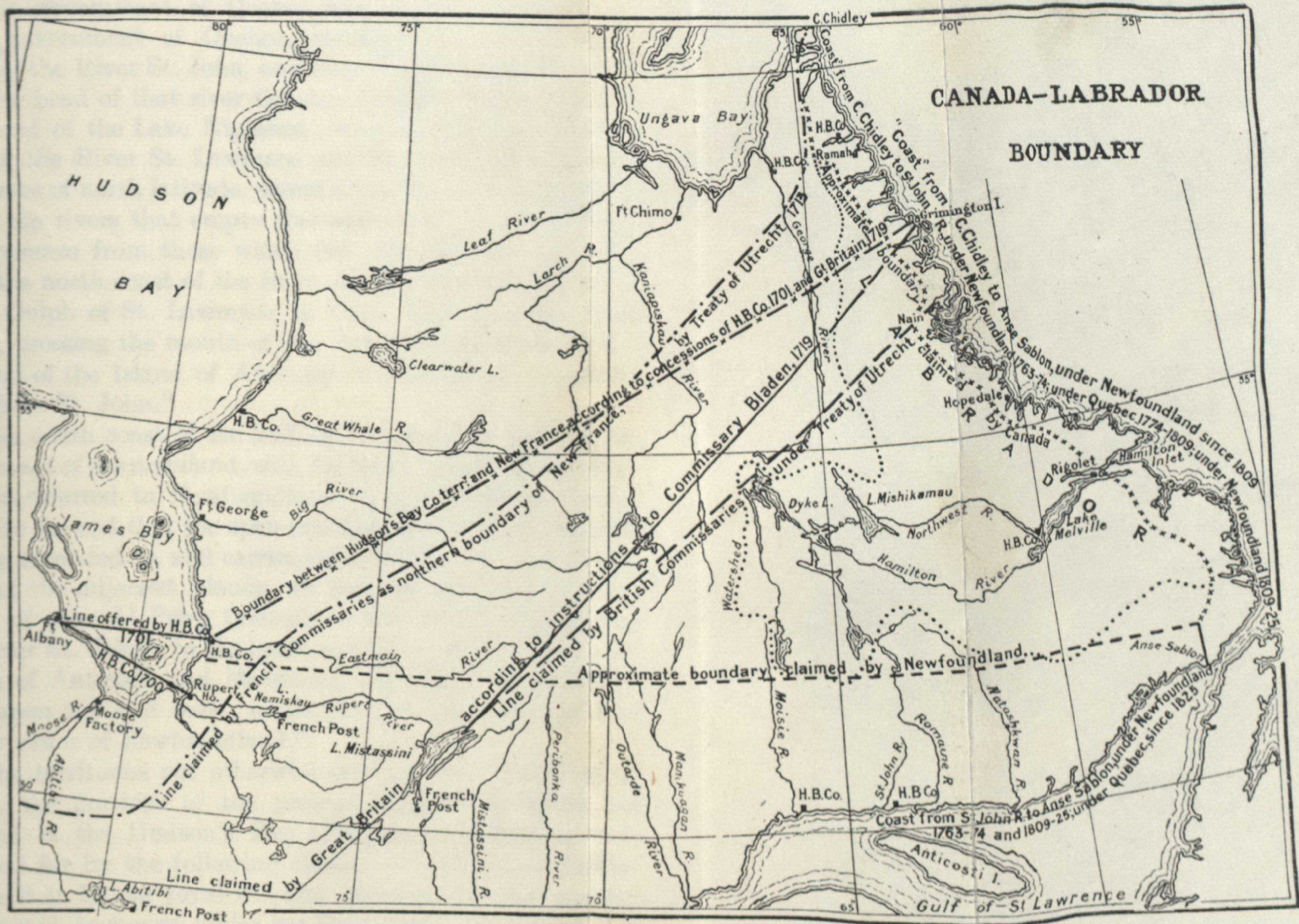
In 1760, Canada was surrendered to the British by the Marquis de Vaudreuil and, by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, was formally ceded to Great Britain.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Hudson's Bay Company's territories cannot be considered to have extended further south than the line that Commissary Bladen was instructed to offer, and there are good grounds for the contention that, on the east coast of Hudson bay, they did not extend further south than the Eastmain river.

In the Ontario-Manitoba boundary case, the decision of the Imperial Privy Council that Ontario extended to the Albany river, virtually decided also that the Hudson's Bay Company's territories were bounded on the south by the same river and that, south of the 1701 line, the Company had not acquired a good title. The cession of Canada vested in the British Crown the title to the territory south of the Hudson's Bay Company's boundaries, and the Company could not, as already stated, perfect in the ceded territory, its territorial rights as against the Crown.

Whether a line be drawn from Grimington island to lake Mistassini or to the mouth of the Eastmain or to a point midway between lake Nemiskau and Hudson bay is, so far as Labrador is concerned, quite immaterial. The area enclosed between the most northerly line and the most southerly line thus drawn, is only some 70 or 80 sq. miles of country, very mountainous and practically treeless.

The acquisition of Canada necessitated action providing for the government of the territory thus acquired and, on



October 7, 1763, a Royal Proclamation was issued, erecting the governments of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada.

The government of Quebec was defined as follows:—
“The government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river through the Lake St. John to the south end of the Lake Nipissing; from whence the said line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres; and from thence, crossing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the west end of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River St. John.”

The north coast of the gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic coast of the mainland, with Anticosti and the Magdalens, were transferred to Newfoundland in the following clause: “And to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon, the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that coast, from the River St. John’s to Hudson’s streights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.”

The territories not otherwise provided for, including, of course, the portions of the present Ungava peninsula not included in the Hudson’s Bay Company’s territories, were provided for by the following clause: “And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new Governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to

the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatsoever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our especial leave or license for that purpose first obtained."

The Proclamation, therefore, assigned (a) To Newfoundland:—A "coast strip" extending from a point on the north shore of the St. Lawrence opposite the west end of Anticosti, to the entrance to Hudson strait, and also Anticosti and the Magdalen islands. (b) To Quebec:—A triangular area including the settled portion of New France between a point opposite the west end of Anticosti, on the east, and lake Nipissing, on the west. (c) To the Crown:—All other portions of the mainland of British North America not included in Newfoundland, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, nor the thirteen colonies. This area, therefore, included the northern portion of the present province of Quebec and the "hinterland" of the Labrador coast-strip.

The limitation of Quebec to the small area defined in the Proclamation caused much dissatisfaction and, in 1774, the "Quebec Act" extended the boundaries southward to the Ohio, westward to the Mississippi, northward to Ruperts Land and eastward to the Atlantic.

The preamble recites that: "Whereas His Majesty, by His Royal Proclamation, bearing date this Seventh day of October, in the third year of his Reign, thought fit to declare the provisions which had been made in respect to certain countries, territories and islands in America, ceded to His Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace concluded at Paris on the Tenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; and whereas by the arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation, a very large extent of country, within which there were several colonies and settlements of the subjects of France, who claimed to remain there under the faith of the said Treaty, was left without any provision being

made for the administration of civil government therein; and certain parts of the territory of Canada, where sedentary fisheries had been established and carried on by the subjects of France, inhabitants of the said Province of Canada, under grants and concessions from the government thereof, were annexed to the government of Newfoundland, and thereby subjected to regulations inconsistent with the nature of such fisheries."

Clause 1 specifically annexes the Labrador coast-strip to Quebec:—"and also all such territories, islands, and countries, which have, since the Tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, been made part of the Government of Newfoundland, be, and they are hereby, during His Majesty's pleasure, annexed to, and made part and parcel of the Province of Quebec as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the Seventh of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three."

That the Quebec of 1774 to 1791 extended to the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, is further shown by the Imperial Order in Council of August 24, 1791, which defines the dividing line between Upper Canada and Lower Canada as running "due north until it strikes the boundary line of Hudson's Bay." This description is also used in the commission to Lord Dorchester, 1791, in the proclamations of 1791 and 1792, and in the commissions of Governors up to 1835. From 1838 to 1846 it was "shore of Hudson Bay," the result, probably, of the correction, by the draughtsman, of an assumed error, where none existed.

In addition, the proposed description of the boundaries of Upper and Lower Canada, accompanying Lord Dorchester's despatch of February 8th, 1790, defines the dividing line as "running due north to the Boundary of the Territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay." It defines "the Province of Lower Canada to comprehend all the Territories, Lands, and Countries which are now subject to, or possessed by His Majesty, to the eastward of the said partition line, and to the southward

of the Southern Boundary of the said Territories granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, being no part of the Government of Newfoundland or any other of His Majesty's Provinces in North America at the time of passing this Act."

Finally, the commission of September 12th, 1791, to Lord Dorchester defines "the province of Lower Canada to comprehend all such lands, territories and islands lying to the eastward of the said line of division, between Upper Canada and Lower Canada as were part of Our said Province of Quebec."

On April 10th, 1792, the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, in his reply to a despatch of Sir Alured Clarke's calling attention to the discrepancy between the boundary descriptions in Lord Dorchester's commission and in the Order in Council of August 24th, 1791, says: "As the difference lies only in what is explanatory, it does not, I conceive, amount at all to a variance between them, and is therefore perfectly immaterial."

The foregoing shows conclusively that the then province of Lower Canada included the eastern portion of the former province of Quebec and, as such, included the whole of the mainland lying to the north of the gulf and river St. Lawrence, south of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories and east of Upper Canada.

Having shown that the Quebec of the Quebec Act extended to, at least, the Grimington-Mistassini line, it only remains to consider the effect of subsequent legislation by the Imperial Government. As has been seen, the French Canadian fishermen complained when the Proclamation of 1763 subjected them to the operation of English law and custom by the placing of the north shore of the gulf of St. Lawrence under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland; and the Newfoundland fishermen also complained when, by the Quebec Act, the Gulf and Atlantic coasts were placed under the jurisdiction of Quebec. As a result, an Imperial Act was passed in 1809, re-transferring to Newfoundland the

island of Anticosti and the "coast" from the St. John river to cape Chidley at the entrance to Hudson strait.

In 1825, an Imperial Act re-transferred to Quebec the island of Anticosti and the "coast" between the river St. John and Anse Sablon in the strait of Belleisle. This, of course, left under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland the north coast of the strait of Belleisle and the Atlantic coast between Belleisle and cape Chidley, at the entrance to Hudson strait.

By the Ruperts Land Act, 1868, the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its lands, privileges and rights to the Crown and, in 1870, an Imperial Order in Council declared that, from and after July 15, 1870, Ruperts Land and the North-Western Territory "shall be admitted into and become part of the Dominion of Canada."

On July 31, 1880, an Imperial Order in Council was passed which "ordered and declared" that "all British territories and possessions in North America, not already included within the Dominion of Canada, and all islands adjacent to any of such territories or possessions, shall (with the exception of the colony of Newfoundland and its dependencies) become, and be annexed to, and form part of the said Dominion of Canada, and become and be subject to the laws for the time being in force in the said Dominion, in so far as such laws may be applicable thereto." While this Order in Council specifically transfers to Canada all British North America except Newfoundland and Labrador, and, therefore, quiets the title to all territory not, prior to that date, included in the latter, so far as Newfoundland's jurisdiction is concerned, however, the only effect is to limit her territorial rights to what she then owned and to estop her setting up a claim based on acts of jurisdiction in any portions of the disputed area, not occupied by her prior to the date of the Order.

Summing up:—(1) The limits of the province of Quebec, as defined in the Quebec Act, 1774, included all the territory to the southward of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories "to the utmost extent of the country commonly called or known by the name of Canada" or New France.

The province, therefore, extended to either the Grimington-Mistassini line, or to the line from cape Chidley to a point midway between Nemiskau and Rupert, or to a line from cape Chidley to the mouth of the Eastmain.

(2) The Act of 1809 transferred to Newfoundland the "coast" of the gulf of St. Lawrence and of the Atlantic between the St. John river and cape Chidley.

(3) The Act of 1825 re-transferred to Quebec the "coast" of the gulf of St. Lawrence between the St. John river and Anse Sablon, leaving to Newfoundland the Atlantic "coast" between Anse Sablon and cape Chidley.

(4) The possession of the coast, presumably, carried with it a strip of territory sufficiently wide for the purposes of the administration of justice in so far as it affected the fishing industry, and no wider.

(5) Canada claims the whole of the Ungava peninsula—with the exception of the Labrador coast-strip—as follows:

(a) As part of the old province of Quebec, the area lying to the south of the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories and to the west of the coast strip.

(b) By virtue of purchase from the Hudson's Bay Co., the portion of the peninsula, lying to the north of the Company's southern boundary and west of the watershed between the Atlantic and Hudson bay and strait.

(c) By the Order in Council of 1880, the small triangular area lying to the north of the old province of Quebec and bounded on the west by the watershed and on the east by the coast strip.

(6) The contention of Newfoundland for the whole of the peninsula—which includes the Labrador "coast," Ungava and northern Quebec—is so unreasonable that it carries its own refutation on the face of it.

(7) The dispute will, doubtless, be referred to the Imperial Privy Council, the highest court of the Empire, and, as it is a difference between sister colonies, it is eminently fitting that it should be so referred rather than to the Hague or to any other tribunal composed wholly or partially of foreigners.

JAMES WHITE

SOME SMALLER AMERICAN COLLEGES

THE educational ideals and idiosyncrasies of a people so numerous and, on their own confession, so elaborately cultured as that of the United States call for careful consideration if not necessarily for approval or admiration. For the moment avoiding the temptation to impale myself on the pointed question as to what "educational" means, and in what true education really consists, I propose to let some of the American colleges demonstrate in their own words and through their own official documents what they consider these words to signify, and the methods they employ to bring the result about.

To the average Canadian the word "American Colleges" probably signifies merely Harvard and Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Stanford, the Universities of Chicago, and Pennsylvania, with a few others with which he and his friends happen to be actually in touch; but for anyone within the borders of the Republic, who has paid any attention to such matters, the signification of the term is vastly extended, and it becomes obvious that the famous—or at any rate well-known—colleges constitute but a fraction of the collegiate life of the country.

There are State universities, denominational universities, endowed universities, struggling little universities due to the private initiative of the individual theorist or easy-money seeker, in fact, universities of all sorts, shapes, sizes and degrees of worth; for the American has, in his wisdom, seen fit to break down the pre-existing distinctions in our language between the words school, college, and university, and now the same degree-conferring institution is referred

to indifferently by any one of these terms at will,—a point which should be carefully borne in mind in reading the extracts given later on.

If one's object were to criticize instead of to exemplify, something might be said of the practice which prevails in some of the States, of allowing universities to any number to be chartered on the same terms as limited liability companies, without requiring evidence that the incorporators are mentally or morally fit to exercise educational authority, or that they possess even the most rudimentary apparatus with which to pursue their scholastic functions; but suffice it to say that the majority of college-bred men and women in the States do not receive their training at the large universities, but at one or other of the small colleges, the number of which is close upon, if not in excess of, half a thousand, so that the educational influence of these must in actual fact be at least as important as that of the large colleges, though little heard of, and in general practically unrecognized. And although it is obvious that in this crowd of smaller institutions there must be vast differences of equipment, scholarship, and ideals, it is a fact that among them there is a considerable class of degree-conferring bodies, the methods and aims of which may prove interesting if not instructive to Canadian college men.

Being desirous of information on this subject, I wrote to the registrars of some four hundred colleges, with the mere unadorned request for calendars of their respective institutions; and I am free to say that the result caused me considerable astonishment. Not only did all of them send the calendars asked for, but about fifty per cent. wrote letters, varying in length from a few lines to a couple of foolscap pages, conveying not only much encouraging information about their colleges, but a most flattering anxiety for my presence there as a student. In addition, for weeks afterwards my mail was distended with bulletins, picture-postcards, costly books of views, wall calendars, posters, college magazines, marked newspapers,

and every sort of advertising matter the wit of man has devised; besides I had the pleasure of receiving personal calls from the representatives of several colleges.

The assimilation of the statements offered in these hundreds of calendars, these letters, and these advertisements, has left me with a good deal of information, and a few broad impressions. The latter, being personal, are, in the interests of peace and good-will, perhaps better reserved, but some of the former I proceed to offer to the reader. Firstly, then, I find my educational geography much extended. For instance, I am glad to know that there is an Oxford in Ohio which is the seat of a university, and Canadians will like to hear that there is beyond their own borders both a St. Lawrence University and an Ottawa University. It is also pleasing to find that there exists an American "Heidelberg" whose Ph.D. degree sounds just as good as that "made in Germany," even if it implies something a little different. Cornell men may appreciate the fact that there is another and much smaller "Cornell College" elsewhere, and one is delighted, among other pleasures, to learn to discriminate between "Washington" University, "George Washington" University, "Washington and Jefferson" University and "Washington and Lee" University.

The letters in themselves were an experience. It gives one a thrill to be addressed as "Dear Friend" by a strange College President, and to be assured, "I should be glad to know more about your plans and purposes"; or "You do not state, but I hope that you are thinking of attending the University next year. I am sure there is nothing you could do that would mean more to you in life. The scope of the work here is very wide, nearly 300 different courses are offered and you are free to select whatever studies you are qualified to take. Tuition is free except in the School of Fine Arts. Fees, however, are charged in the laboratory courses, but are only sufficient to cover the cost of materials used by the student;" or "I wish I could welcome you to our number." It is also re-assuring to be told that "the financial

question interests students very much. I can offer you a scholarship of \$100 and after you get started here you will have numerous opportunities to do Christian work for which you will receive remuneration;" or that, "We do not think that you will be able to find a school where you can do work at better advantage than at———College, and certainly you can not find the place where you could do the work more cheaply. May we not have the pleasure of a letter from you?"

This letter indicates a friendly spirit: "We should be most happy to have you with us as a student in this, the oldest and most historic Institution of higher learning in the Central West, and I beg to assure you, if you come to us, that we will do all in our power to contribute to your welfare and to make your work agreeable and profitable." And it is supremely gratifying to be told, as the Central University of Indiana indicated in response to an enquiry, that without taking the trouble of going near that institution one can buy a Ph.D. on the installment plan for fifty dollars with the privilege of "the usual ten per cent. discount" if paid fully in advance.

These warm invitations to an utterly unknown stranger who may turn out to be an "undesirable citizen," or worse, would probably be considered risky in a more conservative community; but the keen anxiety of the American small college to enroll students of any kind at all seems to engender in them a most wonderful "charity towards all men," which ought to go far towards reassuring the timid or bashful who might otherwise hesitate to knock at the door of the temple of knowledge.

In examining the merits of one college or a hundred, the first point one would naturally have in mind is the individual and corporate efficiency of the teaching Staff. To quote the words of one of our calendars: "The engine is the soul of the boat—the soul of the College is the Faculty. The final appraisalment of any educational institution must rest upon the practical efficiency of the teaching force."

This is the prelude to an "appraisement" of their own staff, as follows: "In the case of———College, many of these men have been of marked, and some of extraordinary, mental gifts. Almost without exception they have been cultured Christian gentlemen, of rare social qualities, forming with the social atmosphere for which———has been justly famed a centre of influence upon impressionable young men which, apart from all questions of academic attainments, has justified the existence of the College."

One's first impression, on reading this, naturally is that this is an absolutely unique opportunity to come in contact with an unusual concentration of virtue and intellect. But the perusal of a large number of calendars reveals the astonishing fact that practically all these small colleges have faculties composed exclusively of cultured Christian gentlemen of high mentality and that it is the exception which would be unusual. Here for instance, are almost the identical words from another several hundred miles away: "The professors are, without exception, Christian gentlemen. In many cases they are teachers in the Sunday Schools of their respective churches."

Pondering on this agreeable fact one is led to the conclusion that the noticeable lack of cultured Christian gentlemen in various other walks of life is due to the concentration of these desirable members of society in the Faculties of the small colleges; and one may suspect that if he should happen to meet a professor who is lacking in culture, in godliness, or in gentility, that professor may at once be set down as belonging to one of the larger universities.

In many of the catalogues this general guarantee is buttressed as it were by complete biographies, which not only enable the enquirer to follow the Professor's career with tiresome minuteness but also serve to pad out the calendar in a most satisfactory manner. Beyond revealing the names of a number of remote and unsuspected educational institutions they seem to have no other purpose. I append a couple of specimens taken absolutely at random which serve to show

the inspiring nature of these documents: James F.———
 A.M., Business Manager and Professor of Biology and Geology. (A. B., Bell College, '84; A. M. Add Ran Christian University '96; Graduate Student, Vanderbilt University, '85-'86; Founder of Grayson College, '86; Professor Mathematics, *ibid.*, '86-'94; Professor Natural Science, *ibid.*, '94-'04; Vice-President, and President, *ibid.*; Business Manager and Treasurer, and Professor of Biology and Geology Texas Christian University, '04——): Edith———
 A.B., Professor of Latin. A.B., Dakota Wesleyan University, 1902; Ph. B., DePauw University, 1902. Graduate Student University of Chicago, Summer Term, 1905; Instructor in English, Dakota Wesleyan University, 1906-1907; Professor of Latin, 1907. They are in many instances embellished with portraits of their subjects, a practice which merely results in the support of St. Augustine's sorrowful admission that as far as outward looks are concerned the ungodly usually have the advantage of the elect.

A study of the topics taught by these highly qualified persons cannot but add to the respect already inspired by the biographies, portraits and college guarantee, for it reveals a many-sidedness of intellect as surprising and admirable as it is usually supposed to be rare. What, for instance, can be said of a man equal to being professor of Logic and of General Metaphysics, and also of Latin, Greek, and English; or of another who is professor of Ethics, Metaphysics, and Evidences of Religion; or of a third who handles simultaneously Latin, Greek, English, German, and Christian Doctrine; a fourth who is responsible for English, Ancient History, Declamation, Doctrine, and Arithmetic; a fifth who combines English, Ancient History, Latin and book-keeping? Or a President who, in addition to his Presidential duties, takes care of Spanish, Foreign Missions, and "The Southern Mountaineers" (whatever this last may signify); or of another President who finds time to be professor of Latin, Higher Mathematics, Natural Science, and Christianity? The holding of two chairs at once is so

common as to be hardly out of the usual. Certainly anyone who has ever done any professorial work will at once recognize that these are no ordinary mortals.

Again, how far beyond the reach of the humdrum Canadian College, and how alluring to the ear and the imagination are the titles of many of the members of these Faculties. Who would not wish to be "Professor of the Art of Public Discourse" or "Instructor in National Dances," a "Professor of Interpretation," or a "Professor of Politics." The position of "Adviser of Women" is one which a nervous man might well hesitate at; but "Instructor in Swine Husbandry" sounds a useful personage, as does the "Associate Professor of Woodwork." The "Lecturer on Arrested Development" would be welcome in some preparatory classes, no doubt, while the students of the "Professor of Diplomacy" ought to have little to fear when hauled up for breach of college regulations. One may surmise that the "Instructor in Charcoal" is an artist rather than a wood burner, and that the "Professor of Common Branches" has plenty to do, but how harmonious is the title of the "Professor of Paidology and Methodology," and of the "Professor of Pharmocognosy," while both the "Instructor in Emergencies" and the "Professor of Rural Art" have suggestive appellations. The "Professor of Christianity's" field is large, if vague, while the "Professor of Argumentation," the "Instructor in Spelling" (of which one university confesses to three), the "Instructor in Penmanship" have very limited and definite duties. As to the occupation of a "Professor of Graphics" I confess to being rather hazy, while even after much serious thought the duties of a "Critic Teacher" and a "Professor of Phonography" still remain a mystery to my understanding.

Among the "College Officers" one may notice a "Field Agent," a "Chief Chef," a "Director of Cuisine," a "University Messenger," a "Matron of the Dining Room," a "Press Correspondent," a "Director of the College Journal," a "Cataloguer," a "Mail-Carrier," a "Stenographer

to the President," an "Advertising Assistant," a "Superintendent of Lunch Room," a "Marshal," a "Purveyor," a "Bible Reader," a "Florist," and a "Financial Commissioner." In fact, there seems to be no position so humble or so practical in connexion with the college, whose holder may not have the felicity of seeing his name in print in front of the calendar. This has a twofold merit. It pleases the janitor, or mail-carrier, and adds a look of imposing solidity to the Faculty list itself.

The names themselves, too, are occasionally such as might be thought liable to cause a certain amount of ribald amusement among the unregenerate students (if there are any such at these institutions). Of course both our cognomina and our prænominia are thrust upon us, but, nevertheless, is it wise for the Dean of a Co-educational University whose name happens to be "Mamie Luella——" to publish the fact? One can imagine Professor (Miss) "Icie ——" to be a very cool person, and that "Cora Pearl Ivy——" is unusually charming; but "Yva," "Vestina," and "Ethyl" seem almost too romantic to be really professorial (especially the last, who is obviously unacquainted with the science of Chemistry), while to sit under Professor "Amity Bliss" ought certainly to be a happy experience for any one.

Indeed the very word "Professor" is not so simple as it looks, for while in Canada a man is a Professor (or a Lecturer, as the case may be), in America the celestial hierarchy itself is mirrored in the subdivision of the professoriate into professors, associate-professors, assistant professors, lecturers, tutors, assistants, and teaching-fellows, all claiming the title—to say nothing of emeritus professors, adjunct professors, and acting professors.

Next to the personnel of the staff, the width and depth of its teaching would naturally be of interest. As may be inferred from the selection of instructors' titles which I have already given, the width of the instruction in these colleges is nominally enormous, almost bewildering. In fact, it is by no means out of the way for a small college with a

limited staff to offer over three hundred courses. However, to select one of the comparatively conservative ones,—here is the announcement of a college whose Faculty (on paper) reaches just over forty in number:

“The College offers four courses in Anthropology and Sociology, sixteen courses in Economics and Political Science, fifteen courses in Jurisprudence. Full attention is also paid to Biology, in which twenty-one courses are given, to Chemistry, in which nineteen courses are given, and to Mathematics, Pure and Applied, in which fifty-one courses are given. The English Language and Literature is given prominence, twenty-seven courses being offered in that subject. In German, eighteen courses are offered; in French, twelve; in Spanish, three; in Latin, eighteen; in Greek, nineteen. To Philosophy and Education, twenty-eight courses are given.”

The subjects which appear to be considered as elements of culture and as fit to reasonably form part of a University education are not only endless, but peculiar in kind.

For instance, “One-half to two units of shop work may be offered. Shop work to be accepted for entrance must have been done by the student in a manual training school or as a regular industrial apprentice, under a competent instructor, in adequately equipped shops. The work may consist of bench and lathe work, pattern making, foundry work, forging, or machine shop work.” Or “Special courses can be arranged either in carding and spinning, weaving and designing, or dyeing, for any who desire to devote their whole time to textile work. The Four-year Course in Textile Industry, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Engineering.”

All these courses lead to University degrees, nevertheless, as does the Art of Talking, obviously (though perhaps with more reason) one of the most important things in life to the small College mind: e.g. “Oratory—There is no more important department of college work than that of oratory. He who would lead or influence others must be able to express effectively his own thought and feeling.”

“Argumentation (48 hours). Sophomore Year. — A course in the theory and practice of argumentation. Written and oral debating receive much attention. Text: Baker and Huntington's Principles of Argumentation.

“Department of Public Speaking.—The work of this department is sustained for effectiveness and durability in speaking. The fact is too well known that many persons spend from seven to ten years in college preparing for life's work and having neglected to educate themselves in the one thing needful, namely, expression, that is the power to impart to others that which they have received. Education that does not prepare the person for the largest usefulness is defective.”

With regard to the depth and thoroughness of the teaching, unless one is prepared to accept this kind of statement at its face value:—“Keep constantly in mind that this is a 100 per cent. institution. No student leaves our buildings with unsatisfactory lessons behind him. Every lesson, every day, is recited satisfactorily to the teacher”—it is impossible to speak without personal knowledge; but one can, by giving a schedule or so, show what these colleges claim to do, and allow the reader to make his own deductions. For this purpose I have chosen Classics as an example, because in that branch of knowledge, it seems to me, more than in any other the exact educational value and difficulty of different authors and books is already calculated and agreed upon, and therefore a syllabus in that subject is (if faithfully adhered to) more informing than one in any other course. Here, tabulated in full, are the requirements for a classical Arts degree of one University, which I have selected as a fairly representative one, since it is neither so good as some, nor as bad as others, among the hundreds available.

FRESHMAN

FALL	WINTER	SPRING
Iliad..... 5	Odyssey..... 5	Plato..... 5
Livy..... 5	De Senectute et de Am- icitia..... 5	Tacitus..... 5
University Algebra..... 5	Trigonometry..... 5	Spherical Trigonome- try and Surveying.... 5
Rhetoric..... 5	English Literature..... 5	English Literature..... 5

SOPHOMORE

Demosthenes..... 5	Thucydides..... 5	Sophocles..... 5
Horace..... 5	Horace..... 5	Plautus..... 5
Botany..... 2	Botany..... 2	Botany..... 2
Zoology..... 2	Zoology..... 2	Zoology..... 2
European History..... 3	European History..... 3	European History..... 3

One theme is required each term of this year.

JUNIOR

Logic..... 5	Psychology..... 5	Psychology..... 5
French or German..... 5	French or German..... 5	French or German..... 5
American History..... 4	American History..... 4	American History and Constitution..... 4
Literature..... 3	Literature..... 3	Literature..... 3

SENIOR

Ethics..... 5	Political Economy..... 4	Political Economy..... 4
Christian Evidences..... 4	Sociology..... 4	Sociology..... 4
History of Philosophy.... 5	History of Philosophy.. 5	Introduction to Philoso- phy..... 5
Geology..... 4	Geology..... 4	Theory of Education.... 4

The fact that Homer is disposed of in two terms, that Cicero only occupies one, that any instruction in the syntaxes, sight translation, or prose writing, let alone such things as prosody, or classical history, is conspicuous by its absence, and that during the last two years of the "Classical Course" Classics have disappeared altogether, is calculated to disturb a Canadian educator.

But to show that this is really rather a favourable example, I subjoin another—omitting, to save space, all subjects except the actually classical ones.

Latin I—Beginner's Course, including grammatical elements, translation and composition; Collar and Daniells First Year Latin and Viri Romae, or equivalent. Time requirement, five hours a week throughout one year.

Latin II—Caesar's Gallic Wars, four books completed; composition. Time requirement, four or five hours a week throughout one year.

Latin III—Cicero, six orations, including the Manilian Law; composition. Time requirement, four or five hours a week throughout one year.

Latin IV—Virgil, six books of the Aeneid. Time requirement, four or five hours a week throughout one year.

Greek, one or two years as follows:—

Greek I—White's First Greek Book or an equivalent. Time requirement, four or five hours a week throughout one year.

Greek II—Xenophon's Anabasis. Books I, II, III; Jones' Greek Prose Composition or an equivalent. Time requirement, four or five hours a week through one year.

Greek may be substituted for Latin and Latin for Greek in the requirement.

In this case, as may be seen, the student is expected to start in his first year absolutely ignorant of both languages, and gets his classical degree on less than fifth-form school-work, in addition to the privilege of substituting one language for the other if he wishes, and so eliminating either Latin or Greek at will. One has to wonder why this is called a "classical" course at all. However even this can be beaten. Here is the statement of a University which claims to take any person who has had thorough preparation in English grammar and arithmetic, and put him through all subjects of a University Course (including Classics) in two years: "The question is asked: How can your students do this work? Many elements enter into the answer. In the first place, the majority of our students are making their own way, and are ambitious to make the most of their time. Experienced teachers, each a specialist in his branch, with a definite,

clear-cut conception of what he wants to accomplish in each subject, can save students much time. Emphasis is placed upon proper methods of study in the mastery of the new branch. Each student pursues but three studies in a session, and the basal and fundamental subjects are taught everlastingly. By this intense method we gain in continuity and concentration, and consequently in mental discipline. Does it seem strange then that in forty-eight weeks a student shall have read three books of Caesar, and four of Virgil; that he shall have done more than the usual high school algebra; completed plane geometry, and the customary preparatory work in physics, botany, general history and rhetoric? Year after year, our students are doing this work, with entire satisfaction to themselves and to their instructors."

In answer to the question, "Does it seem strange," etc, asked above, one is forced to answer "yes," but the University goes on to anticipate and discount criticism as follows, by showing that they work "a year without wasteful vacations, and do not dissipate their energies in rowdyism and modern college capers. On the other hand, the colleges themselves know and admit that their students could do considerably more work with impunity. Then why impeach the good work done by those who are really in earnest? The question in reality need never have been raised. We long ago learned that we live in deeds not years. The two year course is not only equivalent in scope, and in the number of hours actually spent in study, but in method and discipline, it is superior. And it is offered upon its merits. Why spend four years of time on two years of work?"

The surroundings and general conditions under which the pursuit of that anything but coy bird the degree is carried on in these institutions and the ideals which animate them are possibly not to be discerned with great exactness from calendars, but certain main facts impress themselves conspicuously upon the reader's mind. The most prominent, perhaps, of these, is size and costliness of the buildings even

in the smallest and least known colleges, while in the aggregate they must constitute a total of wealth and expenditure positively staggering to contemplate. In fact, if imitation gothic turrets, doric gymnasiums, lofty colonial dormitories, and Carnegie libraries were guarantees either of mental discipline or scholarship, the whole land would indeed be lapped in culture from the Atlantic to the Pacific; but the text which accompanies the beautiful illustrations seems often to intimate the reverse to be the case.

The more remote and unfamous a college is, the more firmly convinced its authorities seem to be of the inevitable depravity of all mankind in every locality but their own. Every college town is an "ideal location," whether it be a big city or a lonesome village in the backblocks, which only goes to show with what uniform good fortune founders have been guided in every instance of selection. The two things which appear considered as especially helpful in the acquirement of knowledge are a stern prohibitory instinct and a fervent sectarianism; and the vigour with which the possession of these desiderata is laid claim to is sufficient to surprise if not startle the average easy-going sinner. The following illustrations will serve: "This University is an enemy to whiskey, tobacco, dirt, and debt. It believes in absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic, and makes no apology to anybody for its faith;" and, "We have already referred to the fact that students here are not in contact with the evil or disturbing influences of a larger place. On the contrary, they are mainly in an atmosphere of school life only. ——— is probably more nearly a college settlement than any other place in Illinois. The younger students have a great advantage in coming into close personal contact with the more advanced pupils and with the faculty. Our pupils largely come from Christian homes. The reflex influence, morally and intellectually, which they exert upon one another is, as a rule, safe and helpful. Parents should remember that these early influences are among the greatest benefits conferred by any school. The wisdom of simply

disciplining the mind of the unregenerate is questionable. It may be the putting of an edge on tools to be used for an evil purpose;" and, "Our students are practically free from the temptations incident to strong drink. This is not only a Prohibition town but is in fact a dry town so far as the sale of liquor is concerned. The blind tiger and all forms of illicit sale are practically unknown in this community. The Young Men's Holiness League and the Young Women's Holiness League hold weekly prayer meetings with the aim of helping every student to secure and maintain the grace of perfect love; and, thirdly, in harmony with the other student organizations is the Prohibition League, aiming to stimulate its members to study the Liquor Question in all its aspects. Regular meetings are held for study and debate." (The "in all its aspects" here seems rather farcical.) "The religious and moral influences thrown around the student at _____are of the best. The Prayer Meetings, both mid-week and Sunday evening, have a reputation that has become national, if not indeed international."

"_____ is one of the most healthful and moral towns of East Tennessee. It has seven churches and no saloon. There are no card or dancing clubs or other clubs of a like nature which divide the community into social circles and furnish occasion for waste of money and social differences."

"_____ has emptied the saloon into the gutter. No large rowdy element distracts our peace. Enough of entertainment and social gatherings to meet our normal requirements, but no disorganizing appeal for frivolity and dissipation."

"Let the public understand now that an innocent boy, fresh from home and a mother's love and care, will not have while here, as his associates in school, young men who delight in and boast of their evil and vicious habits. We are 'up in arms' against smoking, gambling, theft, lying, profanity, obscenity, and drunkenness. These vices, separately or collectively, ought to have no place in college life. We give none. When teachers overlook any one or all of these vices in a student body, it gives to vice an air 'of respect-

ability,' and only moderate indulgence will bankrupt character and fix human destiny."

Here the religious conditions as well as the location are ideal. "The religious advantages in the University are almost ideal. All of the teachers and many of the students are devout Christians, and seek to promote in the University a religious, though not a sectarian spirit."

The claim to corporate righteousness perhaps finds its culmination in this: "——— University is not a human institution only—God is in the midst of her." All one can say to this statement is to admit—if it can be done without any suspicion of irreverence—that one would rather like to hear both sides on the subject.

It would certainly seem to the uninitiated as if in such "ideal" spots, so carefully secluded from all possible taint or contingency of moral harm, and under the guidance of such a remarkable class of instructors, the students would hardly require to be hedged about with a multitude of prohibitory laws and regulations. But as a matter of fact, the opposite appears to be the case, and the calendars are all very definite on the subject, indicating that even this highly religious atmosphere does not obviate the necessity of a discipline as stern or sterner than that of a Boarding School; *e.g.* "Students shall avoid all diversions or amusements that are calculated to abstract their minds from their proper calling, or are at all doubtful in their moral tendencies. Visiting saloons or theatres or playing cards makes the student liable to punishment of one black mark for each offense, and in the case of beneficiaries also of withdrawal of support."

Prohibitions: "Defacing buildings or furniture. Using tobacco on college premises or in their rooms. The use of cigarettes in any form or any place. Linger in the halls or about the buildings. Using intoxicating liquors as a beverage. Contracting debts without the knowledge of parents or guardians. Absence from rooms after 10.30 p.m. Profanity, card playing, or gambling. Visiting saloons, pool rooms, or bowling alleys." This one is instructive: "The

student is expected to keep a clean body, a clean bed, a clean room, and clean clothes, and keep his clothes in fair repair." So is this,—“ A sufficient amount of plain and nourishing food is provided by the institution. Simple and healthful luxuries like fruit, etc., students are allowed to have in their rooms when they wish. They will not be allowed to receive boxes of food, dainties, etc., from home or from friends during term time. The only exception that will be made to this will be at Christmas, when they will be allowed to receive from home small Christmas boxes.”

This college seems to find it unsafe to leave attendance at worship to the piety of the student: “Excuse for absence from chapel or public worship must be made to the keeper of the chapel roll in writing at the first opportunity. All unexcused absences are demerits and may result in reprimand, suspension, or expulsion;” while this regulation appears to conflict with the “pursuit of happiness” guaranteed by the constitution: “It is earnestly advised that no student placed by his parents, guardian, or by the church, under our immediate supervision, associate with the other sex any further than the ordinary proprieties of life require, or form any matrimonial engagement before the completion of his studies. Neglect of this advice may become cause for discipline, and, in the case of beneficiaries, for withholding the aid of the Institution.” This same University, by the way, requires its students to rise from their beds at 5.30 a.m. Here is a pointer on the keeping of the Sabbath: “Parents and friends are earnestly requested not to visit their student relatives or friends at the College on the Sabbath. Students are not allowed to use the Sunday trains, or to visit the depot on the Sabbath.” This college extends its authority even over the vacations: “All students are subject to the discipline of the University for immoral or unworthy conduct during absence from the institution.”

In fact, of them all, there is only one, Huron College, which seems inclined to trust to the decency of its own students: “Only students with an earnest purpose are desired.

For such, few regulations are necessary." Some Colleges display anxiety lest they should have difficulty with their accounts. "Students in——— University, or all who expect to enter ——— University, or any department thereof, now, or next fall, will not be admitted till all bills due are fully paid to ———University, or to any other institution where they may have previously attended." One even goes so far as to make prospective students sign a definite "Contract" before admission; and this, in spite of the fact that certificates of good moral character are universally called for,—except in the case of a single institution which proudly disclaims the need: "This school educates boys and girls. We do not want boys and girls forced to attend the——— University. We expect them to be willing and glad to come. No 'certificate of good moral character' is demanded of anybody before they can enroll with us. The 'bad boy' is not desired, however, as this school is in no sense a reformatory as far as conduct is concerned." This fear of being thought a "reformatory," by the way, is not confined to this college. Here is another: "The College welcomes all students that are earnest and law-abiding. It does not admit those that have had trouble at other schools, nor does it desire young people that are sent to be reformed, for it is a college and not a reformatory. Students that are found guilty of intemperance, vice, or other immoralities, are sent away promptly, to safeguard the other students from their influence. It is presumed that no student will be sent to the College that can not be trusted with the expenditure of the small amount of money that is needed at ——— and so the College authorities cannot undertake to keep the accounts of students."

This segregation of young men and women in "ideal" surroundings and under the safeguard of many prohibitory rules and regulations seems to result in an intangible and precious entity, known as "college spirit." Here are some instructive details as to its manufacture. "The first thing the ——— Freshman gets is an acquaintance with the

Sophomores, and the second thing—due in great measure to the first—is class spirit, out of which grows college spirit very soon. By a series of “scraps” and class contests in the first two weeks of college life the newcomers are welded into an organic whole. Before they reach the great Banner Scrap in the middle of the year, the “Frosh” are a well-drilled body, each man ready to make sacrifices for the whole class and equally ready to devote the whole class to the good of the College.”

But here is a “spirit” of a very different brand, which it would surely be a privilege to experience: “The greatest and best inheritance of ——— is its ‘college spirit.’ It is not of the kind which delights to express itself in rowdyism and profanity, but rather in a clean, pure, healthful moral tone which irresistibly permeates the whole student body. The very air of ——— breathes purity and high-toned Christian character;” and another, which seems fairly familiar, “It is genuinely American in spirit. The American flag is floated every day of the scholastic year and students are taught to honor it as the symbol of their nation. The greatness and the mission of the nation are duly emphasized and the cardinal principles of American freedom are steadfastly believed.” Here is a burst of song from the cover of a college calendar, which even, if it does leave something to be desired in clearness and grammar, may reasonably be supposed to represent the “spirit” of that University:

“Free as roam our winds the prairie,
Thought and speech here unconfined,
Free as eaglets round their eyrie
Soar proud offspring of the mind.”

Speaking of college “spirit” leads one naturally to consider the ideals which guide the teachers in their teaching and the students in their studying. What is the motive force? Why do they want degrees? This is a question the answer to which is almost impossible to give in a definite

and direct fashion from the printed documents, without a large personal acquaintance with the young men and women we are speaking of; but a good deal of information may be gleaned even from the calendars indirectly, by studying the prize lists and advertising matter of the various colleges; for the first show what attributes of mind are held as especially worthy of reward, and the second gives an insight into the class of people expected to respond to the particular attractions on which stress is laid. A comparison of the prize lists of these smaller colleges reveals the unsuspected fact that the thing most rewarded, the capacity which will bring its possessor the most fame and collegiate recognition, is *talk*.

I am perfectly safe in saying that there are as many prizes offered for oratory, debate, declamation, or argumentation as are given in any other art or science, and in some colleges there are more rewards for this capacity of talking than for all other subjects together. The thing which appears to come next in favour and to be rewarded by a large number of prizes is Biblical proficiency, and then, a bad third, comes English composition and essay-writing on literary and historical subjects.

Here is a sample prize list which again is neither the best nor the worst of those at hand: *Gold Medal*, Best Oration. *Books to value of \$25*, Best Declamation. *Prize of Silver Dollars*, Essay on Science of Government (Presented by Hon. W. J. Bryan). *Prize*, Best Daily Scripture Report. *2 Prizes*, Best Declamations by Freshmen. *Prize*, Proficiency in Bible Study. *Medal*, Music (Piano). *Prize (Money)*, Reading. *2 Prizes (Money)*, Historical Essays. *Prize (\$50.00 in Gold)*, Best Oration. *Prize*, Music (Vocal). *Prize*, English Literature. *3 Prizes (Money)*, Essays on Missionary Work (Written Argumentation).

In fact the number of instructors in oratory and argumentation given in the Faculty lists (one college has three, while managing to get along with one professor for both Latin and Greek), the time allotted to the subject in the time tables, and the disproportionate number of rewards for it, go to

indicate that the most notable ideal of the small college is that its graduate shall be able to talk loudly, long, and fluently. If he combines with this a knowledge of Biblical texts bearing on his particular religious community's point of view and a fierce ardour for prohibition, based on what he has been told about the subject, he seems to be on the high road to what success his *alma mater* has to offer.

Education or the improvement of the mind is not a thing which is displayed in the calendars and advertisements as being worthy of attainment in itself. It is the financial aspect of the case, on which the writers lavish their most seductive arguments, *e.g.* "Other things being equal, a college training will prove to be highly beneficial in the way of increasing the earning power of the individual." This appeal *ad hominem* is put still more plainly in this: "Does it pay to educate? What are you worth? As a servant, \$2 x 52 weeks—\$140 per year. As a day laborer, \$1.50 x 200 days—\$300 per year. As a farm hand, \$30 x 8 months—\$240 per year. What may you be worth? As a teacher, from \$500 per year up. As a business man from \$1,000 per year up. As a scientific farmer from \$1,500 per year up. Conclusion: Why not increase your value? Education only will do it." But the plea is often advanced with more literary ability—as in this: "College men draw better salaries than other men and succeed better in business undertakings. Requests come from the important commercial houses of the country every year, asking for college graduates, those who do not go to college refuse a gift of some of the best things in the world and close for themselves the open doors of opportunity." This is a slightly different form: "It secures acquaintance, friendships, and common interests with the most intelligent, most cultured, and most efficient of the land, those who are to be the leaders in the thought and activities of the next generation—the only aristocracy worth belonging to."

When a young man has been convinced it will "pay," then of course the next thing is to get him to the right college.

Here is one direct and striking little circular, of which the English is almost as remarkable as the artlessness of its sentiments: "——— University has played a star role on the stage of America education for one half a century and now the curtain rises upon a new act in the drama of the fortune of one of the oldest schools in the country. With the ascendancy of the Rev. —— into the executive chair and the entrance of the institution as a portion of the free public school system of ——, the future has a brighter aspect than for many years.

The announcement that Mr. —— has been chosen to the presidency of the institution has been met with the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the student body and the hearty approval of the interested public. He is the youngest man ever serving as president of one of the oldest schools in the land. The contrast is striking.

Mr. —— is:

A young man with diplomas from three colleges. A young man with a vision. A young man with boundless enthusiasm. A young man with twentieth century push. A young man with almost a mania for system.

———University is:

An old school with a wonderful history. A school embodying the spirit of its founder Alfred ———. A school with more active teachers among its graduates than any other. A school where the four years work is done in two years. A school whose graduates from its teacher's course receive state certificates. A school where expenses are lower than any other school. A school where work is the motto."

Inducements are held out alluringly to the prospective patron such as: "No entrance examinations required; credit given for work done in approved high schools, Junior and other Normal Schools. Ranks high in College spirit and Athletics. A strong Christian environment. Students admitted at any time. Diplomas admit to postgraduate department of leading universities all over the country.

Located at University Place, a clean, ideal college city, population 3,000. Table board at from \$2.25 to \$2.50 per week, other expenses low." Again, "Faculty—Eighteen cultured, earnest, successful teachers. They are here for the sake of the work, not merely for the salaries paid. Courses—The strongest college preparatory course in the West. College courses equal to the best in the East. Musical, Normal and Commercial courses of the very highest standards. Equipment—A college building unsurpassed in the West. Other equipment equally good. Spirit—Christian, earnest. The faculty and student seek the best things for spirit, mind and body. Cost—Moderate. Many students earn their way. They have no money to spend foolishly."

It is unnecessary to instance the "ideal locality" argument, as we have already referred to that, but there are other temptations presented, as: "No distinction is made between the student who has wealth and the student who lacks wealth;" or: "The ———— College student is a youth of high honour. President Kilgo says: 'During these fourteen years of my presidency of ———— College I have had under my direction hundreds of students. I have not had a half dozen who told me a falsehood.'" The implication of course is, that if you are not at this college, you will be surrounded by fellow-students who are liars and not of high honour. Even the inner man is not neglected: "The school provides a table unexcelled in any school in the country."

Finally there is the argument that is expected to be the "clincher," the exhibition of the college as an employment agency, pledged to provide its men with salaried positions, *e.g.* "Demand for our graduates over five times more than can be filled;" or even still more alluringly: "Our graduates are sought for the most lucrative and responsible positions. One of them handled over a million dollars for his firm in one year." In a later part of this same circular, this college bewails unfair competition in this respect, and repudiates with scorn the claim of other colleges to do the same thing: "Many worthy persons have been induced by

false promises of good positions, and by other deceptive means, to attend pretentious and wholly irresponsible institutions with high sounding titles, who would have saved both their time and money if they had fully investigated the claims of such so-called colleges as compared with those of real merit and known financial responsibility." This is a particularly choice example for the competitive spirit.

There is also the appeal to the parent, quite an art, as may be seen: "Parents and guardians can send their sons, daughters and wards to ——— College with perfect assurance that all their interests, financial, educational and moral, will be carefully guarded, and that no effort will be spared to render their stay with us exceedingly pleasing and profitable." Sometimes it is combined with useful information: "Under ordinary circumstances, parents ought not to yield to the plaintive appeals of a homesick boy. Three weeks' acquaintance will usually kill the disease. The school protects itself against this malady by the \$88 advance payment on expenses by every new boarding pupil upon matriculation. No part of this \$88 payment will be refunded." One is bound to admit that this concluding very businesslike threat seems to suggest that a number of "homesick boys" have already eloped from this particular "ideal" spot.

Here is an unusually complete and inimitable example of peddler's patter as applied to scholastic purposes: "The question shall our Children go to College? It would seem that every parent would quickly say yes to this; with only one exception. That is when they must say, we are not able to afford it. But it is not so. Are you able to send? There are many so, who through misunderstanding or indifference allow their children or compel them to do without the education. If you are one read below. Are you unable to send? There are hundreds, yea, thousands of boys and girls with less chance than yours, who get a college education. Don't give up. Look into the matter."

Here are just a few odds and ends culled at random. On the cover of a Calendar: "Look Inside. There is something

New. You will be Interested. Look at the Pictures." Here is an example of an "earnest appeal," "Failure now means immediate return to the old order of affairs, deadly discouragement of faculty, the shattered life-hopes of the noble few who have borne with Christ-like patience the heavy load of annual budgets. Failure now is ignominy. Too long has the finger of scorn been pointed at———'s visionary dreams! Too long has procrastination and lack of energetic initiative blasted its bright visions and buried it in debt, derision and discouragement. Awake thou that sleepest!" And: "We appeal to every son and daughter of —— and every friend to whom this catalogue may come, to use it for the determining of some young man or woman to be in———."

No one who has read thus far can doubt that there is a rich mine of instruction to be explored in this small-college literature, of which I have only, so-to-speak, been able to indicate the location. These calendars should rightly be read in their entirety in order to grasp thoroughly their spirit and meaning. This enquiry which I have—all too slightly—made, would go to show that among a considerable number of American small colleges ideals and conditions are in existence and certain methods in practice which are, I believe, so far, foreign to the Canadian educator. Whether they are things worthy of imitation and their product likely to be of value, or whether the possible infection of a Canadian college with them should be avoided, is a question on which I have no authority to decide, or even desire to indicate an answer.

By allowing these colleges to tell their own story, I have at any rate avoided any suspicion of misrepresentation, and it will probably be conceded that at least one fact stands out as a result, namely that a judicious conservatism and a certain amount of enquiry is not altogether out of place in appraising the intellectual or social standing guaranteed by an American degree.

JOHN VALENT

ON SOME DEFINITIONS OF POETRY

POETRY has as many definitions as it has readers. It all depends on what each reader seeks or what he brings. For different men, each keenly appreciating poetry, may differ absolutely on the ground of its appeal to them. There is a long series between the man who likes it because it is a nice noise, and the man who wonders why it was not written in prose. There is an excellent story told by Aubrey de Vere. He tells how Tennyson said to him: "Read the exquisite songs of Burns: in shape each has the perfection of the berry; in light the radiance of the dew-drop. You forget for its sake those stupid things, his serious pieces." The same day Wordsworth also praised Burns, even more vehemently than Tennyson had done, as the great genius who had brought poetry back to nature. But he ended: "Of course I refer to his serious efforts; those foolish little amatory songs of his one has to forget." Such divergences are no reason why we should give up the analysis, but rather the reverse. There is special interest in finding the essential elements in what is as variously defined as it is widely felt. To those to whom poetry does not appeal you can in the last resort say little. There was truth of wide application in the retort of the habitual drunkard to the successful temperance lecturer: "I am convinced by all you say about getting drunk; the only thing I'm not convinced of is that I don't like it."

To those who love poetry, it brings a wide range of pleasure, from the thrill of joy at the impression of beauty to the reasoned appreciation which is the reward of long experience. The former is the essential tribute which the art demands: the latter the perfect balance of passion and

judgement. But the two may be present in any proportion, or they may be completely divorced, and artist and critic be poles asunder.

Like all the arts, poetry is found in specimens good, bad, and indifferent, serious or trivial, on scale small or large. There are two definitions of art from complementary sides, which poetry at its best fulfils,—on the productive side that of John Addington Symonds: “a presentation of the inner human being, his thought and feeling, through the medium of beautiful symbols,”—on the receptive side that of Ruskin: “the presentation of noble grounds for noble emotions.” The creative activity of the poet at his best thus satisfies his impulse for self-expression and at the same time satisfies the aesthetic needs of his readers; “through the medium of beautiful symbols” it provides for both poet and reader a stimulus of noble emotion and a pleasurable outlet for its expression.

Poetry has always been associated with the direct expression of emotion, as distinct from its reasoned expression. Conceive it in a primitive state. Its measures are those of the feet moving in expressive dance, leaping in triumph, tripping in joy, lagging in grief. Its words, chosen in excitement, take on a new form, different from that of ordinary speech, at once more picturesque and more musical. With the dawning consciousness of history, that is, of a communal process whose records are not to be forgotten, it is found that the rhythmic form, the association with music and dance, makes memory easier. The swinging pulse, the regulated time and tune with their constant repetitions, tend to become automatic—a ready instrument for recalling past emotions and thoughts. Thus is renewed the inspiration of heroic deeds: thus is celebrated the honour of the gods: thus is recalled the wisdom of the elders: or captured again some fugitive vision of natural beauty—as when the Indians caught the “laughing” of those waters in Acadia, or when some old Homeric singer surprised the “rosy fingers” of the dawn as they “opened the gates

of day." Thus the songs enshrine the treasury of experience, both in form and content; in the history they record, and in the art with which they express it.

The art of poetry rose in the giving of a form at once beautiful and memorable to experience that seemed to call for preservation. Poetry in its origin is an emotional experience which upon analysis yields these elements:—the memory which recalls a certain state of excitement, the image in which that state is illuminated and finds outward shape, and the music in which it is sung. The music comprises first, the marking of the time, the character of the rhythm (which depends ultimately on the footing in the dance), and second the arrangement of sounds for pleasing effect, notably in the recurrence of certain combinations of vowels and consonants which make rhyme, alliteration, refrain, and so on. The instrument on which this music is played is the human voice, the loveliest and most delicate of them all.

Recitation is a musical art of high order, the voice rising and falling, and changing in quality with every gradation of feeling called up by the words. Even now, when reading has all but ousted recitation, the pleasure of poetry is largely auditory. As our eyes follow the lines in silence, associations of hearing are set up in our minds, even associations of speech in our vocal organs, and the beauty of the resulting impression is largely that of remembered voices. The ideal associations of words are far more complex. Every word that carries meaning has its history, its wealth of warm humanity. In ordinary use words have an extremely abstract character. Their value for thought and communication depends upon this fact. They are symbols or formulae, expressing sets of relations between things not at the moment present in the mind themselves, though an effort can recall them and fill the formula with concrete meaning. The hidden content escapes us in the brief moment the word takes to cross the field of consciousness. But the artist plays upon it as upon his instrument. One word after

another startles us into attention, and in the pause the word rests awhile in clear consciousness, and all its clinging train of associations crowd into our minds. Choosing his words carefully with a view to this effect upon himself and his readers, the poet makes of each a chord; every note with its attendant harmonics thrilling along the appropriate range of emotion.

In this fresh appeal by the use of unfamiliar association of familiar things lies the justification of the claim so often made that poetry makes all things new. Where the associations are based on true, sincerely perceived analogies, poetry may indeed, as Pelletier (of the Pleiade) said, "give novelty to old things, authority to new, beauty to the rude, light to the obscure, faith to the doubtful, to all things their true nature." It may even go some way towards justifying the beautiful extravagance of Ludwig von Börne, which Heine put at the head of his *Harzreise*: "Life would be an ebb without a flow if we had not poetry. She gives us what nature refuses, golden days that never darken, a spring whose bloom can never fade, a joy whose heaven is cloudless, a youth that cannot die." "In poems," says Coleridge, "genius produces the strongest impressions of novelty, whilst it rescues the most admitted truths from the impotence caused by the very circumstance of their universal admission."

Coleridge has stated the facts more soberly in this sentence, but has not stated in it the specific difference of poetry which is hidden behind the shining words of Börne. As he himself adds, it is equally true of philosophy. It is simply part of the prerogative of genius, which is "to carry on the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood; to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with the appearance which every day for perhaps forty years had rendered familiar." But it is a specific difference of poetry that its habitual mode of producing this effect of freshness is by calling back the picturesque value of words; a value of the same kind, though enormously developed, as they

have in primitive and childish language; to call back the sharpness of outline which the very width of meaning has obscured. It fills up the content of a familiar word with a brimming wealth of imagery for which ordinary intercourse has no need, which indeed would make it impossible. Metaphor, therefore, which has its use in prose to arrest attention and call up the mental picture, is the habitual method of poetry.

The poet sees things standing out from an intricate context of likes and unlikes, not alone nor poorly accompanied. Or if indeed alone, then sharp against the abyss which gives their loneliness its meaning. Such is Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," a soul that has been "all, all alone, alone on a wide, wide sea:"

So lonely 'twas, that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be.

Such, too, seemed Milton in his blindness, to the imagination of Mr. Stephen Phillips:

God gave thee back original night, His own
Tremendous canvas, large, and blank, and free,
Where at each thought a star flashed out and sang.

Sensitiveness to these images is one of the essential gifts of the poet mind—the other is the gift of song. The poet's choice from his store of images is dictated by the mood in which he writes. Shelley looking out upon life sees it as "a dome of many coloured glass" that "stains the white radiance of eternity." Arnold in "Dover Beach" sees it as a battlefield, "where ignorant armies clash by night"; in "Marguerite," as an archipelago whose islands ache with longing:

O night our margs meet again!
while for ever between them flows,
The unplumb'd, salt, estranging sea.

Mr. Roberts looking at the falling leaves in autumn, has a vision of the God at whose breath they fall, and sees world after world following the same career:

Lightly He blows, and countless as the falling
Of snow by night upon a solemn sea,
The ages circle down beyond recalling,
To strew the billows of eternity.
He sees them drifting through the spaces dim,
And leaves and ages are as one to Him.

Mr. Thomas Hardy looking into the woods sees the blind struggle of the trees for existence, and is a little reconciled to a world a little less blind; for,

There at least smiles abound,
There discourse trills around,
There, now and then, are found
Life-loyalties.

There is hardly a poem written which will not in nearly every line illustrate this method; not an image I have quoted but calls up a score of others; not one that does not leave its fresh picture of the world in our memory. The poetry of Francis Thompson will illustrate it to its fullest abundance. A bitter fate had driven his *Hound of Heaven* along the old path of the sinner who flees from the face of God, forgetting in guilt and shame that He is love. When the psalmist fled that way, he saw with quiet, clear-sighted surrender, that all the spaces and depths were wide open to the eyes of doom. But Thompson's mind is aflame with images of the speed, the intricacy, the futility of the flight.

I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;
I fled Him, down the arches of the years;
I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from Him, and under running laughter.
Up vistaed hopes I sped;
And shot, precipitated

Adown Titanic glooms of chasmèd fears,
 From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.
 But with unhurrying chase,
 And unperturbèd pace,
 Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
 They beat—and a Voice beat
 More instant than the feet—
 “All things betray thee, who betrayest Me.”

Most metaphors are of vision as are most of our experiences in whole or in part, directly or by ready association. So Tennyson's *Queen Mary* hears her own voice as

A voice of shipwreck on a shoreless sea.

Note the added power of the negative by the vivid contrast of two images. Here there is not even the comfort of the shore, and that negative brings with poignant force into our minds the difference between the voice that calls because it must, though there be no help, and the voice that cries “Land ho! land!”

Sometimes the sound of poetry calls up the rolling or the rippling of the waters. Thus to Coleridge,

In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column,
 In the pentameter aye falling in melody back.

To the same poet the rustling of dry sails after long calm breaks upon fevered ears with the tenderest memories of nature's sweetest sounds.

Yet still the sails made on
 A pleasant noise till noon,
 A noise like of a hidden brook
 In the leafy month of June,
 That to the sleeping woods all night
 Singeth a quiet tune.”

Soft music in weather-beaten ears brought to Tennyson's mind the fall of “petals from blown roses on the grass” or the lapse of “tired eyelids over tired eyes.”

Sometimes the image is a long simile drawn out in detail as in Mrs. Browning's wonderful and passionate story of the making of a poet in "A Musical Instrument." Or picture upon picture may be piled up with cumulative effect, as in Tennyson's "In Memoriam":—

Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star.

Every image brings the feeling of a different kind of strain and stress, building up a strong sense of determined effort, of long struggles before victory.

The quality and quantity of the imagery varies naturally with the temperament and experience of the poet, and the range of music in which the visions are sung is equally great. But, in whatever form and quantity, they remain the essentials. As poor Verlaine said, we must have music, "music before all things, music again and always." And if we have not imagination, to quote the same poet's incomparable gibe, "all the rest is—literature!"

Poetry then has many styles at its command for the expression of its impulse of artistic creation. More fortunate than Browning's "Abt Vogler," it can build palaces, "whose beauty time shall spare, though a breath made them." Like him again it can rest in its "C major" of prose. But the "common chord" of the common key may take any emotional colour from its context. It may for example reflect the cheerful calm of a pedestrian muse, the apathy of weakness, or despair, or defeat, or the quiet of hard-won peace after storm. Two famous examples will suffice, one from the last speech of Hamlet. At the end of this we have a few lines of elaborate beauty, swan-song of the bewitching music that was dying from the lips of the young singer Shakespeare as well as from the lips of Hamlet;

Absent thee from felicity awhile
 And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
 To tell my story.

Then follow the hurried common-place instructions, and then, "The rest is silence," entirely prosaic words, but expressing a tragic break on two sides, what might still have been said, and all that has gone before. "Rest" and "silence" call up not only their quiet selves, but their turbulent opposites: the din of voices that had clamoured in Hamlet's brain, overwhelmed and all but overthrown him, surging in his ears like waters of drowning. But now it is over: like poor Guinevere his spirit passes,

To where beyond these voices there is peace.

And in answer to Horatio's prayer "flights of angels sing him to his rest." The second I take from Milton. Milton showed great art in the closing lines of his longest poems, clinching their great themes in quiet words that, away from their context, have little to distinguish them from prose. Samson ends his Titan struggles in "calm of mind, all passion spent": and Christ, very human again now that the strife no longer rages round him,

unobserved

Home to his mother's house private returned.

But most wonderful and flawless is the close of "Paradise Lost," when with all the resplendent art set aside, the language sinks into its C major as we turn from the vision of the wrath of God to that of humanity fallen: fallen indeed yet not without hope, and as humanity is, indomitable still:

The world was all before them where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
 They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow
 Through Eden took their solitary way.

It is when we come to such lines after reading the poem, with imaginations kindled and hearts deeply stirred, that

we hear their true music. We realize that the music is a vital part of the poet's vision, for the scene he saw sang itself in solemn music in his mind. And as we catch the music we, too, see the vision of the great struggle over the soul of man, that same struggle painfully worked out in history, the pathos of human life in the poet and in his readers, all the loves and labours that came from that Fall. This is no invention of the critic. In both the literal and the musical sense, it is the "burden" of these last two lines.

The emotion, the mental picture, the music—these are only aspects of the total mental state in which we hold the impression as we read or write. They are form and content, inseparable except by analysis. It is perfectly true that another Shakespeare might have moved us as deeply by a prose "Hamlet." Indeed there are parts of "Hamlet" which are either prose or verse as you will. Which is this?

"Why, look you, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me, you would seem to know my stops. You would pluck the heart of my mystery." He who wrote "Henry V" could have given us "Hamlet" in another music. But we should have missed the appeal to a specific pleasure, the rhythm of the pulse in the delight of song, the easy lingering in the memory. There might conceivably be little loss, though prose can hardly bear the same weight of imagery; but it would certainly be different in its effect upon us. To realize this we may look at the results of abstracting music and matter. Clearly poetic music apart from poetic matter does not amount to much. We soon tire of listening to a language meaningless to us; and though the cadence of a beautiful voice may postpone our boredom it will surely lure us on to sleep. We may listen content for a few lines like this:

All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the momeraths outgabe.

or to sonorous lines 'that bleat articulate monotony' such as,

Miss Ramoth Gilead, take Jehoiakim,
Let Abner by and spot Melchisedek;

but we quickly wonder what it is, and lose interest unless we catch the excellence of the nonsense, and so take a pleasure which the mere music could not give. Lewis Carroll has gone far to kill one heresy in the defining of poetry.

Minor poetry, of course, is full of tunes which overrun the sense, and equally of course there are countless poor little tunes "jingles of cells and dells and dingles" and many a banjo "tinka tinka tinka tink" as Mr. Kipling has the best of reasons for saying. I recall a critique of a batch of imperialist verse, which began, "patriotic poetry can be played upon any instrument from an orchestra to a penny whistle." But many little lyrics, with a simple emotion and simple imagery come like snatches of sheer music. One of the purest forms of poetic pleasure is to be got from their clear flute-note, or gentle spinnet-melody. Many dainty verse-forms are the finest bric-a-brac, if they have not quite the fresh "dew" which Coleridge saw upon the poems of Wordsworth. Such are the poems of J. B. Tabb, or Austin Dobson's perfect triolet,

Rose kissed me today,
Will she kiss me tomorrow?
Let it be as it may
Rose kissed me today.
But the pleasure gives way
To a savour of sorrow:
Rose kissed me today,
Will she kiss me tomorrow?

It is very difficult to set a strong emotion flowing along so tiny and artificial a channel, and few poets have attempted it. That it is not impossible Robert Bridges has proved.

When first we met we did not guess
That Love could be so hard a master;
Of more than common friendliness
When first we met we did not guess.

Who could foresee this sore distress,
 This irretrievable disaster?
 When first we met we did not guess
 That Love could be so hard a master.

In its stately way, the chastened, restrained passion of this makes an appeal almost as poignant as Burns' "Had we never loved sae kindly." But the one is the first wild cry of the broken heart and the other is the quiet bitterness of disillusioned meditation.

Mr. Swinburne has given us many examples of a magic tune which will carry us on till we cease to attend to the sense, yielding to the narcotic influence of the music. Here is such an one illustrated by two verses from Lionel Johnson's "To Morfydd,"

A voice on the winds,
 A voice on the waters,
 Wanders and cries,
 Oh what are the winds
 And what are the waters?
 Mine are your eyes.

.....
 And down the night winds
 And down the night waters
 The music flies.

Oh what are the winds
 And what are the waters?
 Cold be the winds
 And wild be the waters—
 Mine are your eyes.

In spite of its undeniable beauty a poem of this kind must be very short to avoid being wearisome. It is safe to say that, if after a few of these verses, one who was reading aloud went on with nonsense verses which carried the same tune, very few listeners would notice the difference at once. Like all arts poetry has its abnormalities and exaggerations. Few poets escape the mood which Shake-

spere ascribes to his Armado, "whom the music of his own vain tongue doth ravish like enchanting harmony,"—even Shakespeare himself, like Dr. Johnson, will sometimes "make his little fishes talk like whales."

It is clear then that the music without the matter is very much of an abstraction. We will not even say that certain metres are intrinsically suited to certain moods, lest a great poet rise and use our dance measure for a dead march, as Tom Hood did in his "Bridge of Sighs." The paths of literary criticism are strewn with the corpses of such judgements. Nor will we attempt to fix any point at which poetry becomes prose or prose poetry. Both are voices of the same humanity; and each may by design, or accident, or misfortune, use the method of the other. It must be remembered that poetry has no monopoly of creative fiction. Prose has constantly extended the range of its expressiveness, both emotional and musical. Still it will be noticed that the great prose writers always carefully avoid the more obvious rhythms of verse, and deliberately break up that regularity which is essential to verse-music. Interesting controversies have raged over the language of poetry as distinct from prose. Wordsworth raised the question by declaring that, "there neither is nor can be any essential difference between the language of prose and metrical composition," and he wrote the majority of the *Lyrical Ballads*, "to ascertain how far the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes of society is adapted to the purposes of poetic pleasure." He knew how the imaginative and musical needs of poetry had resulted in the creation of a kind of dialect by certain poets. He had seen this degenerate into frigid convention designed at all costs to make the language of poetry different from that of prose. He might have illustrated this and refuted his theory from his early poems, fine as they are. He had been capable of making a beggar woman caught in a storm exclaim: "Now, ruthless Tempest, launch thy deadliest dart!" language certainly not of the lower nor even of the middle classes.

But now with a great courage he simplified his diction by making it absolutely sincere. He struck back to the natural vividness of language, which had indeed much in common with that of the peasantry, but far less than in his youthful enthusiasm he had imagined. He had less warrant perhaps than Tennyson who heard the fishwife cry to the sea, "Ah! I hates to see thee shew thy white teeth." We may note that Tennyson having no illusion about peasant speech made far better use of it than Wordsworth ever could. But so far as the theory was concerned Wordsworth refuted it himself. In the few poems where he used prose speech the exigencies of rhyme and metre made him dislocate the order of words, which is as vital a change as that of vocabulary. Coleridge's parody was not unfair,

To you a morning good, good sir, I wish.

You sir I thank, to you the same wish I.

But there is no need to labour the point; for nearly every page of Wordsworth's contribution to the wonderful volume which begins with the "Ancient Mariner" and ends with "Tintern Abbey," exhibits the masterly choice of the true artist. He admitted himself in the preface of 1800 that this language must be "purified from what appear to be its vital defects, from all lasting and rational causes of dislike or disgust." In truth the modification of prose, made as he says "under the influence of excitement" and "for the purpose of poetic pleasure" is dictated by the poet's perception of their imaginative and musical association. The poet's passion urges him to the best expression of his emotion of which he is capable; while his artistic self-restraint will discipline his passion, giving distinction and finality to his choice of words. For without the due balance of these there is no true style, no true art. Naturally enough, for all human life pulses with their stress. It is thus that the poet's thought glows or burns through his speech. As old Longinus said, "the beauty of words

is in truth the light of thought." Matter apart from music proves in its turn to be just as much an abstraction from the unity of poetry

The extreme of the formalist heresy sees in poetry only the form: the other extreme sees what is by abstraction called "meaning". This is mainly that of the moralists, who only suffer art when and because it tends to edification. But it misses the truth by as much as the former. In fact, of the two aspects of poetry it is the form which contains the differentia, though of course it cannot exist apart. In form indeed lies the vital difference, for this is what makes it live in the memory. The stock of good thoughts is greater than that of lovely images, in the sense that they can be endlessly reminded. They may be expressed by almost any one at any time: the latter are the visions of a few. Admirable sentiments perish by the million every day, melting ever into new forms. Good counsel like good seed dies to bear fruit. Beautiful images are rarer visitants, making a longer stay, yet no less fruitful; for once seen the memory and inspiration of them abides. Most good minor poetry is composed of sentiments which command agreement and respect—for a generation, perhaps, enthusiasm which may linger on in some conservative stratum of society, keeping alight a little lamp of imagination. But it fades into the commonplace, and burns no more at last upon our vision, nor rings in our ears any more. It follows unnoticed in the track of "many a splendid shade" which

gives up its light unto eternity,
As stars dissolve at day in heaven's resplendency.

There are few more fascinating departments of the history of literature than the study of this moralist abstraction. To see and understand, for example, the distrust of Plato, of the early fathers, of the Puritans; to see how the mediæval imagination, unable any longer to trample Art underfoot, made it a sacrifice to God; how they invented a marvellous system of allegory which made it possible to

enjoy poetry without reprobation; while Chaucer's arch wit and humour escaped like Browning's *Fra Lippo* from the cloister to the fields, and the tavern, and the gutter in search of fresher air and fuller life. As for the Renascence with its great revival of poetry and of criticism, it had two divided trends. On the one hand the classic formalists made a great body of rules based through the practice of the Romans on an imperfect acquaintance with the "Poetics" of Aristotle. In their name Gabriel Harvey tried to make Spenser write his epic on classic lines. But fortunately poets are wilful creatures, and Bembo could no more turn Ariosto from the "Orlando" than Harvey Spenser from the "Faerie Queene." On the other hand there was general agreement as to the didactic moral aim of poetry. But Spenser's erratic steed, a veritable "Questing Beast," got out of hand. One cannot conceive the "Faerie Queene" finished; but even if he had lived to attempt it I feel sure he could never have sorted out the allegory and so fulfilled the solemn promise of edification made in his preface. So with his kinsman Milton. He achieved many things; but not "to justify the ways of God to man," which he said was his aim. The point of view could not be better put than it is by Tasso: "Poetry is an imitation of human actions" (a phrase which reminds us that it is based on Aristotle) "made for the guidance of life, and its end is delight. It must essentially delight, either because delight is its aim, or because delight is the necessary means of effecting the ethical end of art. And this constitutes the true effectiveness of poetry for it is the most delightful and hence the most valuable of teachers."

Both rules and morals got a rude shaking from the roystering Elizabethans. The rules broke like gossamer before the wings of Shakespeare. They were well judged by wise Giordano Bruno:

“To whom then are the rules of Aristotle useful?

To him who could not sing without them; and
who, having no music of his own, would
play with that of Homer.”

As with the rules, so with the definitions; they fail because they attempt too much. It is not possible to fix to a formula the wayward course of emotion in its subtle and intimate expression. And a definition obtained at too heavy a cost of abstraction fails to restore unity to the elements revealed by analysis. The rules of technique that apply do not aim so far. But even here it must be remembered that much of the beauty of poetic form lies in the incalculable tendency to depart slightly from the rules, just as in drawing to depart from the straight line, or in design, from absolute symmetry.

I return in closing to some definitions which, however lacking in precision, do attempt to emphasise the unity. They are metaphors, so the logician will have none of them; but they do not rest in metaphor. I have quoted Longinus as saying that the beauty of the words is the light of thought. Watson has put this into what is itself a lovely piece of poetry,

Song is not Truth, not Wisdom, but the rose
Upon Truth's lips, the light in Wisdom's eyes.

You have not got the whole meaning of a poet when you have extracted his truth and wisdom, though you may have extremely valuable results; but only when you have shared his vision. He calls truth and wisdom before you in radiant flesh and blood, that you may see the rose upon the lips, the light in the eyes. Wordsworth knew this when he said, “it is the impassioned expression which is in the face of human knowledge;” and Coleridge when he said, “it is the bloom and fragrantcy of all human knowledge, human thought, human passion.” Here also we need not rest even in these happy metaphors. Poetry is an effluence of knowledge, thought, passion: as flowers appeal to the sense, so does it to the sensuous imagination, to the memory of

things seen and heard. "O reader breathe (the ballad saith) some sweetness out of each!" But as the blossom must be true to its tree, so must poetry be to life; first, to the heart of the poet in his singing mood, and second, to the heart of humanity so far as he shares it. It can no more be otherwise than that the thistle can bear figs. As in our definitions, so in poetry itself we shall not easily rest content with the metaphor, nor lightly be lulled with the music. Ruskin said, "you cannot love art well till you love what she mirrors better." Here is the moralist's comfort. He need not chop our poetry into what it says and what it means. For the morality of poetry is clearly less of its intention than of its very essence.

And if we are told that much poetry is immoral, we shall not be able to deny it, nor be surprised that so intimate and articulate an expression of human emotion should share its failings. Our judgement will be the truer for being at once the more artistic and the more humane. But such poetry will none the less be surely judged, as Browning's *Andrea del Sarto* saw his art to be, when in the pictures of others he saw evidence that their makers had been in Heaven, a heaven closed to him. It is true as Shakespeare makes his Theseus say, "the best in this kind are but shadows." Shadows there are like those in Plato's cave, thrown from false fires in the dark. But the best in this kind are shadows of reality in the light of day; and their song is not the hollow echo of the cave in heavy ears, but voices of men very near to the heart of humanity: men with the perilous gift of sensibility (whereby too often

They learn in sorrow what they teach in song):

but able for compensation to remake their world in terms of vision and music, and able (so far as theirs is a world we share) to speak better than we ourselves our "own heart's language."*

J. A. DALE

* So dreamed Aprile in Browning's "Paracelsus."

MILTON

O mighty Spirit, who, from out the deep
And storehouse of God's purposes, awhile
Didst breathe our air, awhile wast prisoned here,
In these dull chains of flesh and circumstance,
We hear at times in dreams, when all is dark,
Thy pinions nearing earth, and once again,
From mingling with the mighty elements
That throned the awful realms where God's huge thoughts
Grow to star systems and the nebulae
Are but His dim imagining of worlds,
Thy form re-visits earth and gives man cheer
And spurs his spirit on to chafe and fret
And bound towards liberty in fearful leaps
Of insurrection. Yea, when palling night
Of human littleness and puny aims
Broods thick and starless over us, and when
With bestial opulence men feast and gorge
Upon the swine husks in the trough of life,
Thy steadfast spirit wakes some son of man,
And lo, before his wondering eyes there burns
The awful vision of the infinite;
And in his ears, from ocean, earth and sky,
There rings a constant music and a psalm
Of mighty harmonies which drowns the voice
Of human arrogance and slavish fear.

II.

O glorious Master, as I sing, there dawns
Upon my soul, in dim auroral light,
The vision of thy childhood, and I see

Thy face so beautiful with those large eyes
Filled with the wonder waking on the world
Hath brought thee, and with promise strange,
When darkness falls, of sights invisible,—
The Eternal City and the abysmal gulf
And thundering legions of the hosts on high.
No sorrow clouds thee yet. The hedgerows fair
Sparkle with dew, birds sing their songs to thee
In pleasant country lanes. Each day when dawn
Peers on thy sleep through bowery eglantine,
And scent of honeysuckle fills the air,
Thy dreams are fed with beauty; and when day
Brings forth thy books, then waking dreams are sweet
Until the dewy eve with gentle step
Creeps up the village street in livery
Of sober grey, and in the neighbouring folds
The patient sheep by watchful shepherds' care
Are warmly housed, and nightingales begin
Among the trees to make sweet minstrelsy.
When Hesperus comes, and in the glowing west
The crescent moon follows the golden sun,
Then most thine unstained spirit feels the sense
Of the illimitable love of God,
Who midst the shouts of Angels hung the stars
Upon earth's canopy, and built on fire
The firm foundation pillars of the world.
Nor is God less to thee that day by day
The Gods and Heroes of the olden world
Return, and people for thee in thy walks
The hills and valleys and the singing streams.
Beauty transcending truth doth lift thy mind
To highest truth where all things blend in one.
And, ever mingling with the joys of youth,
There comes that deeper joy of soul which springs
From lust of noble deeds and high resolve
To reach the topmost round of human fame
And make the ages thine through some great song

Whose strains will perish only with the world.
 The vision grows before thee of the arched
 And fretted vault and blazoned window panes
 Of England's Minster, where great England guards
 Her noblest dead, and where the living past,
 Nursed in the nation's throbbing heart, waits on
 And watches for the final hour, God's doom
 Upon man's deeds. A whisper in thy soul
 Tells thee thou too art kindred with the dead
 Whom Death found deathless, and whom Time hath
 crowned
 With glory deepening as the years go by.
 Now comes the great resolve, the steadfast choice,
 The barter of the present for the gain
 Of some far future, which, like birth of dawn,
 Gilds all the wide horizon of thy life.

III.

So, towards the chosen goal thy youth speeds on,
 The fair unfolding flower of purity
 Bestrewing thy path, and avenues of fame
 Thrown wide to thee, whose vast capacious mind
 Goes searching through the chambers of the dead
 For some high theme to sing in golden song.
 And ever beauty lures thee, and the dreams
 Of beauty not of Earth. Austere and cold
 Thou shunn'st the paint and tinsel of the world.
 The fire of prisoned passion in thy heart
 Can find no vent. No mistress fair enough
 For thine embrace breathes in the living world,
 Until, by tortuous ways and anguished hours
 And grievous battling with the realms of fact,
 Thou find'st man's fairest mistress—Liberty;
 And catching at her skirts and wooing her,
 High consecration crowns thee, and thy days
 Are given in homage to the Queen of Queens,
 The peerless one, against whose throne the sea

Beats furiously and hideous mist conceals,
And men wage war on, mocking her and thee.
But thou, unflinching, dost through storm and hate
With faith unshaken face the maddened world,
And hurl defiance at it like a god
Dashing to atoms some rebellious star
That in the myriad clusters of the night
Provokes his fury.

In those silent years—

Silent for thee though noisy with the din
Of babbling tongues—thy spirit bends itself
Into the common fray, and common men
Throng round thee, knowing thee not, and counting thee
A pedant babbling with the vulgar crowd.
But 'neath the iron yoke that bows thy neck
Self-immolation to the cause of man
Makes drudgery noble; and in thy vast soul
The phantom forms of evil, which thy pen
Joins battle with, begin to move and breathe
And grow a world around thee, and, behold,
The wondrous purpose of thy fixed resolve
Takes shape, till bonds of actual are burst,
And thy soul rising up in majesty
Stands wonderstricken viewing the sublime.

IV.

Now darkness falls and night of hideous ruin,
And desolating tides of chance and fate
Bestrew the shore with wrecks. Thou art alone,
Once more alone, and more alone art thou,
Blind weak and friendless yet unconquerable.
But lo, the closing of the world to thee,
The shutting of life's windows on the sun,
Uncloses vaster worlds of human thought;
And Liberty, thy mistress, takes thy hand
And leads thee fearless down the grim abyss
Where rebel angels hold their council dark,

Like thee, though overthrown, defiant still.
 Thou hearest in their parliament the voice
 Of one who stoops not at the feet of power
 But courts damnation in magnificence
 Of uttermost rebellion, and thy heart
 Yearns towards the fallen fiend in sympathy;
 For thou art fallen and unconquered too.
 From out the deep, thy soaring spirit cleaves
 The upper air and mounts to highest heaven,
 And sees the beauty of the Father's face,
 And sights that blinding Death alone reveals.
 Then round the singing spheres thy wingèd thoughts
 Bear thee, thou skirt'st the utmost void.
 Time, space, the giant march of human things,
 Philosophies and those voluptuous gods
 That hold in fee the sunshine of the earth,
 Her streams and mountains and the sounding sea
 That gnaws for ever at her coasts, all these
 Thy soul, unfettered, sees with sight divine,
 E'en while thou sitt'st beside thy cottage door
 Crippled and blind, the white hairs on thy brow,
 The kind sun warming thee, and humming bees
 Making soft melody that dies away
 In that great utterance rolling from thy lips
 Of hidden things, beyond the power of man
 To grasp, unaided by thy glorious soul,—
 Those things which she, the pale girl at thy side,
 Uncomprehending, duteous, noteth down.

v.

Now fade the battlements of time, and Death,
 In form of eagle, winged for loftiest flight,
 Bears thy great soul triumphant to its throne
 Among the stars, where Paradise regained
 Rolls on in flowery meadows at thy feet;
 And He whose face thou darkly saw'st before
 Beyond all love is lovable, and thou

Know'st now the secret providence of God
 And the sure concord of the Eternal's ways.
 Lave now thy feet in that clear stream of life
 That issues from the throne, and raise thy voice
 In the eternal harmonies which men
 And rebel angels cannot discord make.
 Now greet thee Michael, and the Heavenly Host,
 Whom erstwhile thou did'st sing in deathless song.
 And those whom once thou scorned'st on the earth,
 And who scorned thee in adverse ways of thought,
 Thou see'st all white in God's high favour too.
 For on God's hill the paths of duty wind
 By devious courses to the sunlit top.
 And lo, the riddle of the Universe,
 The brightness and the darkness of the world,
 The greatness and the meanness of the soul,
 All, all are plain to thee, for all are solved
 In that vast central heart whose being is Love.

VI.

O Mighty Spirit, bend from out the Heavens;
 Thou wast the greatest, noblest of our race;
 The spirit of the Vikings wrought in thee;
 The spirit of all warriors fired thy veins;
 The cries of all our poets rang through thee;
 The glories of all kingship crowned thee king;
 Bend down to us, and on the ancient race
 Which gave thee birth, whose speech rolls round the world,
 Pour down thy gift of song, and rear us men
 With courage noble in the stress of things
 As thine was, men who cringe not, court no gain,
 Who love but truth and follow liberty,
 And whose exalted vision and vast mind
 O'ertop the narrowing walls of life and scan
 The glorious regions of unclouded light,
 Where God reigns and the angels are at peace.

FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT

WHAT OF THE WEST

WHATEVER may be the course of Canada's growth and development as a nation, one thing is clear, the country loosely defined as "The West" will exercise an important influence upon it. The question then is: What of The West? If the assurance can be given that in the West a sane, orderly civilization is being worked out, side by side with marvellous material expansion, it will give comfort to some troubled patriots, and be a guarantee of the solidity of our character as a people. If, on the contrary, as many estimable people seem to fear, the West is bond slave to Mammon, given over wholly to gross materialism, abandoned to a scramble for wealth, and oblivious utterly of all the nobler aspects of life, then indeed is our future dark, and prophets are needed to destroy the false gods and call us to repentance.

An examination of the facts is in order, for the West has been condemned on circumstantial evidence and denounced for sins more apparent than real. The geographical facts are impressive. The West embraces all the country lying beyond the gateway-cities of Port Arthur and Fort William to the Pacific Coast, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, and north of the American boundary for a distance varying from 100 to 1000 miles, and changing from year to year. No one knows how many million square miles are embraced, but there are many varieties of soil, climate, and resources. The history of this West contains much of stirring romance but little of disorder and the riot of human passions unrestrained by law and government. For a century or two the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company was, on the whole, one of justice and fair dealing, consonant with large profits. The loyalty of the Indian of the present day to "The Company" supplies corroborative proof.

After Rupert's Land was taken over by Canada in 1870, and a small rebellion crushed out, disturbing reports reached the East of the operations of American whiskey traders among the Indians of the unknown plains to the west. By 1873, a military force, since famous as the Royal North West Mounted Police, had made their way across the plains, and taken possession of the land in the name of the Queen, establishing themselves at Fort McLeod, from which they spread out and established law and order over the more than half million square miles of prairies. They found in operation a system of debauching the Indians with liquor in exchange for peltries; a system of despoiling and debasing, such as was, in large part at least, responsible for the reign of lawlessness, Lynch law, Indian wars, and massacres characteristic of United States civilization on the plains. The force crushed out this system, and for many years maintained the nearest approach to prohibition of the liquor trade that has been applied at any time to so extensive a territory. This force was the virtual ruler of a great empire inhabited by nomadic and warlike tribes of Indians. They dealt with these savages justly, tolerantly, and in a manner to win their liking, tempered by a wholesome fear.

Only once, in 1885, was there an outbreak of war, due in the mass to the disappearance of the bison, the coming of settlers, the machinations of a visionary adventurer working on the fears of the Metis, and what may be described charitably as the maladroitness of the government at Ottawa. The rebellion was quickly crushed with small losses, as such losses are reckoned in a military or historical sense. Life and property were made safe throughout all this land of wide spaces. It is surely a great thing that settlers in the remotest parts have slept in security and gone about their business without fear of molestation. It is no small boast, in view of North American frontier history, that white women were never molested by Indians, except in one or two instances in 1885, and at no time had any reason to fear while wandering at will over the plains. At the present day, in the outlying home-

stead districts, the settlers leave their doors unlocked at all times. The horses and cattle of the ranches roam at will over the prairie, and never, on Canadian soil, has it been deemed necessary or salutary to lynch a horse thief. The law protected all law-abiding citizens in all their rights, and with majestic certainty punished its violators. Not yet in Canadian literature has the work of this force been adequately chronicled. Its great success is due to its signal devotion to the highest ideal of the British soldier, duty; duty fulfilled with a broad-minded discretion and an eye to essentials. Thus was laid a good foundation for Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The laying of such a foundation was the carrying out of the deliberate will of the people of Canada both in the East and in the West. It should never be forgotten that the kind of government accorded the West was in principle the kind desired by its inhabitants. There was never any likeness to military dictatorship, and to-day this force, a military one with the very widest police powers, is individually and as a body popular with the people. Her Majesty's authority was vested in the Lieutenant Governor in Council, but the policeman in scarlet was the man on the spot, the visible arm of power and majesty. The growth of government followed British traditions, and in time, a full-fledged Legislature for the North West Territories came into being. It controlled the affairs of the country, and embodied into law a series of simple ordinances which met the needs of the hour. The institutions of the West grew gradually, and met all the requisites of good government. In 1902, at the Coronation Banquet of the King in London, Mr. F. W. G. Haultain, the premier of the Territories, sat beside Sir George French, the organizer of the North West Mounted Police, and its chief up to 1875; and there thus foregathered the man who, little better than a quarter of a century before, had been the virtual autocrat of the whole West, and the man who had been for 15 years the premier of Her Majesty's government in the least developed portion of it. Mr. Haultain remained premier until 1905, when these Territories were erected into the pro-

vinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the fortunes of political warfare decided that he should pass over to lead His Majesty's loyal Opposition in Saskatchewan. Surely a remarkable illustration of the orderly growth of British institutions in all this!

In recent years, the material growth of the West has been so great as to have attracted world-wide attention, and this aspect has been so much to the fore that many theorists have concluded that the West was drunken with commercial success and lost to the higher and nobler aspects of life. In 1885 the Canadian Pacific Railway opened a high-way across the continent, and the West began to be settled more rapidly, chiefly with people from Ontario, including Huron and Bruce, though it has been supposed that the contrary was the case. The growth was, however, slow, until about 1900, when the great tide of settlers began to flow in from all lands. Then followed the transcontinental railways, cities where were hamlets, and hamlets and cultivated farms where the gopher and the badger had long mined the prairie unafraid. Great as has been the mineral expansion it will be greater. The agricultural and mineral development of the plains is only beginning, and what wealth the newer districts hold in store is a rich field for speculation. One cannot judge New Ontario by the rocks seen from the car window around the north shore of Lake Superior. Over the hills at Port Arthur I have seen fine apples ripening in the sun on creditable farms. Settlers are going into superficially unpromising fields in these new lands. Yet they are men who know what they are about. Red clover has scattered itself in rich profusion into the wilderness of New Ontario, taking root from the hay fed to the horses on the Canadian Pacific Railway construction. Cobalt has been a revelation of the riches hidden in barren-appearing rocks. A Hebrew fur buyer who had returned from the wilderness of the North, one Sunday astonished a group of commercial travellers at a little town in New Ontario by his descriptions of the north land and by his statement, "I have travelled not always in

railway cars all over the United States and Canada, and I tell you Canada is richer, much richer, in natural resources than the United States."

An idle opinion from a man of no weight, says one; perhaps, and yet it came from a man who had learned from the earth herself. I, too, will venture an idle prophecy that by 1929 there will be more persons west of the great lakes than are now in all Canada. That in this great whirl of commercial and industrial expansion the things of matter should eclipse the things of the spirit is not a ground for marvel. Yet, perchance, the apparent eclipse may be due to defective insight. When Micah asked of Israel, "And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" he gave no uncomprehensive definition of duty in religion and in citizenship. A very considerable part of the duty of a citizen is to throw about his own loved ones the shelter of a home. The West attracts hardy and enterprising men because of the opportunities it affords for this purpose, and if in their absorption in the task they neglect some of the subtler essences of life, yet is their work no less noble in itself. To maintain law and order and even-handed justice is to fulfil some of the highest duties of government. To open the doors of opportunity for learning to all children of the state is a duty recognized from the pioneer days of settlement at the cost of sacrifice. While the four provinces of the West maintain free public school systems which are not perfect, they are planned to meet the needs of the people with fair adequacy. The people are not afraid to tax their pockets to pay a scale of salaries sufficient to attract teachers from the eastern provinces and elsewhere. In the small towns the school is usually the best building in the place, and as such expenditures are reckoned the cities have been lavish even in their outlay on schools. The little white school house in the country, amid large, scattered farms, with its shelter for the ponies of the pupils, is doing good work, but concentrated schools might do better. I have heard from official sources stories of the sacrifice made by settlers

who were not wealthy to establish schools for their children. In one case a settler imported a half-breed family of many children and drove his range cattle on to his home-farm, that the school population and the assessed value of property might come up to the standard set by the Education Department for erecting a school district. The Saskatchewan Government by its Supplementary Revenue Act has imposed direct taxation on certain land to provide grants for new schools, and for university purposes. In Winnipeg the churches early established colleges for higher study, chiefly for the recruiting of the ministry, and a University has been evolved. One of the first acts of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan was to pass legislation calling into being provincial universities. With an immense area to draw from, with great potential wealth, and the ground-work of good elementary and secondary schools, these universities should become great seats of learning. Dr. Tory at Strathcona and Dr. Murray at Regina (or will it be in another city?) have before them greater opportunities than, within his lifetime, confronted William Dawson when he came to McGill University.

While the labourers are few for the harvest in the religious field they are working long hours and with great zeal, and have the moral and financial support of the people in the West. The churches are being established wherever men are settled, and are being welcomed and supported.

The great world of literature is not neglected, wholly. Small school libraries are placed in many schools, and the larger places are opening public libraries, mostly without an appeal to Mr. Carnegie. The country and the small towns, however, are dependent on the tender mercies of the drug store for their supply of books and periodicals. There is room for an adaptation of the idea of the Mechanics Institutes in these places. The West has reared or inspired not a few writers who have the merit of seeing things with their own eyes. While art may have to wait for its day in the West,

where the great out of doors attracts all attention, there are not wanting signs that music and literature are coming into their kingdom.

As a whole, the legislation of the new provinces has been sane and normal. Though progressive ideas and the force of conditions dissimilar to those of the older provinces have had weight, there has been little in the legislation that could be called revolutionary. Being a heavy borrower, the West recognizes its dependence upon the great monetary centres, and its decided tendency to move in the direction of the public ownership of public utilities is almost the only ground of complaint against it. In fact, the West, composed as it is of property owners, is decidedly conservative in many ways. After an enquiry into the matter of municipal government by a commission, a system of municipal government is being worked out in legislation, the governing idea being to adapt it to the special needs of western people. Much useful work has been done in codifying the laws, and bringing the old territorial ordinances into harmony with the altered conditions.

In the way of moral legislation, somewhat advanced ground has been taken by each of the new provinces in their Liquor Acts. The principle has been reaffirmed of only granting licenses for the sale of liquor to bona fide hotels situated within an incorporated municipality. The hours of sale have been restricted, being from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. in towns and villages and to 10.30 p.m. in cities. All bars must close at 7 p.m. on Saturdays, and must remain closed during religious holidays and election days. The civil responsibility of the liquor seller for the death of a drunken person to whom he sells liquor and who dies in consequence of such drunkenness is recognized in part as a principle of law. The work of granting licenses is handed over to a central board on the presumption of their freedom from local influences. The inspection of hotels is no mere matter of form, complaints being investigated on the spot and compliance with the law insisted upon on pain of forfeiture of licence. In short the liquor

laws are enforced. In no part of Canada that I know of is law generally more strictly and impartially enforced than in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the reason appears to be the simple one that law always has been enforced in these Provinces. Observance of laws has become a habit with the people, and new-comers are quickly impressed with the importance of conformity. Taking into account the mixed population and the preponderance of young men, the good order of the West is remarkable. When the festive harvest-hands who, in past seasons, terrorized New Ontario on their way West, crossed into Saskatchewan, they were models of circumspect behaviour. The moral weight of an efficient police system was sufficient to re-convert these young ruffians *in posse* to their normal state as law-abiding labourers. And surely the lesson is one which should not be lost in opening up the newer portions of the older provinces.

The admixture of races in the West is fraught with serious questions of assimilation or adaptation. It must be recognized that the foreigners who are flocking into our land will leave their impress upon the body politic. Whilst they are evolving into good Canadians, their influence will be felt in many ways, industrially, politically, and socially. Consider, for a moment, the revolution worked in the cuisine of the United States by the Germans, as a case in point. The Germanic element predominates among the foreigners in the West, but there is a strange medley of Slav and Pole, Galician and Roumanian, German and Hun, Scandinavian and American, British and native-born Canadian. In some places there is fortunately such a babel of tongues that English of a sort is the only vehicle of intercourse. This simplifies matters. Progress towards a good understanding is being made among these diverse elements.

This autumn, it was my good fortune to spend some time in a district where many nationalities are represented. You would be told it had been settled by "Americans." Most of these were German or Norwegian born, but interspersed with them were Americans and Canadians of native birth and

descent. There was also a large "German" colony, which I found hailed from Russia. However, they were descendants of German emigrants to Russia several generations ago. The common adviser of all these peoples was an old gentleman, born in Hammerfest, reared in Iowa, and after five years residence in Canada speaking of himself as a Canadian. His six stalwart sons, all large land owners, speak Norwegian and German, but only to those who do not understand English. He tells of seeing, when he came on his land first, a "white town" away off on the prairie; and, yielding to the desire to visit it, he found a village of mud-houses, white-washed, inhabited by this Russo-German colony. To-day, he will tell you, the village is abandoned, and these men are living on their own land in houses which come up to the average of prairie farm-houses. He transacts much of their business and holds them in esteem both for their business integrity and for excellence of character. He says they will succeed, acquire many of the comforts of life when they have the cash to pay for them, and become very desirable subjects of His Majesty. He mentioned especially a Russian peasant and his wife who came to the village. The husband opened a blacksmith's shop. The wife went out washing and profited by what she saw. In the course of a few months, she had her shack lathed and plastered, paper hung, a carpet laid, and a brass bedstead installed. Besides, she had discarded the peasant garb of her little daughter, clothed her as Canadian children are clothed, and sent her to school. The warmth my kindly old informant threw into his final remark, "and a dear little thing she is, too," helped to explain his great influence in the neighbourhood. Such men as he, and there are many such, are doing quiet but efficacious work for Canada.

I have been assured by a school inspector, who himself speaks German, that these people are anxious to possess schools and to comply with the law when it is explained to them. Much depends, of course, upon the culture or ignorance of the parents. Ignorance is almost always indifferent, but in most instances he found a refreshing zeal to provide educational

facilities for their children. His intercourse with these foreign colonies has made him a strong admirer of their qualities. One evening he commiserated with his hostess in a shack on the plains on her hard work. "Yes, we do work hard," she replied with a cheery smile, "but we are working for ourselves, not for the Kaiser." If there is truth in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words, "We are loyal because we are free," then it is reasonable to conclude that these foreigners will be loyal to the country giving them such opportunities and the Empire that protects them in freedom. Before 1860 in the United States there were many who held the large German population in contempt and doubted their loyalty, but the services to the cause of the North of the German brigades and of such men as Carl Schurtz, gave them grace, it is to be hoped, to become ashamed of such narrowness. The foreign elements of Canada will not be oblivious of their national traditions, but will co-operate with others not only in its material development but in the spiritual elevation of the nation of which they have become a part. It is not without reason that these foreigners as a rule have good credit commercially, and their mortgage covenants are accepted as among the best by loan companies. Honesty and thrift in its people are valuable assets in nation building.

All classes of foreigners are not desirable; there are gradations. The intractable ones are those with hypersensitive consciences in regard to religion. The West has a wide tolerance in the matter of sincere religious belief, but it is beginning to realize that a religion which prevents its votaries from assuming their duties as citizens is not one it wishes to encourage. Since "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church," it is becoming more and more willing to see the church thus made to flourish in Russia by the mild martyrdom of its people of strange beliefs rather than offer them a lot in Canada. The Doukhobors and the Mennonites are too impervious to modern ideas to be beloved in the West. The government of Saskatchewan has been called upon to redress the wrongs of excommunicated members of the Old

Colony of the Mennonite church near Warman. They allege that they have been deprived of their rights as citizens, and subjected to a rigorous boycott which deprives them of the means of making a livelihood as a consequence of their excommunication. On their own showing, their offence consists in sending their children to the public schools, and they did so because the communal schools were "no use whatever." In one case it was shown that the ground of complaint on the part of the church against a member was his having lived in town and his wife having shown a fondness for worldly clothing. The Bishop who excommunicated these people seems to have been the supreme judge of conduct and of theology, and is remarkable among bishops for having refused a cheque in his favour for the use of the church. One witness said, "this ban of excommunication is the most terrible thing that can happen to a person living amongst or near them. It separates one brother from another and parents from children." It was shown that other branches of the church were more liberal in their views, and the parent Mennonite church did not resort to excommunication except in extreme cases.

What the province can do to redress the wrongs of these excommunicated persons is not clear. There is no positive proof that sending their children to the public school was the ground of their excommunication, but in every case where parents exercised their right to say how their children should be educated—in their view, at least, educated in any sense of the word—excommunication and social and business ostracism followed. The government has asked the church to see if it cannot adopt a more liberal attitude towards those who wish to have their children taught in public schools, and coupled with the reference a hint of the deprivation of the right to celebrate marriages now accorded to this church which has no recognized clergy. The Mennonites in this matter and the Doukhobors also in other matters fall back in defence of their attitude upon concessions granted them by the "High Government," when they came to Canada. The lesson is clear that no special concessions should be made to any church

or any body of men who desire to settle in Canada. The ray of light in the case is that progressive ideas can find lodgment among such a mass at all, and, if the Bishop maintains his rigour, he may some day be the only member of his church.

Since about the year 1900, upwards of 400,000 Americans have immigrated to the plains, and this immigration has given rise to extremes of comment. On one hand they have been welcomed with indiscriminating praise, and with their usual modesty American writers have attributed the growth of the West solely to its discovery by Americans. On the other hand Imperialists have taken alarm and have wept over the blow thus dealt to Imperialism. The Americanization of the West has been painted in strong colours. In both views there is more of folly than wisdom. Such an influx of foreigners who are yet not alien in blood and speech cannot but have an influence on national growth and tendencies, but the extremists on both sides have lost sight of the object inspiring this immigration. Before the committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives who had in charge the tariff enquiry at Washington, Mr. Champ Clark of Missouri, in examining a witness who desired the free importation of Canadian-grown wheat for milling purposes, insisted that the witness should admit that "the wheat growers up there are mostly all Americans anyway." He also volunteered the information that these Americans were duplicating in Canada the work of Americans in Texas, that is preparing Canada for annexation. One is at a loss whether most to admire Mr. Clark's wealth of exact information, his diplomacy, or his characteristic national modesty. His vanity appears to be wounded in that free-born American citizens should deliberately choose to desert the glorious heritage of government such as his own to place themselves in subjection to the King of the Dominions Beyond the Seas. The men from Missouri are numerous upon the Canadian plains. Usually, they have visited the country before deciding to settle here, and they know the conditions and the opportunities. Besides, as one man assured me, "my father,

who was a native of Prussia, often assured me many things were done better in a Monarchy than in a Republic." The American settlers are not by any means the propagandists Mr. Clark would wish it to appear. They are shrewd men who see the opportunities provided for themselves and their children by the western prairies. They are here to grow wheat, to make money, and they are in earnest about it. In strict literalness they are obeying the noted advice given by William Allen White to Kansas at the time of the populist agitation: "It would be better for Kansas to raise more wheat and less hell."

Prospering in their new homes, these American settlers are not anxious to destroy the institutions under which they are living in content and happiness. Their primary business is to look after their own welfare. Political matters are important as they bear upon this question of their own individual fortunes. I have moved about among them considerably, and find them men of wide-awake intellectual curiosity. They enquire closely into the institutions of their adopted country. They are open to see the advantages as well as the defects. They actively co-operate with other citizens in public affairs. They are keen business men and zealous for progress and improvement. Above all they are here to make homes for themselves and their children. Mostly they are tillers of the soil, with steam ploughs and modern machinery, not political agitators; and it is among well-to-do home makers, thus tied to the soil, that patriotism is an active principle, even if it is the enlightened Roman principle *ubi bene, ibi patria*. These men as a whole know the plain conditions and are among our best farmers. Where they are mixed with other nationalities the best results are attained. Instead of resenting the strict administration of law it is this feature of our government which impresses them most favourably. The security of property and the sacredness of life in Canada calls forth their admiration. The divorce of party from civic administration is to them a deliverance. Yet they find much to criticize, but their criticism is on the whole con-

structive, and their good understanding with their neighbours and the powers that be makes their criticism tend to reform. They are essentially practical men, and their influence is on the side of progress. They find that they are deprived of no liberties which they formerly enjoyed, and are protected by a strong government in all their rights. It is then a poor compliment paid to Canadian institutions to fear their destruction or their Americanization, by the immigration of a few hundred thousands of such settlers. Are our traditions and our institutions so weak as to be unable to stand such a mild strain? Are they not in fact strong enough to Canadianize in the best sense of the term even Americans? Principal Hutton well says, "these Americans antagonize and Americanize us equally." It is inevitable that such should be the case. Those who antagonize us are of the stamp of Champ Clark.

In the West it is frankly admitted that they have a useful lesson to teach us, especially in matters of enterprise and the applied sciences. We will learn to our profit. In matters of government the open-eyed men who come to the prairies admit that we have lessons to teach them. Mr. Goldwin Smith in his address to Cornell University students said: "The United States now instead of being the vanguard of democracy might almost be said to be its rearguard, the powers of the presidency and of the senate making its constitution in some respects the most conservative of the set." Plain farmers in the West have concurrently made a similar discovery. They discover with some surprise the superior control the people of Canada have over their government through the doctrine of responsibility to Parliament. They see plainly that democratic government, in which they believe firmly, does not of necessity imply a Republic. It seems strange to find an American immigrant arguing the superiority of the monarchical theory over that of a Republic in dealing with conditions in new territories. The good order of the Canadian wilds as contrasted with the American frontier was due in his view to the monarchical theory that all authority came

from the throne, and thus the officers of the Crown carried law into the remotest wilds. The authority and majesty of the King preceded the subject in the most unsettled domains. Since on the contrary in Republican theory and practice all authority was delegated by the people, the lawlessness of the frontier was almost inevitable. When considerations such as these appeal to the minds of ordinary settlers who would not be classed as educated thinkers, it would seem that fear of the American invasion is inconsistent with the pride and confidence which Canadian people have in their institutions political and otherwise. These American settlers will give a reasoned and reasonable support to our social and political institutions. It is not to be expected they should feel the fervent heart-loyalty to Canada and Britain of the native born, but a loyalty which is the product of cold reason approving of the justice of national government and tendencies of national character has in it certain elements of substantiality which are not to be despised. The jingoistic patriotism which takes for its motto, "my country, right or wrong," is a powerful force; but when the patriotism of a people is expressed in the words "my country, she is right" it is irresistible. If the confidence our people feel in the fairness, justness, and strength of our national institutions is well placed, and Canadians do their duty to their country and to their fellow subjects in a spirit of sympathetic understanding, then is a glorious future laid up.

It would be an interesting study to trace out the strong impress made by the Eastern provinces, more especially by Ontario, upon the character of the West. Conditions have modified the institutions and the views of the people, but have not changed their basic character. In fact, what has been regarded as most characteristic of the West were accidentals which are being obliterated by the growth of the country, and the West is becoming more and more an improved copy of the East. With the filling up of the wide spaces between and the growing interdependence of trade and intercourse there will be soon no West and no East but

Canada. The seat of power and population will be in the West but it will be a West with the ideas and beliefs of the East, broadened by a larger outlook and the impingement of the liberal views of foreign-born Canadians. The principles on which the East has developed and will develop were laid in the East before the West was discovered to be the great land of home-makers, and before that in the advance of freedom in the home of the British race. Where there have been modifications they are such as are essential to obtaining the best results in meeting new conditions, but are not destructive of the principles which have governed our destinies as a British people. Canadians reinforced by accretions of Britishers will complete the structure on the lines planned, and with the co-operation of foreign-born Canadians. These foreigners came here to build not to destroy.

All Canadians must rejoice at the good understanding being brought about between Canada and the Motherland on one hand and the United States on the other. Causes of friction are not only being removed, but all are working in harmony to promote mutual interests. The good understanding should include among the causes of friction to be removed idle, gratuitous talk of the annexation of Canada on the part of American public men and journals. If international good manners have no influence with such men, history should teach them that never has a people with a well developed consciousness of nationality voluntarily thrown in its lot with another nation. Such unions have been brought about by force of arms or dynastic exigencies only. Canada has a sense of nationality, and is determined to work out her own destiny. She was given organic being, perhaps, only in 1867, but on many occasions since has shown her strength by works held to be beyond her power. Difficulty was, however, a spur, not a deterrent. Hence it is that to-day she is able to hold out freedom and wealth to strong men from all over the civilized world. Having laid such a foundation for national greatness, who is such

a dullard as to propose to us to destroy it utterly and abandon the joy of the building ?

The West has its share of the work of building, and is attacking it in a spirit of joyous abandon to a pride in its youthful, lusty strength. It may be this spirit which has led to its condemnation as materialistic. In the things of the spirit which count, I hope that I have shown that the condemnation is unjust. It is working out a sane, order-loving, strong civilization, and is not recreant to the best ideals and traditions of the race. It is adding to and not taking away. The West shares strongly in the national spirit of Canada and in its devotion to the Empire which it is causing to grow and strengthen. The current of national feeling in Canada, West as well as East, is set strongly towards a continuance of union with the Empire, even if one day Canada should be the chief partner in this Empire of allied nations. It may be that some day the Dominions Beyond the Seas in stature and resources shall outstrip England, Mother of Nations; but, her Dominions Beyond the Seas remaining still daughter nations in the family of the Empire, still shall this England be the leader among the nations of the world to have done these things.

W. D. McBRIDE

CANADIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER

NO VIEW of Canada is a complete or accurate one which considers only the agricultural production of the country, the industrial development of its people, or the financial prosperity of its enterprises. It is true that in a period of forty years its occupied and cultivated land has more than doubled; its cities have grown from villages and small towns; its banking capital has trebled; its note circulation has increased from nine to seventy-five millions of dollars; its bank deposits from thirty-three to six hundred and fifty-four millions; its banking assets from seventy-nine to nine hundred and forty-five millions. Its population has doubled; its expenditure upon education has trebled; its national expenditure has grown from fourteen to one hundred millions; while railways have gridironed the older Provinces and crossed the continent, or nearly so, in three great lines—an increase from 2,000 to 22,000 of an operated mileage. Trade has expanded from one hundred and twenty-five to six hundred and fifty million dollars, shipping from a small figure to sixty-two million tons, mineral production from almost nothing to ninety millions in value, agriculture from the locally-consumed product of two or three Provinces into a continental production with surplus exports running into the hundreds of millions of bushels. The people have increased their life-insurance from a few million dollars to seven hundred millions and their protection against fire from two hundred to sixteen hundred millions.

Everything of late years has worked toward the creation of material prosperity, the accumulation of wealth, the increase of wages, the growth of production, the development of the country. Everywhere the smoke of successful industry

rises around and within the centres of population; despite a slight set-back in the past few months the business men of Canadian cities and towns bear around them an atmosphere of prosperity, and the erection of beautiful houses marks the growing life of all the urban centres; the farmer in 1909 rejoices over a bountiful harvest, while the West rings with the talk of accumulating agricultural wealth and general progressiveness. In a material sense no period of our history has been so pleasant; in a sense personal to the masses no period of our history has been so hopeful. So much for one side of the shield. What of the other—the intellectual, moral, religious, and national life of the community? Is Canada growing better, its ideals higher, its youth stronger in mind and body, its people happier?

The answer to such a question, or series of questions, depends so greatly upon the point of view, the individual perspective, that only a study of actual conditions can afford any reasonable basis for a conclusion. It is not necessary to rave about the "good old times," or to prate solemnly about a forgotten past, in order to know and feel that our people of to-day lack certain qualities and conditions which aided greatly in the foundation of the country and the formation of strong individual character. To begin at the basis of national and personal life—the home—a tremendous change has taken place in the past fifty years and a still greater one if the century be included in the comparison. With the exception of a floating official life in Quebec which was largely broken up at the Cession, and of a small military element in a few English centres, Canada commenced its career with a strictly moral and home-loving population. It was composed of the French *habitants*, the Loyalist settlers who had constituted the very cream of the people in the Thirteen Colonies, and the pioneers who had proven their pluck and character in fields of greater stress than even the picturesque and more striking scenes of battle in which many had also shared. Upon the whole it was a God-fearing, honest, moral, and law-abiding population—strong in religious faith, whether Roman Catholic,

Presbyterian, Anglican, or otherwise; strong in a fundamental patriotism created by conditions of war and suffering; strong in a moral fibre which revered the law, respected authority and, amongst the cultured classes, at least, elevated women into an atmosphere of honour. Home life was to them a most desirable thing and family responsibilities a duty as well as a happiness.

What of the condition to-day? The whole attitude of our people seems to have changed. The home life of the farm in the Eastern Provinces is usually one of loneliness and drudgery for the wife and daughters; the wife endures it but too often passes away prematurely; the daughters escape into some city with its endless possibilities of danger and its evil associations behind the shop counter, in the restaurant or in the factory, in the cheap boarding house, or upon the streets; the sons go to the University or into business and in any case neglect the farm; while those who do remain in the homesteads find life far from pleasant through enforced dependence upon the father, or with an inheritance too often accompanied by a loneliness which the social condition of the neighbourhood makes it difficult to remedy by marriage. The young country woman of to-day, with her partial and crude education, frequently refuses to marry a farmer and prefers business or industrial work in the centres of population or, perhaps, union with some worthless but showy person from a neighbouring town. In the West many of these conditions in rural life are accentuated, but they are also accompanied by a quicker process of money-making and by a surrounding growth which is almost a romance.

The home life of the masses in our urban centres has equally altered. Boarding houses, flats and even tenements, have taken its place amongst those of limited means—partly because of the high and increasing cost of living. Amongst wealthier people, also, a similar condition of home abandonment exists—partly because of increasing female aversion to the responsibilities and labour of maintaining a home, partly to the growing difficulty of getting servants which, in

turn, is caused by a distorted conception of woman's place in the social system and by a frantic desire for personal freedom in fields of life where, above all things, restraint and restrictions are essential. This has made many young women throw aside the domestic work for which they were best fitted, and which would have trained them for their own home-making, in order to enter shops and factories which must unfit them for the life blazed out by nature and the mandate of Christian civilization.

Industrial openings, city excitements, and farm toil, have had their prominent place in weaving these shuttles of change; but the greatest factor of all has been this alteration in the character and attributes of women. Independence is now the pretended, if not active and actual, goal of a young woman's life—freedom from past safeguards of social custom, liberation from home ties and duties and work, the right to go where she pleases, associate with whom she chooses, marry as she fancies, or earn her own living if she wishes. What has been the result? A steady levelling downward of the position of woman; a decrease in, and often total absence of male respect and regard for what nature intended, and earlier conditions of civilized society ordained, to be the weaker sex; a coarsening of the feminine fibre, a loosening of the mantle of modesty and a frequent deterioration in physical powers. With this process has come immensely increased temptations and moral dangers; out of it has grown a "social evil" vast in its proportions and increasing from day to day as the city life of this country and the continent grows greater; along with it has come a shattering of the whole framework of social life—the love of the home and family surroundings which was once woman's chiefest attribute, a man's best safeguard, and religion's greatest helper. Parents also delegate their duties in training children to the kindergarten or the boarding school, to the public school with its strange and formal and personally indifferent elements of instruction, to the loose associations of the street and public places, to the friendship of other boys and girls picked up at random from

the circle of city or country life. In the public schools much is taught and certain phases of education are excellent but there is an absolute and total avoidance of religious instruction, and no training is given in either morals or manners. The Sunday schools do not reach a third of the child population of the land.

Is this view pessimistic or extreme? In all such considerations Canada must be studied as being more or less under United States influences—the unseen forces recently referred to by Lord Milner. These are modified, of course, by local conditions, such as the absence of a national divorce court, the presence of a powerful Roman Catholic element of 41 per cent. of the population, and the still strong force of the old-time Scotch settlers of the Dominion. Under the conditions of half a century ago American contiguity did not have the same effect nor could the evils of to-day have developed. In an old-time state of home guardianship and restriction for girls, could a syndicate of scoundrels in the United States have married, robbed, and deserted 50,000 young women in ten years as a matter of business? Under the conditions which once surrounded marriage with parental care and supervision, could 7,700 wives in New York or 7,500 in Chicago be yearly abandoned by their husbands? Under past conceptions of home life could an Oregon Judge grant 19 divorce decrees in two hours and a half, or the whole Republic show 614 divorces for every 10,000 marriages? Under the strong Christian or moral public sentiment of fifty years ago could the companion of a murderer be made a heroine of by the press and become even an object of public sympathy and regard? Under any proper comprehension of the relation of parents and children could a young Canadian girl shoot herself because her father “dared” to reprove her in public; or the average child treat its parents with the ill-mannered carelessness and indifferent disobedience which characterize the family life of to-day in this Dominion? Under a proper sense of public responsibilities, could a Toronto school official actually teach the doctrine of the equality

of the child with his elders, and the desirability of eliminating all punishment from the home and the school? Under any strong basis of home-training and home guardianship, could the boys of our cities crowd the demoralizing theatres of to-day or young girls listen with delight to stage stories of sordid crime and immoral lives?

Turning from this branch of the subject to the male part of the population, what is the distinctive note of to-day in Canada and, indeed, over the whole continent? Is it not commercialism? The churches, the political atmosphere, the business world, the platform, the press, even the home, the school, and sport itself, are instinct with the spirit of money-making. One does not need to be more than a casual observer of men and events in order to stigmatize greed of gain as the dominant aspiration of the day; individual selfishness as the greatest evil produced amongst men by this development; and political graft and corporate grab as the most marked public result. With this spirit goes a certain callousness to individual convenience or welfare which finds expression in public manners, in the management of financial institutions, in the running of railways and steamships, and in the working of public utilities and minor transportation agencies, so that the masses suffer from uncounted losses, or physical injuries, or unpunished deaths. As against this record of unquestioned selfishness there is, of course, the yearly contributions for charitable, health-giving, life-saving, and Christianizing purposes. An exact balance may be impossible to strike but the evil influences are greatly growing.

Where are the virile, earnest, honourable business men who comprised the vast majority of fifty years since? There are many of them still here, of course, but the strenuous spirit of modern commercialism has eaten into the proportion possessed by our various communities with most disastrous effect. The modern preacher goes where the largest salary calls him; the teacher in the schools teaches according to the rule or wishes of ignorant or prejudiced trustees; the business man thinks twice, and oftener, before he expresses an opinion

which might lose him a customer; the politician thinks long and carefully, and usually with negative effect, before he presents a sentiment, favours a policy, or performs an action which might lose him votes by crossing the path of popular commercialism; the public man no longer leads but follows in a blind groping after the light of popularity; the manufacturer is open and above-board in fighting for his own hand; the farmer grinds the utmost possible work out of his hired help and throws him aside when the summer season is over; the workingman frankly organizes for his own supposed interest and in expressed antagonism to the manufacturer; the clerk in the towns and cities gets what he can out of his employer and deserts him at the first opportunity; the employer pays the least he can and grants no special consideration for untoward personal incidents.

These general conclusions can hardly be controverted no matter how many exceptions there may be to the rule. With this modern condition has come a curious change in the press. Newspapers were originally established to advocate some clearly defined political doctrine or matter of public policy; or to represent the views and feelings of an individual; or to support some specific party in the State. Individualism, however, has almost entirely gone out of the modern Canadian newspaper and with it the independence which made W. L. Mackenzie, or George Brown, a power in the early politics of Ontario and enabled little groups of journalists to sway French-Canadian opinion at their will. Two influences dominate the Canadian newspaper of the moment—commercialism and partisanship. It is too often not the commercialism which aims at producing a good paper which, as a consequence of its excellence, will meet with popular approval and monetary reward, but a spirit which sacrifices the editorial, the news, and every other department, to the single question—"Will it pay"? There are a good many exceptions, of course, but they do not constitute the majority. The partisanship which dominates everything outside the business office, and sometimes even that department through Government ad-

vertisements and other political patronage, is not devotion to abstract party principle, or to some great cause advocated by party leaders, but rather support of an organization which is out to win and which must win office, even if consistency and the principles of the past are abandoned in order to succeed.

It is commercialism which so often fills the press with advertisements which fool the public either to their pecuniary loss or their moral harm. It is the same spirit which prevents Canada from having an efficient and useful cable news-service, devoted to the presentation of British news and British policy from the standpoint of cultured and patriotic independence—and allows our papers to depend upon the cheaper American agencies. It is this spirit which provokes and promotes sensationalism in the pulpit and on the platform, in books and magazines and even in business; as well as in the press itself. To say that there was none of this influence in the earlier years of Canada would be absurd; but to say that it is not growing with leaps and bounds would be equally so. From the United States comes a dominating note which tells the modern newspaper man that he must be smart and sharp at any expense; that he must make news and make money at all hazards. To many these two principles constitute all the law and the prophets.

A great factor in the life of the people, as it has been for so many centuries, here as in the Home-land, is that of religion. How far is this influence gaining ground as a potent force? It is to be feared that the answer must be pessimistic in its final conclusion. Let the formality of modern worship, the indifference of the average man in cities and towns, the demands of social life, the cult of the higher criticism, the abrogation of old-time sternness in moral doctrine or practice, the absence of enthusiasm in the pew and aspiration in the pulpit, the straining after money to maintain the churches, the multiplication of diverse and diverging sects, the growth of a materialism which is little removed from scepticism, give the unpleasant reply. There is, of course, much genuine religion in the country, much good and sincere work being

done, many great churches and able, enthusiastic pastors, much splendid missionary work in the West and far beyond the confines of Canada. But how far is this building-up process keeping pace with the eating away of foundations, the weakness which comes from growing and greater divisions? As already stated not a third of the child-population of the country goes to Sunday school, far less than that proportion receives religious education at home and, apart from the Roman Catholic population, few or none receive it in the schools. A religious community cannot be indefinitely maintained upon a non-religious basis, and without the sentiment which comes from child training and is associated with an early formation of the mind, the prospect of creating Christian citizens, in competition with all the opposing elements now at work, is not encouraging. The churches have become more and more places of resort for the hearing of pleasant music, the listening to showy or attractive preaching, and the meeting of the young people in social reunion. The old idea of devotion and worship seems to be passing from the minds of the crowd.

What about the conduct of business? Canada still has many of the old type of merchant, or lawyer, or physician—honourable, public-spirited men, whose lives are as clear as the conduct of their business or profession—but it is to be feared that the proportion is greatly decreasing. The eager money-making rush of the day has been destructive of many old-fashioned methods. With the latter have gone very largely the business ideals of the past, the professional codes of a half-century since. Intense competition has affected professional etiquette, as it has business honour. Men rush into combines without hesitation, deceive their bankers with facility and despatch, cheat the public with apparent indifference, and produce poor goods, or pack inferior products, with often a deliberate intention to defraud. Practical morality in trade would seem to be, too largely, described in Clough's satiric lines:

Thou shalt not kill, but need'st not strive
 Officiously to keep alive.
Thou shalt not steal; an empty feat
 When it's so lucrative to cheat.
Thou shalt not covet; but tradition
 Approves all forms of competition.

Some of these evils might have been averted or lessened by a development of education along the lines intended by the founders of this country. Whatever may be said as to girls, the training of the boys should be in the hands of men; and this was the practice, as well as the ideal, of the earlier educationalists. A manly boy is the product of instruction which must have the strong hand under the velvet glove; the virile, masculine mind behind the quiet and courteous exterior; a comprehension of boyish weakness and strength which few female teachers are fitted by nature to feel. To-day the boys of Canada are very largely being trained in the schools by young girls—often themselves unformed in either a mental or physical sense. How many mothers, it may be asked, can properly control their boys, let alone a young woman who is strange to them personally, ignorant of their peculiar tendencies and character, and weakened in authority by an extraordinary public aversion to any discipline enforced by punishment. It seems to be absolutely forgotten that, in order to rule, both boys and men must learn to obey the laws and be subject to severe punishment if they fail to do so. Boys are allowed to be lawless, to live without fear of punishment for committed faults, to break the rules of school and home, and are yet expected to grow up into tractable, law-abiding, and manly citizens.

The earlier conception of education also included some teaching of religion—which in turn meant instruction in obedience, in respect for elders, in regard for word once given, in honourable dealing with other boys, in the avoidance of bad language and worse habits. Every modern development in the life of this continent would seem to emphasize the

necessity of this condition and prove the moral failure of any educational system which lacks it. There can be no doubt that Dr. Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist and the founder of the Ontario system of education, believed in something of the sort; while Anglican support of the principle is written almost as clearly upon the pages of Canadian history as is the Roman Catholic policy. Those days are gone, however, and the public school is now supposed to be national and not Christian. To some extent, perhaps, the modern teaching of patriotism in these schools may do a little of the work which religious instruction is doing in the Catholic schools; but as a whole morals cannot be adequately taught apart from religion, or good citizens evolved without some basis of faith, or some definite guide for conduct implanted in early life.

Another problem which has grown out of city life and the expansion of population in Canada and the continent at large, is that of the mixed education of the sexes. In the earlier days of our history the separation of the sexes at a certain age was more or less carried out in all schools. The policy of free association has now for some time been adopted and encouraged, or permitted, amongst school children and very young people, in social matters and in the streets, as well as in the schools. The result upon manners and morals is becoming so obvious that it is amazing how good and honestly-intentioned educationalists can fail to grasp its meaning, especially when this condition is combined with a steady weakening of home influence and authority over the youth of our cities and a lessening regard for the mandates of the Churches and the principles of religion.

What about political conditions? The charges of political corruption in recent years have been so incessant as to create an unpleasant atmosphere in Canada and an uneasy suspicion abroad. The time has been when Canadians looked down upon United States politics, regarded them with a sort of superior air, and described American conditions as corrupt alike in municipal affairs, in caucus, in legislatures, and in

elections. The day for assumed superiority has gone by. There was a time here when a man's promise in political circles, or his pledge upon the public platform, was usually as good as his bond. There are many men still living who remember the thrill of disgust, the feeling of uneasy fear, the universal sense of political disquiet, which swept over the country in 1873 when the Government of Sir John Macdonald was proved to have accepted money from would-be railway contractors for a party campaign fund; and they well recollect the storm of ballots under which the greatest leader Canada had then produced went down to defeat. It is much to be feared that such an issue to-day would, of itself, have small effect.

In Quebec there has never been a more picturesque and powerful Provincial figure than Honoré Mercier. In 1892 the charge of having allowed a "toll-gate" between Government appointments or contracts and the Liberal campaign fund evoked a great popular majority against him. In Ontario ten years later, conditions of a most deplorable nature were alleged against a Provincial Government which had been in power for 25 years. A band of ballot manipulators was found to exist within the party organization which had absolutely no scruples in the matter of winning a constituency. Retribution came, it is true, but it took two bitter campaigns and some years of struggle to arouse public opinion. In the Federal elections of the past year almost the entire platform of the Conservative party was made up of charges of corruption against the Government at Ottawa. Whether true or not they seem to have had little effect upon the result.

Canada appears to be peculiarly liable to political corruption. Its constituencies are many and small in population though large in area. Local interests are all-powerful in many parts of the country and increasingly so everywhere as the great party principles of the past have died out, and been replaced by political organizations whose distinctive features are those of the ins and the outs. The candidate or member for a Canadian constituency has usually little time

or personal means to devote to his constituents, and the "nursing" which he must give them, or which he thinks is necessary, too often comes in the end from the public purse. When great issues no longer exist the best provider of public works, public buildings, public wharves, is the best member, and the best candidate in an election is obviously the Government candidate. In touch with these elements of easy corruption is a popular impression prevalent all over the continent that it is rather smart to "do up" a Government; that getting a personal commission as an intermediary in government transactions is not dishonest, though a similar act in business matters might still be considered dishonourable; that public lands and official purchases and Government contracts make a fair field for the profit of the political partisan.

Personal charges against politicians are very frequent in Canada though it would seem that nothing of that sort is really as bad as it looks; that the Government of the country contains a good average of honest and honourable men with a Leader against whom no one cares to raise a voice; that Canadian communities as a whole are still divided into two parties which can neither be purchased nor persuaded into changing their views, and which are only influenced by great public issues such as are not now visible to the naked eye. It is evident, however, in respect to the general conditions described, that a floating population in many Canadian constituencies, which cares little about politics or parties and has no distinctive principle upon which to act, is becoming more and more corrupt; that politicians frequently and deliberately cater to this element; that in the absence of great issues it is increasing in numbers and influence and is promoting a selfish localism which easily merges into collective corruption. The public conscience is also becoming callous to the real nature of this evil; indifference and disbelief have taken the place of keen inquiry and instant suspicion.

To sum up, it would seem that in Canada success is becoming in the popular mind more important than principle;

that in politics the fruits of power are more regarded than personal honour; that in business profit is more considered than a sense of duty done or probity preserved; that in social life notoriety is more sought after than refined intercourse or mutual pleasure; that in almost every other line of life, the spirit of commercialism prospers. Of course these are all to some extent world-wide conditions and they are certainly not peculiar to our northern part of the continent; but none the less they are notable and distinctive in a new country which is still in the early period of a national and materialistic evolution which is bound to produce great and far-reaching results in its later stages. Politically the interjection of large issues, Imperial or continental, may be expected to work future changes in the way of improvement; a public spirit which is now by no means inconsiderable will give increasing help in the direction of moral reform; Quebec is a distinct element in special religious influence and conservative force. There are many lights upon the shadow of any picture, however gloomy it may appear, but the best hope of Canada would seem to be in keeping as closely as it possibly can to the British traditions and aspirations of its Loyalist founders, in making closer its relations to what is best in the public and social and religious life of its Motherland, in returning to some of the ideals of the past which have been inadvertently or wilfully abandoned.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS

A CONFESSION OF FAITH AND A PROTEST

I CAN boast of some few friends who are deeply entrenched in the prosperity of this country, men of a fine sagacity whose practical knack of affairs has been its own exceeding rich reward, and who, I will say this to their lasting credit, by the breadth of their commercial vision, by their energy and by their courage have contributed their part towards winning for Canada a place among the nations. Upon many things we agree, and I make confession of a thrill of positive exultation as the eloquent tale of our material prosperities is unfolded, and I seem to hear in certain rapt moments the very thews and sinews of our young country crack with the energy of their growth. And this then is our Canada,—the land of limitless possibilities, where youth need never lack its spheres of activity, and where old age may lament, perhaps, a youth misspent, and fine occasions wasted, and plans that went awry, but never, as in countries less rich in rewards, the life-long absence of opportunity. Frequently, I admit, I am lulled into acquiescence when the fullness of our heritage is thus impressively set before me; but the subdued sense that everything is after all not so well with us will not out of my mind, and I sometimes suspect that you, my shrewd commercial friends, are subtly aware of this also, but that not being possessed of a remedy you are hopeless of a cure, and prefer like a doctor at his wits' ends to pat the patient on the back, and to tell him that he is getting on famously. Because, on the contrary, I think that this is a vicious method, and that the preferable and honester way is to tell the sick man that he is truly sick, but that with due care and cautious regimen his sound constitution will carry him through his troubles, I propose to say precisely what I think at this present moment of Canada, aware as I do so, that you will

smile good-humouredly at the unpractical physician with his visionary cure, and the strange medicaments whereby he proposes to effect it. Yet, my good friends, consider the diagnosis before pronouncing yourselves sceptical of the remedy, for it is a disease, not of the body but of the mind, that I discern, not an irregular pulsing of the heart, not an impediment of the physical energies, but an obliquity of mental vision, a wanton carelessness of spiritual health.

A physician whom I much delight to honour, the late Matthew Arnold, at a time when Mr. John Bright and Mr. Cobden were proclaiming the unparalleled prosperity of their country, took upon himself the invidious duty of proclaiming the fallaciousness of this complacent view, and because he refused to see prosperity writ large in the mere balance of trade suffered much obloquy (which he smilingly bore) at the hands of the practical-minded critics of his day. He was represented as the lily-fingered Arnold, a very 'superior person' indeed, who by a certain temperamental bias was evidently incapable of appreciating the importance of those activities, institutions and habits of thought which he had the temerity to attack. The provoking jauntiness of his manner, the rippling surface current of playfulness which masked while it did not impede the steady stream of his thought, and the airy generalizations which proved and still prove so disconcerting to the statistically-inclined reader, alienated from him the very class whose sympathies he wished to quicken, the men without style, the narrow-minded men with too much conscience or too little, the demagogues who lead the multitudes, and the multitudes who crown him king that praises them.

The solvent of our many ills in Arnold's view was culture, and herein he does but echo the cry of the lonely Jeremiahs of our day—Meredith's cry for 'More brain, more brain!' and Newman's eager plea for a more genial philosophy. In the preface to "Culture and Anarchy" Arnold informs us that the whole scope of his essay is "to recommend culture as the great help out of our present difficulties; culture being

a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world; and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits, which we now follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically. This, and this alone, is the scope of the following essay. And the culture we recommend is, above all, an inward operation." To free the mind then of narrowing prejudices, and to follow the best light that is in us, but to be sure while following it that our light is not darkness, points the way to our personal salvation and predisposes to the saving of the nation. The quackeries, sophistries and shibboleths of Carlyle's attack are also, therefore, the spectres which Arnold encounters in his path, but their respective modes of disposing of these differ by the whole breadth of their personal diversity. Carlyle's thunderous invective has battered a breach in the dead wall of human stupidity. Arnold, with subtle persuasiveness, solicits the key that shall gently unlock the gates of our intelligence and let in a little light. Heredity infused into both of these men a strong Calvinistic strain, which Arnold strove to mitigate by the free play of the love of beauty that was in him, but which is revealed, in spite of his watchful efforts to check its appearance, in his criticisms upon Burns and Shelley for example. Carlyle, though curiously tender towards Burns, is a thorough-going Puritan with scant sympathy for aesthetic delights and a rooted disbelief in joy as a governing principle of life. And the world is now slipping past Carlyle because he refused to make terms with the modern spirit, because he failed to recognize the titles of physical science, and resolutely set his face against democracy. In respect of science Arnold is ironically playful, but is mainly concerned with curbing its arrogance and allocating to Darwin and Homer their respective places according to his theory of relative values. Democracy he accepts, not with exultation truly, yet with no

romantic regrets for the days of Gurth and Cedric. It is an ugly, vociferous fact at present, but evidently a fact by which the world intends to live; so he faces it resolutely and not without hope for the future of the society which accepts it.

What democracy is in Arnold's view it is difficult to determine. At one time he appears to identify it with the brawn and muscle of the proletariat; at another time, viewing the democracy as peculiarly accessible to ideas, he would have us believe that it drafts its members from the select spirits of all the classes; and again that a class exists, typified in John Bright, one half of whose mind is darkened by middle class vulgarity, while the other half lies open to the illumination which flows from the democratic principle. We do not like to press Arnold for too close a definition of terms. From the coil of argument we derive at least three clear consequences,—that democracy tends to equalize the classes, that social equality predisposes to culture, and that without culture the world is perpetually brutalized. Two of these propositions, the first and the last, we may accept without demur, reflecting that the progressive equalization of the classes must ever remain a mere tendency, and one not in the nature of things susceptible of actual consummation. The central proposition is of questionable validity. It might be argued with some cogency that the irruption of the masses into our higher civilization is literally a modern invasion of the barbarians, and that civilization must suffer in consequence a temporary check. At the present time it is certainly the prevailing stress of lower class sentiment which disfigures our streets, cheapens our literature and debases the standard of our public honour. And if Arnold's argument is not convincing the illustration by which he seeks to enforce it is thoroughly inadequate. The French peasant may be by nature more polite than English Hodge, but a French aristocrat does not that I am aware fraternize with him upon equal terms, nor dine with him by choice.*

*See the argument as set forth in his essay "Equality."

But these surface objections do not invalidate the general drift of Arnold's argument. He accepts democracy as a thing inevitable, he cheats himself with the delusion that its tendency is towards culture, but he is under no delusion that without culture the outlook for the world is black indeed. A hint of the meaning which Arnold attaches to the term has already been given. He refuses to accept Mr. Frederic Harrison's sneer that culture is a mere smattering of Latin and Greek plus a consciousness of one's own superiority. Culture, he is unwearied in repeating, is an inward illumination, an expansion of power in the sphere of intelligence, and a quickening of responsibilities in the sphere of conduct. Hellenism, the desire to know the best things and enjoy the most beautiful, and Hebraism or the impulse to right doing, may exist in isolation or conjointly. In isolation they tend to excess. The perfect Hellenist is the man of the Renaissance (cruelly typified by Arnold in a Puritan mood as the modern Parisian), curious of the things of beauty and an eager disputant, but lustful, passionate, perverse. Not immoral we may call him, but non-moral, lustful from animal impulse, passionate from pride, and perverse from self-will, because he can recognize no evil in his animality, exults in his pride, and creates his masterpieces from the very instinct of his selfishness. The complete Hebraist, the wholly and solely moral man, was a thorn in the flesh of Matthew Arnold the school-inspector, and Matthew Arnold the poet speaks bitterly of him in consequence, and commiserates his old friend Mr. Goldwin Smith who apparently spends 'his long winter evenings in Toronto' in his uninspiring company. Hebraism does not limit itself to any of the rough class divisions into which English life may be divided—there are aristocratic (Barbarian) Hebraists, middle class (Philistine) Hebraists, and lower class or populace Hebraists, but it is with the Philistine that it thrives, and it is in Philistine Hebraism that Arnold discerns the chiefest menace to the well-being of the state: "For Philistine gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the

resistance to light and its children; and hence it specially suits our middle class, who not only do not possess sweetness and light, but who even prefer to them that sort of machinery of business, chapels, tea-meetings and addresses from Mr. Murphy, which make up the dismal and illiberal life on which I have so often touched." Civilization has passed over them like a wave and only in its material adjuncts has civilization impressed their consciousness, for their very religion is materially inspired. The State suffers from the inevitable reaction, but lives upon the vitality drawn from other sources, lives effectively, that is to say, in as far as it tolerates wisdom and abjures prejudice. Students of English politics may decide for themselves as to the degree of effective vitality which English public life exhibits. But politics do not alone constitute the State whose present strength is derived from the innumerable activities of private life working in unison, and whose permanence in the future depends upon its power to produce great writers, great artists, and great musicians much more emphatically than upon its capacity to produce even great manufacturers or great statesmen. And England with all her faults has shown herself splendidly capable of effecting these results, and takes rank among the nations by her power to produce ideas more securely than by her power to hoodwink Russia, to manipulate the Porte, or to build her Dreadnoughts two for Germany's one, although all these things are requisite accessories of power. "All the liberty and industry in the world," again says Matthew Arnold, "will not ensure these two things: a high reason and a fine culture. . . . But it is by the appearance of these two things, in some shape or other, in the life of a nation, that it becomes something more than an independent, an energetic, a successful nation—that it becomes a great nation."

Professor Schofield of Harvard University visited some few years ago the eminent Danish critic, Georg Brandes. As a good Canadian will do when abroad Professor Schofield was expatiating on the greatness of his country, on its vast extent, its water-powers, its forests—on the opening up of

new provinces of unsuspected richness. Brandes checked him in mid-eloquence and said "Mr. Schofield, this probably interests you very much, but me, not in the least. Tell me what great men you have produced and I shall tell you whether I will be interested." Professor Schofield thought for a moment, and if I am not mistaken mentioned Sir John Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Frederick Borden and Mr. William Wilfrid Campbell. With the exquisite politeness which marks the foreigner Herr Brandes smiled and changed the subject.

But Arnold with British brutality classes us with the United States as a race of Philistines. The Barbarian was lost in the emigration, although the parvenu plutocrat of the second generation seeks to emulate his rôle, the populace cannot co-exist with democracy and high wages—so we are all one grey wash of Philistine spread over a continent of canvas. The indictment is harsh, but there seems no way of escaping the charge. If Mr. Goldwin Smith is forced to consort with the Philistines, what place is there for the children of light? My theosophist friends tell me that the sixth race of the world, destined to flourish for twenty-five thousand years—is now being born on the continent of America, and we have the word of our American neighbours that the great men of the United States have never been matched "in all the ages of recorded time," but I cannot take comfort from theosophic doctrine, and I suspect not the good faith but the judgment of American critics. We are then a race of Philistines, and while we remain so we cannot produce a song or a picture that will live, nor a great man at the mention of whose name Herr Georg Brandes will not wish to change the conversation. A harsh indictment indeed if it is true! But I hasten to point out what instances I can to prove that Philistinism is gradually relaxing its hold upon us. For example, the Mowat and Ross Governments were complacently Philistine and complacently starved our Provincial University, so great was their respect for the little red school house on the hill, so great their dread

of the criticism of the mercenarily vulgar. But the Whitney Government boldly affirmed that a University did not exercise a degenerating influence on the country, the country approved the affirmation, and loyally supported their generous inclinations. May I hint that there is a lingering element of Philistinism in Montreal? that you have a University equally capable of doing a vital work for the country, and that its powers of usefulness are seriously hampered because a few rich men are incapable of seeing that McGill University is quite the most important asset which Montreal possesses, although you are the financial, railway and shipping centre of the country!

I had hoped to find more examples to prove that Philistinism is waning with us in Canada, but the task is beyond my power. Harry Lauder comes to Toronto to sing a few comic songs. The Mayor and Corporation go to meet him, our regimental bands acclaim him as if he were indeed a Longboat, and a few people, indeed a very few people, stay at home. Is it in this remnant, one querulously asks, that our salvation lies? And yet I am surely not pleading for an impossible result—only for a little more flexibility of intelligence, a little more watchfulness over one's individual or class limitations, a little more tact in relating things in their proper proportion, and this access of critical power will preserve us from being complacent in our own view, and in the eyes of others ridiculous.

PELHAM EDGAR

Post-scriptum:

Knowing my editor to be a singularly frank and practical man I anticipate his objections to the manner in which I have presented my views. He is not quite certain that Universities are necessarily centres of illumination, he does not see why people should not flock to hear Mr. Harry Lauder, and is of the opinion (which he is too polite to express) that my conclusions are inconclusive for the following reasons: (1) that I introduce my commercial friends with a flourish

at the beginning of my article and appear to forget them at the close, save for the ungracious hint that their brothers in Montreal should pay out a large sum of money for a mere idea; (2) that I lay myself open to the charge which is brought against so many exponents of culture—the charge of vagueness. Can I not suggest something that is reasonably practical? How for example, are my commercial friends to get culture, or is it worth their while that they should get a thing which must appear so intangible to the average man of affairs? (3) do I not possibly overrate the value of mere literature, and surely the country can wait a little while yet for its poem or its picture? and finally (4) have I adduced any valid reason, save that our man of genius has not yet appeared, why the aforesaid poem is not written or the picture painted?

* * * *

Yes, the country can and probably must wait a little while for its poem or picture with not much present harm in consequence. A secure material basis must of course be established before the last refinements of civilization can appear. That argument is trite and obvious, so I would not be interpreted as craving a premature growth of art in Canada, but rather as pleading for a quickening of the general intelligence, so that the man of commerce shall understand commerce much more thoroughly than he does at present, yet will have a reserve of appreciation for uncommercial things, just as a University man is permitted to have a profound ignorance of commerce provided that he does not scout its value and its many virtues. Should it be argued that the reason we have no philosophers, poets, or artists in Canada who command the attention of the world is because we have not the men of requisite talent among us, I reply to the argument in terms of simple cause and effect. Our seven millions of people are not wholly a servile population, and other things being equal we should produce our due proportion of men vitally interested in matters intellectual. But the "other things" are visibly not equal, since the whole pressure of our national

life urges us into activities alien and often actively hostile to art, and it is proverbially difficult to drift against the stream.

When our people seriously want a literature or an art they will have it, and meanwhile we must make shift to satisfy ourselves with the books and pictures which other civilizations and other times have produced. There is matter for regret in this, because in spite of the alleged universality of great ideas no other people and no other age can voice our aspirations and explain us to ourselves. The cynic says that we have no national aspirations and are not much worth explaining after all, but a cynic is bound to say these things, and we are not bound to believe him.

I am asked for practical suggestions, and here I feel the weakness of my position. The world has repeatedly been told to "get wisdom," and as repeatedly manages to muddle through somehow without it. Writers in this review are peculiarly addicted to proclaiming the unintelligence of our representatives in Parliament. The Tory press proclaims the rapacity of the Liberals, the Liberal press deplores the venality of the Tories. With all this cross fire of criticism, and indeed there was a prodigious rattle of small arms at our last election, we present a sorry figure in the eyes of the world. I have urged, however vaguely, the need of clarifying the individual intelligence,—shall not, then, the collective intelligence of the country as represented in our several Parliaments be clarified also? Carlyle says that Assemblies embody the collective folly of the nation, but Carlyle, Mazzini, Arnold and the host of theorizers upon Government from the days of Plato insist that our main purpose should be to get our best men into office. As to the method of effecting this they are not agreed. A revelation of method flashed upon me the other day and I give it to you as a meagre beginning of what the test of experience may some day ripen into a perfect system. A Civil Service Commission has been established for evident purposes of reform. Their first definite movement in the direction of reform has been to increase the pay of Civil Servants, but the main reformation we are told

is to be effected by instituting examinations of varying difficulty for admission to the different grades of the service. Now my revelation was to this effect, and I more particularly address myself to the good judgement of Professor Shortt:— Our Parliamentarians have already taken the first step towards reform in materially increasing their own salaries. Let Professor Shortt take the second step (and the country will see to it that the necessary legislation is secured), by imposing an examination test, not too severe, for admission to the House of Commons. Senators may be for the present exempted, the existing age qualification sufficing. As to the exact form which such a test should take I am still in doubt. I would consent to act as one of the examiners, without fees as a true patriot should, and in my day dreams I often indeed find myself setting the paper on "General Intelligence." I vary the questions frequently in my mind, but I remember that in the last paper which I prepared the following simple questions occurred:

1. Define "Sweetness and Light."
2. Illustrate by reference to past history the value of Expediency.
3. If the Patronage List is abolished can you devise a method for extending patronage?

P. E.

FAME

Have I played fellowship with night, to see
The allied armies break our gates at dawn
And let our general in? By Bacchus, no!
I have not left my stall, Sir, I'm too poor
For lazy prentices to hand my wares,—
Such delicate chains, like amber linked with love,
Such silvered pins, like hate to let love out,—
What know I? But my Domeneddio went
To the fountain of the coppersmiths, when first
The double cypress showed upon the east.
He's home, poor fool, hoarse as a moulting bird
From loud throat-loyalty. "The banners burn
Still in my soul," he cries, "as then in air.
The gray air, the gray houses, and the flowers,
The flowers, my father! thyme and twisted sweets
From the blue hills I dream of, and thin bells
Of faery folds; pomegranates carved in flame,
Flame of red rose and golden, flame of sound
Blown from hot-throated trumpets, and the flame
Of her proud eyes.

She rode beside the duke,
In velvet coloured like a pansy is,
And threaded round with gold: her mantle strained
On the warm wind behind her, golden too,
Gold as the spires of lilies, and her hair
And her dark eyes were danced across with gold!"
Gold, gold, poor fool, and she was bought for gold,
A golden grief to ride at a duke's rein.
Eh well! the great grow love-in-idleness
About their courts. Did Domeneddio see
Our general too? "A little, tired, old man
Clad in worn sables with a silver star,"
He told me, "fain to find his house and sleep."

MARJORIE L. C. PICKTHALL

THE MARRIAGE BROKER

THROUGHOUT Anglo-Saxondom the marriage-broker has fallen into disrepute. He has been dethroned by the marriage-breaker, whose seductive advertisements leer at you from the columns of the daily press, holding out comfortable assurance of release from a self-imposed bondage.

It is characteristic of modern humanity that it should scorn the services of an expert when about to embark upon a hazardous adventure ; it is not less eloquent of the type that, after light-hearted temerity has plunged it into an abyss of domestic woe, it should appeal to the Doctor of Law to cure what the Doctor of Matrimony would have prevented.

In a fair Canadian city of the Western prairie I chanced upon a Doctor of Matrimony, or, rather, I sought him out, after the morning papers had made me familiar with his diurnal appeal to the unwedded. Upon presenting myself to him I was instantly conscious of a scrutiny differing in quality from any to which, in the vicissitudes of a wandering life, I had hitherto been subjected.

His was not a glance which sought to discover whether his visitor would sell him a patent tooth-brush, demand of him a subscription, or insure his life ; it was a swift but shrewd examination whose sole purpose was to determine my matrimonial qualifications. After my watch-chain, my boots, and my umbrella had told their story he looked me in the face ; and it is no small tribute to his professional skill that I was unable to form an opinion as to the kind of impression I had created.

When I explained that upon the present occasion it was not my purpose to avail myself of the resources of his craft, that curiosity alone had brought me to his bureau, he accepted

the situation with well-bred courtesy and professed himself entirely at my disposal.

Our conversation disclosed my Doctor of Matrimony as a student and a philosopher. The outward and visible sign of his excellence, the lustre which experience had imposed upon the fine substance of his nature, was a suave harmony of gesture and diction—that sum of attributes which is implied in the expression ‘a good bed-side manner.’

His knowledge of the world was such as might be gained by an intelligent man who for a decade has received the confidences of some two thousand persons annually upon the delicate subject of their hymeneal predilections. Life was his laboratory, mankind his material, and marriage the crucible in which he fused every variety of male and female character, in a laudable effort to formulate the final equation of conjugal felicity.

From the prospectus of the Town and Country Matrimonial Agency I make the following extracts, which define the undertaking in the three dimensions of Philosophy, Sociology, and Economics. “Looked at in a sensible, broad-minded way, and reasoned out by an intellect devoid of prejudice and unfettered by fine-drawn notions of delicacy, there is no conceivable reason why marriages arranged by a genuine matrimonial agency should not be as successful and as productive of lasting happiness as those brought about by the happy-go-lucky and flighty methods most in vogue. The bureau is used by large numbers of business and professional men, farmers, ranchmen, fruit-growers, merchants, store-keepers, railroad men, mechanics, and men of many other occupations, trades, and callings in every part of the country; and among the lady members we have on our books are large numbers of ladies of every description, nationality, and religion, and of all ages from 17 to 55. Some are of good social and financial standing, others have small means, many have education and refinement, and many others are honest, sincere ladies without means, but very often of great personal attraction. A membership fee of \$5 is required from every-

one before any introductions are given, and this fee entitles you to unlimited introductions until suited. On your marriage resulting through any introduction given you by us the further sum of \$12 will be required after marriage."

To my enquiries as to the methods and results of his activities Dr. Sibelius responded with the greatest frankness. Under normal conditions, he said, marriage was chiefly the consequence of propinquity ; and in establishing his bureau he had founded his hopes of success upon the circumstance that in the rural districts of Western Canada propinquity of the sexes was brought about only through rare chance or by happy accident.

The farmers and ranchmen, for instance, whose callings swelled the ranks of his male clientelage, could only present themselves at the bar of feminine judgement by undertaking long and arduous pilgrimages to those great centres of population where many ladies "have education and refinement, and many others are honest." To visit in person some Mecca of the unmarried and there to burn incense before the altar of capricious spinsterhood involved sacrifices of time inconsistent with the spirit of husbandry and repugnant to the bucolic instinct.

The female cohort, on the other hand, was, as it were, a home garrison which could not be despatched upon enterprises of conquest. Even if maidenly reserve could be brought to sanction such tactics, the open substitution of a kinetic for a static principle in feminine strategy would violate a tradition to which the centuries had given their support, and would deprive woman of her cleverly retained courtesy-title as the person pursued.

Comfortably situated between the horns of this dilemma lay the hospitable offices of the Town and Country Matrimonial Agency. By filling in a printed form, whose queries commenced with the subject of your age and ended with your attitude towards music, you disclosed to Dr. Sibelius as much of your personality as pride or prudence dictated ; and at

the bottom of the sheet a blank space afforded you an opportunity of describing your ideal.

I was naturally full of eagerness to discover whether the Doctor had found amongst his clients any consensus as to the qualities which one sex regarded as desirable in the other ; and I suggested to him that the great diversity of taste exhibited by persons who initiate their own connu- bialities was probably reflected in his correspondence.

To my surprise he informed me that so far from this being the case there was to be observed in the thousands of applica- tions he had received a remarkable uniformity of demand. The fashion of the time appeared to affect the requirements of the men. Thus the blonde and the brunette, the slender and the stout, the grave and the gay, in their eight permutations, enjoyed well-defined periods of favour ; but at any given moment almost all the men sought the same general type of woman.

With the ladies, however, things were very different. At the bottom of his application-form the words " If the blank space is insufficient you may write on the other side of the sheet " gave everyone a fair chance of minute specification : during five years he had seldom noticed that a man had failed to take advantage of the suggestion or that a woman had profited by it.

In a few instances girls under twenty said something about their preference in the matter of male beauty, and within this age-group red hair and large feet were often named as disqualifying attributes. But very few women over twenty and none over twenty-five ever expressed any interest in the appearance of their hypothetical mates.

Age appeared to be the only strictly personal element that excited female interest ; and upon this point feminine opinion exhibited a clear line of demarcation at about 35— women under that age demanding men above it, and vice-versa. In nine cases out of ten the woman paid her five dollars to be introduced to a man whom she described in terms which, saving only the item of worldly goods, might with

equal propriety be applied to a horse or an automobile—strong, a good worker, and reliable.

At times a woman would insist strongly upon some particular quality in her future lord ; but these carefully specified virtues and graces were almost invariably of a negative character—such as not playing the cornet, not being of a jealous disposition, not being insistent upon the keeping of household accounts. I ventured an opinion that these excluded terms suggested the widow—psychology ; but Dr. Sibelius assured me, not without a touch of malice, that widows never appeared to require his services.

Nothing interested me more in the Doctor's narrative than his account of the prolixity of the male and the brevity of the female in their exhortations to his judgement and observation.

Upon my request for an explanation of the phenomenon he said that a man, whose name he had forgotten, had expressed the philosophy of the matter in a hard but true saying—that man accepted matrimony for the sake of woman, and woman man, for the sake of matrimony—and he was convinced that in consummating marriage it was the man who paid the woman the compliment, and not the other way round as was popularly supposed, for it was very clear that in the great majority of cases the man was in love with what he believed to be an attractive personality and the woman was in love with what she believed to be an attractive institution.

He accounted for the remarkable sameness of the male demand in a manner which showed him to be a close observer of humanity. Throughout the country districts, where the bulk of his male subscribers resided, the only contact with the outside world was achieved through the weekly and monthly magazines and the Sunday editions of the Chicago and New York papers. The illustrations and the letter-press in these periodicals always presented to the public types of women of exactly similar character.

He was aware that magazine and newspaper editors tried to persuade themselves that they were eager for new

and original material. As a matter of fact nothing could be further from the truth ; there was nothing in heaven above or on the earth beneath which inspired so much distrust and terror in the editorial breast as a new human type. The editor would welcome the standard type of the moment acting in a new environment or under unusual conditions; but the language, the dress, the appearance, and the deportment of the hero and the heroine must conform to the accepted pattern of the day.

From time to time a new type would force itself to the front—usually fathered by some small and obscure firm of publishers faced with a choice between the devil of originality and the deep sea of bankruptcy—but during the prevalence of any type the public at large got no other.

The result was that the male population, and particularly that portion of it which lives in rural seclusion, was led by the papers and magazines to seek what it believed to be the only true type of womanhood, just as the woman in her turn was led by the same agencies to seek, in the domain of her most serious interest, what she believed to be the one true type of fair raiment.

My final query was directed towards the success or failure of the marriages arranged through the Doctor's instrumentality.

"I have been the means," he said, "of placing more than four thousand people in a state of matrimony; and in one case only have I received any complaint. The only thing I could do was to refund the fees; and that I did willingly." At this moment we were interrupted by the sudden and unannounced entrance of an extremely pretty woman, who blushed, apologized, and withdrew in charming confusion.

"My wife," said the Doctor.

"May I be allowed to congratulate you?" said I.

"You may," he replied. "I secured her through the Agency. She is the best possible proof of the soundness of our methods."

CHESTER CORNISH

TO LESBIA

CATULLUS V.

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque senum severiorum
Omnes unius aestimemus assis.
Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.
Da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
Dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
Deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.
Dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
Conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
Aut nequis malus invidere possit,
Cum tantum sciet esse basiorum.

I.

Lesbia, let us live and love,
We'll old fogies' mumblings prove
Worth not half a cast-off glove;
Suns may rise, may set the sun,
But when once our day is done
Sleep eternal has begun.
Thousand kisses now give me—
Then a hundred—and then we
Will another thousand share,
Then a second hundred—there—
Now another thousand, then
Give me kisses ten times ten.
When a million we've enjoyed
Let the record be destroyed
Lest we or some satirist
Shall find out how oft we've kissed.

GLENHOLME FALCONBRIDGE

II.

Let us love, Lesbia mine, as our life's course we run
 And scorn the old wives' maxims deep,
 For full often will rise the oft setting sun,
 But when our brief light's quenched, then our day is done
 And death is one long, long sleep.

Give me kisses a thousand, a hundred more,
 A thousand, a hundred again,
 Many hundreds and thousands—forget we the score,
 Lest some envious wretch should grudge us them sore,
 Of our kisses the tale should he ken.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

III.

Live we our life, and let it be
 A life of love for you and me;
 Nor care a fig for all the chatter
 Of prim old people who don't matter.
 Suns that set will rise more bright:
 But when fades our little light
 We must sleep through endless night.

Give me a thousand kisses! then five score,
 Another thousand, then a hundred more,
 Then straight a thousand, and again five score!
 Then when our kisses many thousands grow,
 We'll spoil the counting, so we may not know,
 Or lest some evil eye should blight our blessings
 By knowing the full tale of our caressings.

W. P.

IV.

Love me, Lesbia; life is naught without it:
 Sour old Puritans scowl, and scold and scout it:
 Just one penny for all their thoughts about it.

Yon sun sinks, but another sun's to follow:
Our sun, once it set, sets to joy and sorrow
In perpetual night without a morrow.

Come, then; kisses a dozen I implore thee:
Then more kisses and more and more and more; see,—
When their number is mounting by the score, we

Just lose count of it: ignorance our bliss is:
So that somebody's eye of evil misses
Us whom love has made millionaires of kisses.

MAURICE HUTTON

L'ENVOI.

What's this? hendecasyllables to Tessa!
Not Chief—Justice—and stuffy old Professor—?
Well! well! only to think of that! God bless her!

M. H.

THE PRIVILEGE OF SELF-DEFENCE

THE Militia Department of Canada has worked with the idea of creating a standing army rather than a civil population ready and able, if necessary, to defend their country; but happily it seems to be coming to an appreciation of the insufficiency of this method. The department appears to realize that in an emergency it would never do to have nothing but raw recruits and a few thousand trained men as Canada's only safeguard and protection, or, as an auxiliary corps, for purposes of the Empire should assistance be needed. It is now purposed to begin at the beginning in military training, with the youth of the country, at school, in their most plastic age.

It is announced that the Government has sanctioned an extension throughout Canada of the agreement which was made last year between the Minister of Militia and the educational authorities of Nova Scotia for the introduction into the public schools of a system of physical training and military drill. One of the obligations which Nova Scotia has accepted under this agreement, and which the other provinces will doubtless concur in, is the encouragement of cadet corps and of rifle practice among boys who are old enough to attend high schools. The Department of Militia undertakes on its part to provide competent instructors to enable teachers to qualify for the work of instruction which they will have to do. The department will also supply belts, caps, if desired, and a proportion of the arms and ammunition which are required.

This, briefly put, is the new plan to increase, I will not say the efficiency of the army, but at least the usefulness of the service, and of the department, and ultimately, through this, to improve the general military standing of the country; for the youth of to-day is the man of to-morrow, and a properly drilled, well set-up youth who knows and understands the command to face about and who knows moreover how to

handle a rifle—that youth, as the man of the morrow will be an invaluable addition to the intelligent fighting force of the country should emergency call him out.

A few may say that it will make Canada more military than it is, which in itself might not be a bad thing. What man is there who sometime or other in his life as a boy did not “play at soldier,” and would not have rejoiced had the opportunity been given him to have a real uniform and a real rifle? It was not the warlike spirit in him that was crying out for these things; it was merely the youthful desire for knowledge and for amusement; because when the spirit moves us to play at a thing it may be depended upon we derive pleasure from it. But even if it did inculcate a proper military spirit, what of it? Is that of itself a blighting spirit? Or is it not desirable that, as a result of such training, the young men of the country should be enabled to put themselves in a position of defence?

But there are other reasons. Such drill will be especially welcome in the rural communities where it will relieve the tedium of rural life by giving the lads a fresh interest, and where it will develop the boys to such degree that when, in their later life, they come into camp with city regiments they need no longer fear to be derisively heralded. Moreover, so far as rifle practice is concerned, it surely will not be contended that it is not a much better and a much more wholesome occupation to meet together on the summer evenings for rifle practice than to spend the evenings idly by the roadside. These meetings would broaden and develop the patriotic spirit in the youth of the country and they would give us healthier, well set-up boys who would know how to stand erect and walk properly.

I have it from the Commandant of the Royal Military College in Kingston, Col. E. T. Taylor, that the general public would be surprised at the small percentage of young men in Canada who would be able to pass the strict test applied by the British Army to-day. This physical under-development Col. Taylor attributes in part to the fact that the people of

Canada are more and more coming to be a mixture of many European countries, while in England they remain British and, moreover, are brought up under better training—even in their sport. Col. Taylor points out that in Canada to-day sport is becoming too much of a business and too little of a pastime, while in the Old Country and in India the officers encourage sport in the army to such an extent that in the afternoon the men are given the option of going on parade or playing football.

But it is Col. Taylor's idea that the training such as is proposed should not stop merely with teaching the youth how to drill and how to shoot. It should not the least of all teach him how to march, and any system that does not do this to that extent will fall short. It is Col. Taylor's observation that even where the city and the country youth have strong muscles they are not necessarily good walkers but often "hitch up" at the end of a mile or thereabouts. His idea is that the boys and the girls too, of every school should go out, not necessarily in a body but by twos and threes, to a given point, say two miles from the city, once or twice a week, so that they might thereby learn to walk and march; while coincidentally they could on each occasion, arrived at their destination, report to one of the school officials earlier on the scene, and thus have further impressed upon them the lesson of law and order, of punctuality and obedience.

But eliminating the military element entirely from the subject, this project has to commend it not only that it will make our youth more vigorous, more manly, more erect, more courageous, more self-reliant, but that it will teach them a lesson of discipline—of law and order, of obedience and regularity, of punctuality and precision, and that as a result of this there should largely disappear from our youth what one writer has called the "contemptible contempt" for authority that prevails so largely on this continent.

What a boon these drills would be for the dull boy—the stupid one who shines not at all in his class room, and who

in consequence only too often drops out of school while yet he is too young ! Here in this outer world there may be opportunity for him to shine, and if he should shine, how much greater the chances that he would endeavour to do better by himself in the school-room so that he might be privileged to continue the enjoyment of his drill and his dress. Moreover, would not this kind of military discipline impress the difference, which so many of us seem to forget, between teaching and training ? Teaching is the infusion of principles; training is the formation of habits.

It will not do to give a boy book learning alone. He must be taught the law of order; he must be taught punctuality; he must have impressed upon him the wisdom and the value of unity of action and co-operation of effort; he must be taught the lesson of cleanliness and of neatness in appearance; he must learn respect for authority, not alone in its application to home, but also to society and the State; for without this, lawlessness and anarchism are bred; he must be taught to obey. And all these things he will learn more readily and more willingly when "playing the game" of soldiery, a game fascinating and pleasing to every boy, than were the endeavour made to drive them home to him as out-and-out "lessons."

It is sincerely to be hoped, then, that this movement will develop and expand. Not only will it increase the efficiency of the militia department and of the schools; it will foster habits of order and discipline, obedience, and regularity which in after life are useful, helpful, and pleasing; it will give the youth of the country a more self-reliant attitude; it will encourage a more regular attendance at school; it will impress upon the children the value and the glory of the privilege of self-defence, and it will do much toward preparing a citizen soldiery ready, if needs be, to defend their homes.

There may be differences of opinion in Canada as to just how far we are warranted in going in committing ourselves as a Government or as a people to an "Army of Empire," but there surely can be no difference of opinion as to whether

or not we should train up our youth to be well-ordered citizens having respect for and being obedient to the law, able and willing to enforce it.

The undertaking is a large one and there is no use in concealing from ourselves that there are many obstacles in the way. The main difficulty will be to provide instructors. The business of teaching has fallen largely into the hands of women. In Ontario the number of female teachers amounts to 80.94 per cent. In Prince Edward Island, out of 580 teachers employed 375 are women. This is equal to nearly 65 per cent, and the number has increased by 30 during the past year. It should not, however, be impossible to secure the services of a drill sergeant, many of whom have received an honourable discharge from the army and find civil employment uncongenial to them. The boys would be the better for coming under the control of a man for even one hour a day. Even if the intelligence of the instructor were not of a very high order, he would be at least in the form and image of a man and receive obedience in virtue of his strength. No matter how adorable the feminine character is, it is by weakness and not by strength that it makes its way. Communities abandoned to the public school and the female teacher quickly lose that character which for good or ill is well described as manly. Self-reliance, perseverance to the point of doggedness, a contempt of mere smartness and contentment with stupidity even, all give place to the desire for rapid impressions and instant results. The drill sergeant would be an admirable foil for the many excellences of the female teacher.

A beginning has been made. From the report of the Minister of Education for Ontario for the year 1907, it appears that there are in that province 36 collegiate institutes and high schools in which there is a drilled cadet corps. In addition there are in the Toronto public schools six cadet corps which yield for the province 1896 officers, non-commissioned officers, and boys. But this is not enough, since a large number of boys do not enter high schools, but begin on leaving the public

school to follow some trade or business and their physical training has not been attended it.

In the higher institutions of learning in Ontario the provision for physical training is much better than in the public schools. Of the 42 collegiate institutes, 34 have a gymnasium in which 12,448 pupils receive a physical training. Of the 100 high schools only 8 have a gymnasium, so that of the 13,839 pupils attending these schools only 2,316 get any physical training whatever. To leave the public school or high school with a knowledge of drill sufficient to enable the lad to take his place easily in the ranks of a volunteer company should be made possible to every one of sound health in Canada.

There are many minds at work in every province upon the problem which aims at the qualification of all teachers, male and female, to impart instruction in physical training and elementary military drill. The Province of Nova Scotia has already adopted the plan, which is in actual operation there; several special courses of instruction for teachers have already been held at training centres, and a number of teachers have qualified. The idea is that female teachers shall qualify in regard to physical training and that the male teachers shall in addition be instructed in military drill and musketry. The scheme as at present in operation contemplates the payment of a bonus to teachers so qualifying, and under the Regulations of the Education Department of Nova Scotia, all teachers are obliged to qualify in this instruction, before being licensed to teach. This plan in detail has been laid before the Premiers of all the other Provinces of the Dominion and correspondence is still taking place, but time is required for the various Educational Departments to become conversant with the advantages and details of the scheme. Proposals are in contemplation looking to the formation of a Corps of Instructors from the Educational Institutions of the country which shall form an integral part of the Militia, and in which the male teachers qualifying in

the higher grade of certificate will be given commissions as Lieutenants. The plan is one which is dear to Lord Grey, and its accomplishment will be a fitting conclusion to his patriotic governorship.

In times past all education was associated with a training in physical efficiency by which boys came to be the defenders of their native land. The Greeks did not live for abstract beauty alone. In their schools they strove, it is true, to make the body more beautiful and more sensitive, by means of military exercises; but the spirit which animated them was the desire and necessity of protecting their homes, a duty which is no less vital to-day. In that admirable compendium by Montaigne on the institution and education of children the same principle is set forth: "If you would have a boy stand in awe of shame, accustom him patiently to endure weat and cold, the sharpness of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in drinking; fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous youth."

Even at this late hour by this means we may be led to a contemplation of the ideal school which Milton set forth, "in which boys shall be stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots dear to God, where they shall have an abundance of exercises which shall keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, which being tempered with precepts of true fortitude and patience will turn into a national valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong; and where in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, they shall not indulge in that injury and sullenness against nature as not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicings with heaven and earth." We may well compare this rich and miscellaneous grazing with "that asinine feast of sowthistle and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docile age."

W. R. GIVENS

EAST AND WEST

TWO months I had stayed on the British Columbian Coast and my eyes were wearied with immensity, my imagination strained with ever looking to the dazzling future, conjured by a dauntless people's faith. Perhaps when Eastern conventions once more had fettered me I should long for the boundless hope of an unshackled land, but not now. The name of a dreamy city had sounded the charm of a yet further West, and a steamer was bearing me out of the long, land-hidden Vancouver harbour into the half circle of English Bay.

Behind me and across the narrow, northern inlet, the mountains still slept in their gray strength, unconscious of the June morning's awaking, but though a damp dullness hung over all the peninsular city's shore, across the blue Seymour Straits the mists were clearing, and the gold of the sun was drawing up the silver of the sea to spray distant islands with a haze of translucent brightness. There is nothing more full of luring beauty than islands lying low and gold-rimmed on a western sea; as the boat glided out of the Bay the old Greek dreams of Atlantis lived again, and the tales of the ancient Irish who carried their dead heroes over a sunlit ocean to Moy Mell:

“Incomparable in its haze.....
Where the sea washes against the land
And hairs of crystal drop from its mane.”

Here on the outermost edge of the last land left for man to conquer, with only an ocean between us and the old, old East, the race left behind so long ago, it seemed as if indeed that lustrous shimmer must be the veil hiding a new found haven of rest and peace. We were sailing West into the Orient; I was west of the West at last.

Unfortunately a southern course of a few hours brought the boat to where the lands, losing their mystic haze, became clear realities of greeny woods, and a short narrows led it into Plumper's Pass. To some this pass which winds, a sea river, in and out among varied sized islands, is the prettiest part of the sail, but I loved better when we brushed the islands aside and entered the broader Straits of San Juan de Fuca. There, across a sunny sea rose a high wall of opaque mist, surmounted by white, whipped clouds, through which gleamed spires like clouds of pearly sheen. What charm had islands and water then, when in a little while an unseen hand rolled back the drape, and the pearly spires shone not as clouds but as the radiant snow peaks of the Olympic Range? Clearer and clearer grew their outline till, the steamer giving a swerve to the west, a giant range of mountains ran straight along the left, high above sea, and mist, and cloud.

We were approaching the southern part of Vancouver Island, and as Victoria itself became near, the words of Kipling's disputed eulogy of the city rang in my mind: "If you take the beauties of Bournemouth, and Torquay, and Honolulu, and place them on the Bay of Naples with the Himalayas behind," it begins,—and at that minute it was easy to understand why the poet had culled comparisons from so many different zones. Something reminiscent of a Japanese painting was in the clear blue and white of those sharp-cut glittering peaks and bright blue sky; the lazy languor of the South slept on the waters of the Strait, and on the nearer shore memories of the old land leapt from those true salt-water cliffs unmarred by any lake-like vegetation.

Victoria itself was half hidden, but the land rolled back to where, perched on a height, half a dozen houses looked over a cliff whose red brown contour, basking in sunny freedom from woods, swelled not with Northern ruggedness, but with the softened bareness and wind-swept curves of a south England shore. As we drew nearer the foliage of

a formal park made a patch of vivid green on a shoulder of land, of which the elbow formed the east side of a scooped-out basin harbour, guarded by islets, one a light-house rock. Bare wave-splashed rocks they were, with never a tree to spoil their lonely outline, rocks where the winds and storms might play and wailing sea gulls cry, rocks responding to every mood of sky and sea. Not since the day I sailed up Lough Foyle, where new scenes came to me with a sense of remembering things forgotten long ago, had beauty touched me with the same poignant content, and as we entered the harbour with its dull roofed, compact city lying around, a sensation, strange enough for a Canadian born, came over me. I felt that somehow, after wandering in unfamiliar lands, I had come home, and when we passed the unrigged fishing smacks to come alongside the docks, even the white retaining wall, and long line of dingy deserted warehouses behind, filled me with a happy pleasure. Instead of pitying Victoria's lack of vim and bustle I felt sorry for the rushing, new activity of Vancouver.

How that self-made Westerner had ridiculed his little English neighbour, and in all the pride of his planned city and undoubted progress warned me that her sleepy satisfied disregard of "up-to-date methods" would soon become tiresome. I had willingly admitted his wonderful industry, pluck, and ambition, but his bragging conceit had grown wearisome and the prospect of meeting her whom his contempt had only made me long the more to see, was agreeably full of delight.

To find that gentle exclusive lady it was necessary to go away from the more commercial centre, and drive through quiet, proper town streets with sober shops, two or three stories high, on either side, between which could be caught glimpses of the white snows of the Olympics. Dollars and cents felt out of place in my purse, as sauntering, gray-capped young Englishmen brushed sleeves with pig-tailed Orientals or a bright-turbaned Hindu, and the impression deepened as the cab turned up a green, shaded street where

the upper windows of houses winked lazily at me through branches of trees, over ivied walls or hedges of privet and holly. Before one of these high privet hedges I alighted and opening a little iron gate, entered the grounds of a square frame house of light gray with long purple blossoms of wisteria, now nearly drooping, falling over the porch.

There, bending over a bush of red Jacqueminot roses in a carelessly luxuriant garden, I found her whom I had come so far to see, the very spirit of her fair city, who in truth she is. Holding in her arms the sweet crimson roses, and with a bunch of red ripe strawberries in her hand, she rose to greet me, her quaint air and composure making her seem older than she really was. Little and loveable she looked, but her head was held with too much dignity to warrant any misplaced enthusiasm, and her reserve made me wait till with a low English voice she spoke. "You are very welcome," she said, "as are all who come to me from friends in the old East, only you will find me very quiet after my neighbour Vancouver. You like that better? Ah, that is very sweet of you, my dear, for though I naturally love my life, the spirit of each place must be different and even in my own domain many changes have come to pass. And now, as you are to be here but for one short week, which will you prefer to do—visit the few sights the tourists see or stay in my garden and live the time with me?"

"O," I said impulsively, "let me stay here with you and the clambering roses, and eat strawberries in yonder shady nook of lilac bushes. Let me pick the wee white English daisies peeping through the green grass under those spreading oaks, or watch the birds tasting the unripe cherries on the other side the shiny ivy creeper. Then may I wander up and down this irregular winding road, for through the gate I see a stately house and garden, and next an old wooden fence which only half hides a low roofed, tumbled cottage and green tangle of bushes. It is all so old, and happy, and unplanned."

"Yes," she answered, quietly pleased, "No one has ever laid out my city, for each man has built where he will and can. We have just grown, and if our streets make little display we live inside our hedges. The gardens are my joy, and soon you will see the gentlemen returning early from business to have a cup of tea and dig in their flower-beds a little while before dinner. They take great pride in their roses, and as many do not go to their offices till ten, they have an hour's work in the morning, with very successful results."

A short week it was, spent with that quiet-voiced woman, and the days that followed were filled with a sweet content. June was queening it over them in her fairest, loveliest mood, and the gardens ran riot with roses, the country afire with broom. Outside the city, rolling farm land tempted us across to northern forests and a rocky western coast, and at night a long narrow gorge, running like a fresh water stream from the harbour, would lure me in a canoe along its dusky, wooded banks to watch the bright, silver moonlight dive behind a cloud, and appear in the salt water, a gleaming phosphorescent streak. Sometimes at sunset a strong sea-hunger would lead me through the warm, quiet, gardened streets to where on the eastern and southern shore the waves were lapping softly on the cool, gray stones. Far across the straits, the pearl spires would change to minarets of glowing opal, and the mountain portals opening to an ocean of unknown wonder, show the golden West joining hands with the brooding East. At such moments the Orient felt strangely, quiveringly near, and a sense of far off remoteness would turn me to an earthy country road, edged with yellow, ragged broom. There, by some homely brown house an unexpected whiff of honeysuckle or late blossoming thorn would startle my loneliness, and send me homeward pondering why we cross the haunting prairie plains, and marvel at the untold wonders of the Rockies only to have the glad tears come at the loved, familiar smell of flowers belonging to a land where we have never lived.

But pleasantest of all perhaps was to loiter up and down the winding hedge-lined roads with Victoria herself, and hear her relate idle gossip of those who lived behind some holly wall. "Whose is that new, bare mansion of red brick?" I would ask and smile as her head drew up in dignified remembrance. "Some rich northwestern tradesman," would be her answer. "They did not bring any introductions and I do not know them, though unfortunately some of my young people go there oftener than I like. As dear Colonel Bridgeway says, who is a retired English officer, my dear, they entirely forget what is due to their family by mingling with such purely commercial people." For the first time her old world narrowness and "shade of gentle bigotries" grated on me, and I was glad when she passed to a small house with only a square plot of yellow laburnum trees in front and a red rambler climbing up the side.

"There," she said, "lives an old Navy family though they have very little wealth. If you went into their dining room you would find Chippendale chairs with a table of British Columbia pine and very soon the chairs will have to go, to be bought by these *nouveaux riches* neighbours. As for that place," pointing to a large, comfortable, rambling house hidden by clustering trees, "it belongs to an old Hudson Bay family, and in the old times not even the Navy and Army held their heads higher than those descendants of a Red River squaw."

She was very proud of these early settlers, and as she spoke of her younger sons taking up their work in the far inland, a glow came to her face which taught me that in spite of her English customs and manners she was in truth sealed to the New World, and would never more go back. Different as she was from all her neighbours she was at heart a westerner.

We were walking toward Rockland Avenue as she was thus speaking, and on reaching the curved line of houses which I had seen perched on a height, from the ship, even

her proud repugnance to American boasting had to give way to a natural pride, as she whispered: "The most beautiful residential street in Canada." I was willing to agree with her. Spreading grounds surrounding large houses of brick and frame on the left side looked over others equally beautiful on the downward slope to the right, and though some had conventional plots and smoothed lawns of patted grass, in many cases their owners had builded larger than they could afford, and the gardens rejoiced in half-cared-for neglect. Others loved their flowers too well to hamper them, and parts of their grounds were left in green rusticity, while a wise grant of liberty allowed strawberry plants to hide under currant bushes, and roses, pink and yellow and white to clamber up and down the gravel walks in guarded waywardness. At the upper end of the avenue a cross road opened a noble vista across the eastern Straits and islands, for shouldered by gray-blue foothills rising straight from a sea of sparkling sapphire, Mount Baker towered one mass of pure, hard white, startlingly, nakedly near. Miles to the inland of the distant American coast, that peak usually swathed itself in mist and cloud, and though my guide promised me a clearer view from Oak Bay, never afterwards did it appear so supremely close.

Oak Bay was the last spot to which my kindly hostess took me on the morning of the day I had to leave. It lies on the far end of the shoulder of land, a half hour's run by the tram from town, and the whole place consists only of a quaint inn-hotel close to a stony beach, a few gardens larger and more heterogeneous than those of the city, and a golf course on the heights. Yet to me, all the charm of Victoria was summed up in that one visit to Oak Bay. I liked the gardens hidden by the rampant trees and guarded at the gates by pink hollyhock sentinels whose heads nodded in gentle denial to my plea to enter the rambling tangle of green and golden glow. I loved the bare, wrinkled links all brownly green with the sun, now deserted for the summer months, but patched with white and orange marguerites, and nearer

the shore, pale blue and pink forget-me-nots; but above all my heart went out to the fresh, salt wind and gray, rocky, moss-crowned cliffs. The rapturous joy that had been hurled to me from the land on the first day now changed to lingering regret as I turned to bid the gracious spirit farewell. "Come soon again," she said, "and you will find me then as now sitting on these cliffs and gazing over sea-weed and rocks like those on which as a child I wandered barefoot on the far Atlantic coast."

And it is there that I now love best to think of her. All the sweet, luring hope which those shimmering islands had promised me a week before had been fulfilled, and my haven of rest was found. In a few hours the steamer was bearing me back to the rushing West, but passing again that shore where the new gods of a new Olympus look down on her from their glistening thrones I breathed to them a prayer: "Keep her in quiet and growing beauty; guard her from commercial progress and swift wealth, that house by house, and garden by garden she may extend her borders, and with a broader charity and stronger culture retain her romance and old-world peace." North and South have met beside her, East and West join hands before her, and every westering sun brings weary men to kiss her hand in re-awakened homage. Canada in her heart of hearts is glad. Two at least of her guardians are nobly born, one a stately French Madame at her Eastern River's gate, and the other an English gentlewoman off the shores of the farthest West.

E. B. THOMPSON

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS

NO ONE who gives a little serious thought to the prevailing conditions of life to-day can resist the conclusion that we are living in a critical time. These are the days when powerful corporations and combinations flourish, days of organized effort to crush competition, days of monumental extortion, of strongly entrenched iniquities that exact a heavy toll in money and in life, of multitudinous oppressions to support fictitious capital and of wide-spread contempt for the laws of justice and righteous living. These are days, too, when as never before in human history, increasing numbers of people, wise and unwise, are concerning themselves with social conditions, dedicating themselves to solve social problems, organizing themselves for social change, and endeavouring to apply the motives of religion to the problems of modern life.

While the continued and increasing development of the vast and varied resources of our country is heaping up wealth at an enormous rate, and while the abounding prosperity of our country makes us rejoice, there are many signs in our midst that are undeniably disquieting. We cannot for a moment doubt that in the large view of things we are moving toward the one far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves. We have sufficient faith in God and in man to believe that in the long run error must give way to truth, and injustice and unrighteousness must give way to justice and righteousness. But we have read history enough to know that as humanity sweeps onward there are many lapses and reverses, and many peoples and nations who, having halted in the upward march, have been trampled in the dust of the dead ages. Whether it shall be so or not with

us will depend on whether or not we keep our moral equipment abreast of our political and material progress. Therefore the church as the corporate conscience of society must take note of the fact that we have entered upon an era of critical importance. It is inane folly to hide from ourselves the fact that we are facing a social crisis. The tendency to the accumulation of great power in the hands of a very few (an accumulation not always the legitimate result of social service, but often the fruit of plunder), the tendency to unrestrained extravagance and boundless luxury, the intensifying of antagonism between classes, disregard for righteousness and justice—these things spell chaos and destruction. A social order that fosters injustices and organizes iniquities cannot long endure. No society that continues monumental evidences of contempt for justice can live.

For this crisis the church, as the chief interpreter of Christianity, must have a message. And I fail to see how its message can suit the needs of the time unless the church pay more attention than she has hitherto done to the social aspect of sin and salvation. According to the plain teaching of Jesus no man knows the meaning of Christian salvation until he is willing to lose himself in the service of mankind. There can be no salvation worthy of the name that does not imply becoming a saviour. A single isolated life *may* find salvation without regard to others, but it is doubtfully, increasingly doubtful, whether such salvation is worth having. The more we think of it, the more apparent it becomes that recovery to the righteous life implies right relations with God's children. It would undoubtedly clear away a great deal of misunderstanding and remove a great barrier to social progress if in our conception of sin and salvation we began with man's duty to man instead of man's duty to God. This does not in any sense mean the denial of our duty to God, but it means getting at our duty to God in the right way. In reality the only evil we have to repent of is what we have wrought in our world by our own selfishness. And there can be no mysterious process by which we can be "white-

washed in the sight of God if we go on doing selfish things and manifesting a grasping, unscrupulous spirit in our relations with one another." A prevailing false notion we must rid ourselves of in meeting the social crisis of to-day is that sin against God is something different from sin against man. If the church is to succeed in the present crisis, she must cease worrying over wrong in the abstract and correct wrong in the concrete, cease fighting a mythical devil and deal with real devils near at hand, cease fighting and combating sin in general and organize to combat particular sins.

There is a widespread suspicion daily deepening into an impatient conviction that our society needs to have its whole conception of the meaning and purpose of life revolutionized. The great trouble with our social order is that our ruling ideas are wrong ideas. We have been trying to build up a civilization on individualism. Self-interest has been recognized as the regulative principle of our social organism. Our laws, our civil and industrial institutions are based on this idea. Our political economy and our practical philosophy have been based on the idea that all rules of conduct must be adjusted to self-love as the supreme motive of life. Of course, in the family, and to some small extent in the church, and to a still smaller extent in philanthropies, we recognize the rule of altruistic interests. But in all the absorbing affairs of life—in industry, in commerce, in politics—we have insisted on enthroning the principle of self-interest. It is this that has brought on our social crisis. Our fundamental trouble to-day is that we have been trying to build our society on a selfish foundation. Where every vestige of political privilege ought to be swept away, where social conditions ought to express equity and righteousness, we still have inequalities and injustices of the most glaring sort. We are developing tribes of plunderers whose aim is to have the whole country at their mercy. We have an increasing, debilitating luxury that would outdo the Romans in the time of their decadence. We have more misery and poverty than we are aware of. And we have deadly class hatreds steadily deepening and con-

stantly threatening social upheaval. The explanation of it all lies in the conflict between a vague belief that selfishness is sin and a bold unblushing assumption that we must build on and be ruled by selfishness. This in brief is the conflict,—whether unbridled selfishness shall rule, or whether unselfish love is the law of life. Jesus made it clear that he did not expect a Christian society to be built upon the old Jewish morality of every man for himself. He told the people of his time “you are building your civilization upon a false basis.” You cannot build safely on every man for himself. Strife, misery, confusion will be the perpetual portion of a society built on selfishness. The error against which Jesus warned has never been successfully eliminated from our social structure. Our house is still divided against itself. And out of our perpetuation of selfishness as our ruling idea, our corrupt cities, our plundering and poisoning of people, our strivings and miseries have arisen. We have turned a deaf ear to Jesus’ warning. We have said: “away with unselfishness and love; in our society the law of strife, the law that gives dominion to the strongest and most unscrupulous must rule.”

How has it come about that the warning of our Master has been so long unheeded? Is there no agency that ought to insist that it be heeded? Has Jesus no representative upon whom he can depend for the saving of society? Undoubtedly the church is pre-eminently that institution where we expect his mind to control and his spirit to dwell. How imperfect the mission of the church has been most of us know. How imperfectly she is performing her mission to-day not all of us realize. She ought to be the light of the world and in many respects is but a feeble candle or a dark lantern quenching the light she ought to radiate. Often she utterly misplaces the emphasis of the Master’s teachings and puts last things first and first things last. She spends her energies on trifles and shirks the great task for which she was brought into being. It is true of course that never before was there so much generous giving, such willing enlistment in philanthropy,

such wise and varied legislation for social reform; and yet acknowledging thankfully and hopefully the existence and activity of many good Christians to whom the establishment of the Kingdom of God, a righteous society on earth is the chief concern, and acknowledging that torpid consciences are being stung into action and into wakefulness by evils intolerably acute, it still remains an unpleasant fact that after twenty centuries of teaching the vast majority of modern Christians regard it as the chief business of religion to keep people out of contact with the life of this world and get them safely away from it when they die. They do not want to have the social aspect of sin or of salvation emphasized. But, however easily we may forgive mediæval Christians for neglecting their social obligations, we cannot and ought not to forgive the Christian people of to-day if they fail to leaven human society in this age of freedom and large opportunity.

What are our churches generally doing while the forces of injustice and unrighteousness are organizing, spreading their nets and gathering up their spoils? For the most part "they are standing idly by" wondering whether or not they have any right to interfere. The old time prophets in the days of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and Amos had no such embarrassment in a critical time. But to-day, while here and there a prophetic voice is heard it is as a voice from the wilderness, for the church makes no clear and effectual protest against the injustices with which society is swiftly coming into a life and death grapple.

It is an unpleasant fact to have to acknowledge, but it is unquestionably true that the threatening social conditions that have been appearing in the last few years are due largely to the absence in our society of those elements which it is the professed business of the churches to supply. If our churches made men hate robbery as they ought to hate it there would be less plundering under the guise of special privilege. The social conditions in most communities are not a credit to the churches. If our churches enforced as they ought to enforce the social ideals of Jesus there would

be less philanthropy and more justice. For generosity is less important than justice. Not long ago Jacob Riis was addressing an audience at a charity meeting and noticed among the placards that adorned the wall one on which was the familiar text "charity covereth a multitude of sins." He remarked, "it is time to take that cover off." He was right. The church must insist that men earn the right to be generous by first being just. If our churches, with their present membership and social influence, would heartily accept the teachings of Jesus and bravely and honestly put them into practice, our society would soon be filled with ideas and sentiments in the presence of which the evils of to-day could not long exist.

If I am not greatly mistaken we are living in a new fulness of time. The searching criticism of the church, characteristic of to-day, is not the carping of foes but the admonition of her best friends. Those who have ears to hear can hear the call of a social crisis. We are witnessing the slow culmination and collapse of a social order that rests on an individualistic basis. We are passing through a transition in which the rule of selfishness and strife must give way to the law of love. We are moving into a time when the church must assist in organizing industrial and civil society on Christian principles. It is needless to say this cannot be done instantly. The processes of safe growth are never instantaneous. A safe development must be a slow transformation. The thing needed now is that the church grasp the idea of what is to be done. This accomplished, the methods of work may be devised as the needs arise. It is of supreme importance that the church realize that she is here to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and to seek it not by turning her attention to the distant skies but by fixing it upon this world, for the Kingdom of God in Man must be found here. She must extirpate social injustices. She must stand out in the open as the champion of social justice and seek the establishment of the Kingdom in shop and store and factory, in bank and office, in kitchen and drawing room,

in sanctuary and on the street, in public office and in private life wherever human beings join hands or rub elbows in the pleasures and friendships and tasks of life. She must make men and women feel everywhere that the joy of life is not strife but service, that the aim of the noblest life is not to get but to give. She must cease living at peace with evils that imperil society. Often individuals are at war with them, but seldom churches as churches. We are opposed to evil in the abstract, let us also combat the concrete evils at our doors. The devotion paid to a divine person must be coupled with a devotion to a divine cause—transforming a self-seeking society into a religiously social life where each lives for others and all live for God.

It is a significant thing to note that while social injustices and social unrighteousness have been culminating in a time of critical importance, the church has not been making the progress she ought to make. Her membership increases very slowly. Her benevolences languish. There are many signs of decrepitude that we are unwilling to confess. The fact is painfully apparent that the church will not increase, will not even hold her own, and cannot retain her grip upon the world unless we find out and do our real business in this world. Salvation lies in doing our rightful task and the task of the church to-day is to socialize Christianity. To see in these movements and problems which constitute our social crisis nothing more than an economic disturbance is to miss the very note that gives special character and significance to our day. We must not miss the note of duty and we must not fail to see the opportunity for the humanization of life. A tone of moral obligation and of moral uplift characterizes this crisis, for it is a sign not of decadence but of progress. It is most acute where the conditions of life are most hopeful in Britain, in Germany, and in all the English-speaking world. It indicates, not that we are on the way down, but that we are on the way up. It indicates that our learning is leading us to larger life.

We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the church of Jesus Christ, facing a crisis so imminent, in which she must stand against tremendous forces organized for terrific conflict, will fail to hear the call of her Master, and casting aside her weaknesses and her besetting sins will rise to meet the mighty task that awaits her. It is becoming increasingly plain that society cannot live upon the old basis of selfishness and strife. It is the business of the church to rally all moral forces that injustice may be overcome and unrighteousness overthrown. In doing this the church herself is bound to rise to fuller liberty and larger life, for we have always had our largest life and largest visions of God through love of man. We rise "through man to God." Doing the will of God we are sure to have new visions of God. With new visions of God we are sure to have increasing authority and conquest.

WILLIAM MUNROE

AT A CONCERT OF MUSIC

[PADEREWski, *Opus XVI.*, No. 2.]

It seemed I wandered 'neath the lilac trees,
 Among the iris flowers, a flame-hued host;
 And 'mid the quiet hum of questing bees
 I walked, when lo! the comfortable ghost
 Of him that in this world I loved, came near:
 We prattled on of cherished common things,
 And, in our wonted way when he was here,
 Linked answers lightly to light questionings.

Yet all the time we talked, we never stirred
 The deep tremendous where our twined souls rest;
 But stroked a green-eyed cat that loudly purred,
 And watched a butterfly all gaily dressed.
 The music ceased, the dream returned to day,
 But O! the white-throat 'mid the boughs of May.

EVA MACFARLANE