

# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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APRIL, 1897.

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VOL. IV.

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## THE RELATION OF JESUS TO THE JEWISH LAW.

THIS is a question of considerable difficulty, arising from the presence of apparently contradictory elements in the data provided by the Synoptic Gospels from which we have to construct our view. On the one hand we have at least one utterance of Jesus (Matt. v, 17, 18) that seems at first sight to assert in the most uncompromising spirit of ultra-Jewish literalism, the eternal permanence of every infinitesimal fragment of the Law; on the other hand, many sayings and many facts are recorded which show great disregard, almost contempt, for a multitude of those very details apparently declared to possess inviolable sanctity through all time. The difficulty is to reconcile this seeming discrepancy.

Two considerations have to be borne in mind in the discussion of this question; the limitations of the historical mission of Jesus, and the fact that the expression of seemingly extreme conservatism referred to was invoked by controversy with the Scribes. The immediate task of Jesus lay with His own people; the significance of His person and work for the whole human race was certainly not prominent in His mind. Like all great men, He was engrossed by the urgent business that lay ready to His hand. "He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He had to wean His disciples gradually from their enslaving attachment to the Pharisaic traditions wherein they had been nurtured. He could not spring upon them suddenly, even if these had been fully present to His own consciousness, all the revolutionary consequences latent in His fundamental views

of God and man. Rather He dropped living germs of new thought into their minds and allowed them silently to do their work. Obviously the only possible way of educating such scholars as He had, was to impress them strongly with that essential conservatism of the venerable and sacred legacy from the past which was in truth so marked an aspect of His doctrine. Nay, more, we may be sure that His own grateful and affectionate piety towards the ancient sages and saints whose writings had been the food of His expanding inner life, would bring into such strong relief in his own mind the continuity and substantial identity of His doctrine with theirs, that the differences must for the most part have sunk into the background almost out of sight. The bearing of the second consideration is no less obvious. The Scribes prided themselves above everything on their exact and punctual legality. In making the well-founded claim to a legality infinitely more minute and rigorous than theirs, in asserting the real Law against its professed zealots, it was natural that Jesus should state in the very strongest terms His own reverence for that Law and His conviction of its imperishable validity, without hampering the force of His statement by qualifications and explanations that would, in fact, have been psychologically impossible in a moment of intense and solemn feeling.

Let us then proceed to extract from the various passages touching upon our inquiry, especially Matthew v, 16-48, the *locus classicus* on this subject, a statement in detail of the position towards the Law taken up by Jesus. In the first place, He claims as against the Scribes to fulfil the Law in His doctrine and practice, to restore it to its pristine integrity. With a view to this end His procedure is twofold, a clearing away of encumbrances, and an explication of hidden meanings. The Scribes had overlaid the Law with endless vain and beggarly additions the product of their perverse ingenuity, their blinking pedantry, and their slavish ascetic externalism. This rubbish is entirely swept away, not only as being an insupportable burden laid on the weak shoulders of the people, all the more odious because those who bound it there have exhausted all their moral energy in that effort and do not stir a finger themselves to bear the weight they have imposed on others; but also as being a fatal distraction from the

real sacred obligations to the true Law. Nay in some cases it comes into direct conflict with that. The casuistry of the Scribes, as heartless as it is fatuous, with that almost sublime audaciousness in reversing the relative importance of things which so often gives a certain piquant flavour to the prevailing insipidity of ceremonialism, impiously repeals the most ancient of the laws of God, setting aside the sacred claims of the father and mother on their children in favour of their own peddling sacrificial traditions (Matt xv, 1-10). And this brings us to the second point in the procedure by which the genuine Law is vindicated. Jesus finds fault with the Scribes not only for their additions, but still more for their omissions. The former had been utterly barren and noxious because they had attracted themselves merely to the outward prescriptions, thereby extended *ad infinitum*. The same externalism, which explained these worthless extensions of the Law, had also brought about an unjustifiable blind curtailment of its contents. Jesus in opposition to the Scribes unfolds the full scope of its implications.

Moses had forbidden murder. The prohibition of this atrocious crime had been practically extenuated by the cold juristical gloss added by the Scribes to the awe-striking brevity of the commandment, "Whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment." Strange aridity of heart from which the solemn proclamation of the indefeasible sanctity of human life could elicit no fuller response! Like a flash of lightning the words of Jesus lay bare at once the woeful paralysis of moral feeling betrayed in this shallow comment and also the whole depth, the infinite comprehensive exigency of the law's inward meaning. Not only murder is forbidden here, He finds, but also what the Greeks called *βίβλος*—all the endless manifestations of that violent and hateful spirit which tramples on the sacredness of another human personality down the whole gamut to sudden flashes of anger and hasty words of bitterness and contempt. To find in terms of penalty, adopting the Scribes' standpoint of criminal jurisprudence, an adequate representation of the abominable nature of such offences it must be said that the very least of them is worthy in God's eyes of the highest punishment pronounced by Rabbinical jurists against the most atrocious—the unthinkable

crime of actual murder; and one which falls so vastly short of that in heinousness that the Rabbis would not have found it perceptible, is worthy of a punishment infinitely transcending the worst that can be inflicted by man—not of the condemnation of the local council nor yet of the central Sanhedrim, but of “the hell of fire.” How sublime is this sternness—the obverse side of a pure and limitless love! We have here a legal rigour such as the Scribes, who were nothing if not rigorous, did not dream of. No wonder Jesus says to His disciples that unless their legality exceeded that of the Scribes they should not enter into His kingdom.

In the prohibition of murder, too, Jesus not only finds the prohibition of countless other offences springing from the same bitter root of inhumanity and hate, He also, as everywhere, finds a positive command. The spirit of this law enjoins the highest sense of the inviolable dignity of our neighbour’s person, the most anxious avoidance of conflict with him, and the greatest eagerness to heal such conflict if it has arisen. This truth He conveys in a quaint figure drawn from the litigious habits of Eastern life. It is a matter of common experience how disagreeable the results of strife may be, leading to litigation, as it often does, to imprisonment and fines under the sentence of a judge. All this is but a faint emblem, He suggests, of the dire penalties exacted with inflexible severity, flowing from this contentious spirit by the inevitable award of the heavenly Judge. (Matt. v, 25, 26.)

The law that prohibits adultery is unfolded in the same penetrating and comprehensive manner. Here again the Scribes, for all their boasted rigour, had shown themselves extremely “liberal counsellors.” Divorce was granted by them, only to the man of course, on the flimsiest grounds. The husband could serve upon his wife a bill of separation if she only overdid the meat, or used too much salt in her cooking; nay even, according to Akiba, if he chanced to see a woman more to his taste! They as usual, had remained on the surface, and saw nothing but the letter of the command. Jesus seizes its spirit, and finds in it the most searching requirement for purity of heart and conduct. The inner life is to be maintained at all costs in its integrity against every seduction from the carnal side of our nature; even if the

most painful discipline of the refractory members be required. "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out." The marriage bond is declared to be absolutely indissoluble. The ancient permission of divorce in Deuteronomy is sternly disallowed. To this we shall have to refer again.

Again, as in the case of the sixth commandment, the Scribes had tacked on to the ninth also a minimising codicil. The words of the original had been simply "Thou shalt not perjure thyself." They added from another part of the Law "but shalt perform thine oaths to the Lord," as if the prohibition had reference merely to failure in the punctual performance of sacrificial obligations. Moreover, their casuistry came to the rescue of the engrained love of deception characteristic of the crafty and treacherous East, by distinguishing among oaths such as were binding and such as were not. (Matt. xxiii, 16-22). A vast amount of ingenuity was expended on the congenial problem of showing how a man might lie with impunity. To the moral obtuseness of this solemn trifling Jesus opposes His interpretation of the commandment, requiring absolute truthfulness between man and man. Oaths are a superfluity. The simple word is as binding as any oath. They are indeed an impiety, because they virtually deny the presence of God except where He is expressly invoked. "Let your yea be a yea, your nay a nay." (The better version in James v, 12.) That is both, "when you mean yes, say 'yes' and not 'yes by the temple,' etc" and "when you say 'yes,' think 'yes' and not 'no.'" It is scarcely necessary to say that Jesus is thinking of self-imposed oaths voluntarily taken to produce confidence in one's veracity. The solemn oath of the law courts in the name of God, required by the community in all ages, He had no intention of forbidding; indeed, He practically took it himself on the demand of the High Priest; but only the frivolous oath of the street and marketplace, really a means of deception, intended to procure the credence, which without it, would have been only too reasonably withheld. He would not even have objected to Socrates' adjuration "by the dog," or any similar colloquial vivacity. His point obviously is simply to demand from all that word of the honest man which is as good as his bond.

The purely judicial maxim of the Old Testament—"an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," a statement of the inflexible justice of the Lord of the theocracy who required that all offences against the lowliest member of his community should be fully and exactly expiated, was converted by the Scribes into a law of ordinary human intercourse, permitting and even requiring the individual to exact the fullest vengeance for every infringement of his rights. This same belief in a kind of moral obligation not to endure without retaliation any invasion of one's supposed rights, is still very widely spread. Jesus however requires from His followers a policy of masterly non-resistance. This demand of His has been much criticized. From the earliest times, by Celsus for instance, the precept to turn the other cheek, has been held up to ridicule as a feeble and unmanly yielding to evil. Of course it is nothing of the kind. On the contrary it is the most vigorous possible protest against evil, and, as has been proved times without number, the most effective. That which overcomes and slays evil is not answering evil but retaliatory good. Our Lord's maxim is a profound recognition of the essential brotherhood which underlies the superficial discordances of men. He knew there are but few human hearts who have not so much good left in them as to be vastly more overwhelmed by such a recompense as He enjoins than by the fiercest retaliation of injury. The objectors to the strong figurative expression of the principle of patient, long-suffering and unwearied benevolence insisted upon here, show a rather shallow literalism, and even a weak sense of humour. They do not see—to put it at its lowest—how triumphantly the sufferer vindicates his superiority over the blind and childish fury of his assailant. It is as if he said "Is it such a satisfaction for you my poor young brother to smite me on the one cheek? Then pray do have a turn at the other." "Are you so desperately in need of my upper-garment? Why, rather than have any unpleasantness with you, I daresay I could spare the under one too." "What! must you at all costs have me go with you one mile in the King's name? \* I shall be most happy. Will you in your own name let me have the pleasure of your company for two?" What human being could resist the surprise, the

\* The word here used means "to impress in the name of the State."



startling revelation by contrast of his own tyrannical folly in the nakedness of its outrageous puerility—to say nothing of the appeal of patient unresisting love? Surely there is a moral knock-down blow in the method of Jesus which would fell a human ox.

Finally, to the great commandment: "Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself," the Scribes had made an addition which had a certain appearance of being logically deduced from it, but was in reality subversive of its spirit: "Thou shalt hate thine enemy." For this they had no authority in the Old Testament, which nowhere enjoins hatred even of the public enemy. Jesus interprets "neighbour" as "human being," and enjoins an active love no less indiscriminating and universal than the infinite all-embracing love of God.

So far, then, it may be said that both negatively and positively, by the removal of noxious, unauthorized additions, and by the development of hidden implications, especially of the positive commandments latent in the prohibitions, the work of Jesus on the old Law was primarily reconstruction. The stately temple built by God's own hand was cleared of the mountains of rubbish under which it had been buried, to stand forever before men's eyes, without diminution or addition in the freshness of its first glory. But this reconstruction had in it the germs of revolution. In the first place, even the perfect grasp of the essential spirit of the Old Testament shown so abundantly in the passages we have reviewed is a sure indication that the Old Testament standpoint has already been altogether transcended. The forms from which the living spirit has been thus clearly extricated are ripe for falling away. And in the second place, when we look a little more closely, we find that this reconstruction of the Law is effected by the application of a principle which must inevitably act as a solvent, not only on the traditions of the Scribes, but also on a considerable part of the Law itself. The Law whose perpetuity is asserted by Jesus, is placed by Him in the closest connection with the Prophets: it is the Law *and the Prophets*, which he has come to fulfil. That is the Law as interpreted from the standpoint of the prophets. The Scribes had failed to find the true perspective, the real centre of gravity of the Law. They found it in the sacrifices, the ceremonial, the rudimentary asceticism involved in the dis-

inction between clean and unclean foods. These elements they had developed into a portentous jungle of rules and regulations, where the moral sense went completely astray and was stupified by the malarial atmosphere. For the profound ethical and humane spirit of the Old Testament, the great prophetic insistence on justice and mercy, they had no ears. Their expansions and their contractions had been equally perverse and fatal. They had developed the wrong side of things, had been rigorous and lax in the wrong places. Jesus reversed their procedure. With the prophets He grasped the essence of the Law in "mercy not sacrifice."

But Jesus carried the prophetic principle—the relative inferiority of the ceremonial to the ethical contents of the Law—infinately further and made it cut infinitely deeper than the prophets themselves. He made the clearest distinction between these two elements in the Old Testament. He found there great commands which were to be done, and little commands which indeed were not to be left undone—as was pointed out before His mission was to Israel—but which in His teaching and life sank so far into the back-ground as to become a mere vanishing quantity. In compassion, placability, readiness for reconciliation, purity of heart, He recognizes great commands. In paying the temple tithes of the products of the field, and even in sacrifices, which the Scribes and indeed the whole nation thought the greatest of all, He sees little commands. In His own life, it is true, no instance of downright violation of the Law can be formally established, but we hear nothing of any sacrifice offered by Him, nothing of the removal of ceremonial impurity, or of the dread of such impurity. He was entirely indifferent to the Pharisaic and even to the Levitical regulations on this point. He touched the leper and the woman with the issue of blood without a thought that He was defiling himself thereby. We do not know what His practice was as regards prohibited foods. Doubtless He conformed to the customs of His nation. But in principle He abrogates entirely the distinction between clean and unclean, not only among foods, but among all external things. To Him it was clear, of course, as against the ascetism of the Pharisees and of all times, as against even the ritual symbolism of the Mosaic Law, that there was nothing in God's world not in itself good and

sacred, except the impure heart which can make a curse of every blessing. With Him purity and impurity are altogether inward things. To the pure all things are pure. We have here then a distinct abrogation of a very considerable part of the Law. But even here where the destructive side of His teaching is most apparent, the wise conservatism of Jesus is no less apparent: His wise respect for constituted authority, His anxious care to avoid sudden revolution, and the premature removal of disciplinary restraints which in certain embryonic stages of development may be the only props capable of supporting the religious consciousness. Before the multitude He confines His statement to what is simply necessary as a vigorous defence of His own and His disciples' freedom; the sentence which embodies the repeal of the Mosaic food prohibitions is one of those short oracular utterances intended for those who have ears to hear. It is thrown out like a living thought-seed, barbed and winged to settle and fructify in the soil that is prepared for it, while it passes like the wind over the heads of such as are not ripe to receive it. Even the disciples did not understand it, and although Jesus explains it to them in answer to Peter's question, in a manner which one would have thought must have dispelled all darkness as to its full scope, Peter himself, we are told, required to have the same lesson taught him over again by his vision at Joppa, and this same question as to forbidden foods was afterwards one of the great difficulties in the intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians.

Another case in which we find distinct abrogation of the old Law is one already adverted to: the Mosaic or at least, the Deuteronomic permission of divorce. The procedure of Jesus in this case demands particular study. He finds an express self-contradiction in the law itself. On the one hand he sees the absolute indissolubleness of the marriage bond asserted in Genesis ii, 24, "Therefore, shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." On the other hand Deuteronomy had distinctly permitted divorce, and that too on grounds which opened up a great latitude of interpretation in favour of the husband. Jesus emphatically re-asserts what His own consciousness proclaims to be the original

divine law, and unhesitatingly repeals the limitations by which its rigour had been subsequently modified. The permission of divorce he explains as a concession made by the legislator to the weakness of man: one might almost say, translating his language into ours, to the animalism of a rude and barbarous age.

Now there is a great deal in the principle clearly enunciated here. We do not know that Jesus formally applies it to any other case. But the fact that He recognized it at all shows how essentially independent His attitude was to the details of the Old Testament. And as a matter of fact, it does admit of the very widest application. There is, indeed, latent in it at least a marvellous adumbration of the last word of modern historical science on the evolution of ethics and religion. The extent to which the idea can be embodied in finite forms, whether of precept or of ritual and dogma, varies in any age according to the conditions imposed by the general culture of the age. Jesus very naturally conceives the ideal as the oldest Law of God, oldest even in point of time—as of course in the strictest sense it is because it is outside of all time, and has its basis in that which is from everlasting, the perfection of God Himself. This divine Law may have to be modified, indeed it must be to find such assertion in human life as the limitations of the moment allow, but it can never be repealed. It is always there waiting for the hour of its full realization. Now it is obvious that not merely the permission of divorce is abrogated by this all-embracing principle, but also the whole perishable vesture of the Old Covenant, both in its inadequate affirmations, inadequate at once in breadth and depth, and in its merely relative and temporary prohibitions, which had no universal reference to man as man, but only to the circumstances of a certain highly exceptional form of society, developed under peculiar historical and local conditions. Everything in short would be thus eliminated from the Law, except what is purely moral and spiritual. All the detailed prescriptions, ritual, sacrificial, ceremonial, and sanitary, are reduced to mere relative validity. Only the spirit of the Old Testament remains at the bottom of the crucible, the love of God, and the love of man. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the prophets and whatever in the Law and the

prophets is not necessarily implied in these commandments goes by the board. Nay the whole Law and the prophets are summed up by Jesus in a new commandment, which apparently takes no notice of the first table at all: the commandment making the claims upon others constituted by our desires, the measure of their claims on us—which at any rate contains the whole second table of the Law and a great deal more: "Whatsoever ye would that others do to you, do ye also so unto them." Jesus found in the Law a supreme Law, by the side of which all else fell away into insignificance. The legality proclaimed by Him as binding on all citizens of the kingdom of heaven, includes no more than what Sophocles called "the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven." This is a legality which is no legalism, it is a morality written not on tables of stone, but on the universal human heart, arising out of the fundamental make of man as man. There is in it nothing temporal or local, it is the pure expression of eternal reason.

Similarly not only is no fixed, external ritual, sacrificial or ascetic prescribed in His Religion, such a ritual is absolutely excluded. The lugubrious religiosity of the Pharisees, their constant fastings, disfigured and befouled faces, their hair covered with ashes, their tassels and phylacteries and endless prayers, are swept aside into the rubbish heap, as the outworn stage-properties of a hypocritical and sour-faced sanctimoniousness. Jesus and His disciples did not fast at all. He was the Lord of life and joy. Fasting was not of course forbidden by Him. It was recognized as a natural voluntary expression of certain moods, but it was distinctly deposed from the position it held as a fixed and stated religious duty. Even prayer had no value otherwise than as the free expression of the soul's need. In short the only service of God recognized by Jesus, was the service of man—that entire and undivided devotion to the will of the Father in heaven, which manifests itself chiefly in active love to His children. In this respect His disciples learned their lesson well, and entered fully into their Master's meaning. This is proved by the Epistle of James, the document which of all the New Testament scriptures is generally understood as most decidedly representing to us the Jewish Christian point of view. "Pure

worship and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."

There is one other case in which the independent position of Jesus towards the Jewish Law, as well as the ground and limit of this independence are very plainly set forth. It is the claim He makes in the clearest terms, to dispense Himself and His followers from the law of the Sabbath, which along with the rite of circumcision, was the very Palladium of the Jewish National Religion. There was nothing which aroused so much ridicule among the heathen against the Jews as their Sabbath; nothing consequently which they cherished with such a frantic exasperation of tenacious affection and reverence. Jesus nevertheless claims the right to set it aside for Himself and His followers. This claim he bases on His Messianic office. The Son of Man, He says, is Lord also of the Sabbath. And the ground and limit of this Lordship of the Son of Man are indicated in the words, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." This brings us precisely to the same point which we have already reached. There are two elements in the Law, First, an absolute element—that for which man is made, his being's end and aim, the supreme statutes which are the expression of God's perfection and of man's ideal nature. These are eternal, not even the Son of Man can repeal them: Heaven and earth may pass away, but not one jot or tittle of that Law can ever pass away till all be fulfilled. But there is also another element in the Law—that which is made for man, what was divinely ordained doubtless, but only in relation to particular expediency, to local and temporary needs. In the Lordship of His self-consciousness as the representative of an ideal humanity, the Son of Man can and does repeal this for those who enter along with Him into the freedom of the sons of God. And here again we have a universal principle, applicable now and at all times. There are always these two elements in the religious and ethical traditions of the past, the absolute and relative elements. The progress of our race essentially consists in the unslumbering exercise of its right and duty to constantly repeal and remould the one, and thereby to enter more and more into a completer reassertion and repossession of the other.

This brings us to the root of the divergences of Jesus from the Law. He altogether transcended the standpoint of the Old Testament in the ultimate foundation which He laid down for all human conduct, "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." His morality, as all noble morality must, flowed from the deepest source, religion, the essential relation between man and God. And the height He attained in His consciousness of God, immeasurably beyond the highest reach of the old lawgivers and prophets, was the measure of the great gulf between His ethics and the highest of theirs. If God is a power outside of man and over against him, connected only extrinsically with him by covenants and so forth as a king to subjects, a master to servants—and this after all is the predominant conception of the Old Testament—then the service of God will consist in an exact, unquestioning and unintelligent obedience; the prevalent attitude to Him will be fear; His law will be an indispensable minimum of task work, a slave's pen-sum, to be got done punctually from the outside under penalties. But if God is our Father, if in the essence of our being and potentially we are of the same nature as He is, then His laws cease to be mere laws, they become both law and impulse, not fetters but wings, the expression of our own ideal nature in the fulfilment of which we realize ourselves. The eternal antithesis between God and man is resolved and buried in a higher unity. His will is no longer the extrinsic and arbitrary will of an irresistible authority, recalcitration against which is a mere insensate kicking against the goad; it is also our own deepest will, the will of our real and permanent selves, which it is our happiness and eager desire to accomplish; not our limit but our life, another name for reason and love. And thus the word for man is no longer servant but son, who in submission to or rather in identification with the Father first liberates his true nature, realizes his divine destiny and enters into the open air and sunlight of freedom. Jesus brought a new heaven and therefore a new earth. His law is the law of the spirit of life which has made us free from the law of sin and death.

To sum up then, we have found that Jesus while developing one part of the Law, namely its ethical content, with the most

wonderful comprehensiveness and penetration, in principle at least entirely swept away another part of it and introduced besides as the fundamental basis for human conduct a view of the relation between God and man which does not fall short of full Pauline antinomianism and abrogates the whole Law as mere law, that is as a system of external ordinances. How then are we to reconcile with this the claim He seems to make to execute in His own practice and to teach to others the whole Law in its integrity? How are we to explain His sweeping assertions of its eternal inviolability in every iota and smallest vanishing fragment, and His solemn declaration that the rank of each citizen in the Kingdom of heaven is determined by the fulness with which its smallest commandments are represented in that citizen's practice and doctrine? It would certainly seem at first sight after the plain facts which we have examined that on this showing a very low rank in the Kingdom would have to be assigned to its King himself.

The answer has already to some extent been anticipated. It is not the Law without qualification whose permanence and supreme validity are so strongly asserted. It is the Law and the Prophets: that is, the Law interpreted from the prophetic standpoint. The Scribes while theoretically holding in the greatest reverence the whole of the Old Testament had practically dissolved its compact body into two parts of very unequally binding force. They had magnified the Law if they had not made it honourable: especially the ceremonial part of it. The supreme duty with them as we have seen was sacrifice. But they had allowed the prophets to drop almost entirely out of sight. The same differentiation in favour of the Mosaic books is conspicuous even in such enlightened Jews as Philo who in other respects are mainly ethical in spirit. Jesus on the other hand vindicates the solidarity of the Old Testament, claiming for the prophets equal if not superior authoritativeness with the Pentateuch itself. He insists with a true historical as well as ethical perspective that the Law is to be interpreted in their sense. It is this Law then, the parts of which fall into their due proportions around the prophetic canon, mercy not sacrifice, humanity the true service of God, for which He claims permanent in-



violableness. Why then the mention of jots and tittles? In dealing with this Law His thought has two movements, one less generally appreciated than the other, diastole no less than systole, expansion as well as simplification. On the one hand this Law can be concentrated into single sentences: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God; and thy neighbour as thyself." On the other hand it can and must like every universal be expanded into an inexhaustible wealth of concrete applications. The Scribes had prided themselves on their detail. Jesus meets them on their own ground: He too finds mountains of doctrine in small commands. In His exposition of the sixth, seventh and ninth commandments as we saw He shows that each great separate head of the spiritual legality of the Kingdom, as infinitely exceeding in rigour and in minuteness as in human significance the legality of the Scribes, contains under it a countless number of little commandments—little and yet not little—embracing within the microscopic filaments of their all-inclusive network every little action and speech of life, and even every momentary thought and impulse of desire. It is for ever true that heaven and earth shall pass away ere one iota or smallest vanishing fragment of this Law can pass away. The rank of every one in the Kingdom of heaven must always depend on the fulness and minuteness with which he brings the very smallest command embraced in its infinite implications to bear on his own life and the lives of others; for the simple reason that to do so is the Kingdom of heaven and there is no other Kingdom to enter into. Many an antinomian and anti-traditionalist like Paul will take high rank in the Kingdom on the criterion of this legality. For it means simply that the innermost recesses of the heart and the most commonplace acts of daily life must be lifted up into, and penetrated through and through, by the light of the eternal rigour and love of God.

Still it remains true that the aspect of our Lord's work most prominent in His own mind was not destruction but fulfilment. He was most careful not to shake established authority more than was absolutely necessary. The Scribes and Pharisees were blind guides, but they were better than no guides at all. They sat in Moses' seat and therefore what they commanded the

people were to do, though they were not to do as they did. The leper whom He healed was bidden show himself to the priests. When the young man came to ask Him what he was to do to inherit eternal life, Jesus simply referred him to the ten commandments. He expressly abrogated very little, and absolutely nothing for the mass of the people. What He set aside was only for His own followers. He would not remove any outward restraints before they had been rendered superfluous, and even noxious by the progress of the inner life. Nothing perhaps shows the divine wisdom of Jesus so much as this absolutely unique balance in Him of conservatism with the widest reaching, world transforming renovation. What He did abrogate, He abrogated rather by positive than by negative methods. From the wrappings of antiquity He disengaged the larger and fuller truth. And through the inherent power, which all life has of shedding off from itself effete matter, the obsolescent forms which in the long course of the development of Israel had been the necessary protective sheath of this very same truth in the earlier stages of its growth, silently dropped away of themselves as the blossoms do when the fruit begins to set.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

## THE TREATMENT OF CRIME BY THE STATE.

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IT has been said that there are three well marked stages in the history of the treatment of crime—(1) the barbaric stage, (2) the stage of law or justice, (3) that of mercy or humanity.

Dr. Wines addressing the students of Wisconsin University, says there have been four distinct stages—(1) the era of vengeance or retribution, (2) that of repression, (3) that of attempted reformation or rehabilitation of the criminal, (4) “of which we see as yet but the early dawn”—that of prevention.

It is at any rate quite clear that our criminal law like the rest of our jurisprudence has grown up from rude beginnings; that at first primitive man had no criminal law properly so called, the governing rule was “they may take who have the power, &c.” Primitive law does not distinguish between a crime and a civil injury. “The penal law of ancient Communities is not the law of crimes: it is the law of wrongs.”\* “Compensation to the party injured is the basis of the primitive administration of justice and the party himself levies execution.”† But as society becomes organized, practices, customs and usages grow up and gradually take definite form and come to possess in the course of time and the progress of the race the force and validity of laws.

The *lex talionis* is one of the earliest instances of which the traces remain, of this process. It is a criminal law, and in its day a humane one; for it limits and regulates the barbaric vengeance, which up to that time had no limit, except “the degree of passionate anger aroused in the injured person”; and “the penalty of death was the usual and all but universal form of vengeance or punishment for grave offences.”

We find evidence of what is perhaps the next definite step in advance, in the limitation of the *lex talionis* by the provision of cities of refuge in the Mosaic code. Canon Mozley says that

\* Maine, Ancient Law, 370.

† Walker, International Law, 32.

Moses borrowed this idea from an unwritten law of the East, and this seems extremely probable. Such a law would have its origin in the right of sanctuary attaching to certain sacred places. The cities of refuge may possibly be an adaptation of that notion to the circumstances of the Israelites when taking possession of the Promised Land. They indicate the stage at which the criminal law of the Hebrews then stood. It is manifestly "the era of vengeance." The right of the blood-avenger is recognized and regulated. He has a certain legal and official status. He has the right, it may be that it was his religious duty, to slay the man who has slain his kinsman. Before the provision for cities of refuge, this right and duty of vengeance were probably absolute and unlimited. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy" was conceived in the general spirit of the law of retaliation "and the precept to hate your enemy was, like that of retaliation, in its spirit judicial, though it aimed at justice through a personal medium *i.e.* through the redress of your own wrongs."\* It was the justice of an earlier age of society when the scope of the individual and that of the State were not clearly distinguished.

The history of other ancient peoples shows a similar state of things, at the earlier stages of civilization. The Roman who failed to avenge the death of his kinsman, could not inherit his estate. Early Anglo-Saxon laws contain many provisions regarding the blood-feud. Maine finds the same thing in Indian village communities. The evidence points to its having been universal in some form or other. "Among all primitive peoples there are certain offences against piety, especially blood-shed, within the kin which are regarded as properly inexpiable, the offender must die or become an outlaw. Where the god of the kin appears as vindicator of this law he demands the life of the culprit. If the kinsmen refuse this they share the guilt. Thus the execution of the criminal assumes the character of a religious action. If the true culprit cannot be found the kindred as a whole bear the guilt until they or the guilty man himself find a substitute." †

In course of time vengeance gives way to compensation or atonement, and when the stage of law or justice is reached,

\* Canon Mozley.

† Ency. Brit., Art, Sacrifice.

punishment supersedes compensation. At first compensation is optional, the kindred of the wronged person are not bound to accept it, but they are no longer dishonoured by doing so. At length the State steps in firmly and insists that compensation shall be accepted.

"Anglo-Saxon polity shows many traces of a time, when not the individual but the family or the kindred was the unit of the commonweal, controlling its members in many ways and answerable for them in matters of both public and private right. The joint family or household is still an integral part of Hindu and South Slavonic life. . . A man's kindred are his avengers: and as it is their right and honour to avenge him so it is their duty to make amends for his misdeeds or else maintain his cause in fight." Step by step as the power of the State waxes the self-centered and self-helping autonomy of the kindred wanes. Private feud is controlled and regulated, the avenging and the protecting clan of the slain and the slayer are made pledges and auxiliaries of public justice. The kindred is an element of the State prior to the State itself.

"On the eve of the Norman Conquest what we may call the criminal law of England contained four elements which deserve attention. We have to speak of outlawry, of the blood-feud, of the tariffs of wer and bot and wite, of punishment in life and limb. As regards the malefactor the community may take one of four attitudes: it may make war upon him, it may leave him exposed to the vengeance of those he has wronged, it may suffer him to make atonement, it may inflict on him a determinate punishment, death, mutilation or the like."\*

1. It may make war upon him, *i.e.* declare him an outlaw. Outlawry was the capital punishment of a rude age. It belongs to a time when legal machinery was primitive, when there were no police or professional hangmen.

2. It may leave him to the vengeance of the wronged. But in Alfred's day it was unlawful to begin a blood-feud except when the slayer and his kindred had failed to pay the dead man's *wer gild*, *i.e.* that is the statutory sum which would atone for his death. So that here is the third alternative of Pollock, *viz*:—

\*Pollock's History of English Law. Vol. ii. 447.

atonement, compensation, which was at first optional and ultimately compulsory. "When the primitive state took into its own hands the regulation of such composition the foundation of a true criminal jurisprudence was laid." It is a further step in advance when the community awakes to the consciousness of the offence to the public involved in a wrong to a member of it, and *wite* must be paid to the king as well as *bot* to the lord of the slain, and *wer* to his kindred.

In the Anglo-Saxon laws of King Ine there is a complete tariff of prices for every offence from the slaying of an ealderman down to striking off the nail of the little finger of an ordinary man, price one shilling.

Professor Muirhead says the sequence of methods in punishing crime disclosed by Roman history is (1) private revenge (2) sacral atonement (3) public or private penalty, and he adds that the same sequence is observable in the history of the laws of other nations. It is manifest that private vengeance is the root from which criminal jurisprudence everywhere has sprung. Vengeance and justice are originally synonymous. There is the one word for the two things which are not distinguishable from each other—"Avenge me of my adversary" is the form of appeal to the unjust judge in the parable. "Vengeance is mine" means 'Justice is mine.' Could we measure the distance between justice and vengeance today, we should have an estimate of the progress our criminal jurisprudence has made. "Matters originally left to the rule of social custom and in some cases to private caprice come to be governed by fixed law. When a community has become tolerably settled, customs originally rude and indefinite become crystallized into definite rules and have ultimately acquired the force and validity of laws."

"By gradual steps as singularly alike in the main in different lands and periods at the corresponding steps of advance as they have differed in detail, public authority has drawn to itself more and more causes and matters out of the domain of mere usage and morals."\*

Since the Norman Conquest we have left behind us three of Pollock's elements of the criminal law of that day, *viz.*—outlawry

\*Pollock's History of English Law.

blood-feud and atonement. These as recognized parts of the system have disappeared. The private wrong in grave crimes has been merged in the public offence against the community. What remains is punishment. We might claim to have passed the barbaric stage, the era of vengeance, and to have reached the stage of repression, in which the criminal is punished in order to deter him and others from repeating the offence. We might further claim that we have reached the era of attempted reformation and re-habilitation of the criminal.

Our criminal law today bears the marks of its origin and ancestry. One writer defines it as that part of justice evolved out of vengeance, which from being with the lowest tribes a boundless passion, was by degrees restrained, acquired a definite form, and became the law of retaliation. Bentham says of the death penalty, "vengeance, passion, began the practice, prejudice the result of habit has persevered in it." Speaking of transportation as a punishment he says, "among savages when to a certain extent a man is sick in body he is cast out and thought no more of. In a nation civilized in other respects the same barbarity is still shown to the at least equally curable class of patients in whose case the seat of disorder is in the mind."

Again, "the deepest and steadiest policy will be found to concur with the tenderest humanity in regarding criminals as a sort of grown-up children in whom the mental weakness attached to non-age continues beyond the ordinary length of time." These views of Bentham were a century in advance of the public opinion of his day. There was as yet practically no attempt at reformation. Indeed in regard to the treatment of criminals England had not passed out of the barbaric stage. The idea of attempting to reform criminals was not seriously entertained. Transportation continued down to 1846, and it was "out of sight out of mind," for the criminal. There is a curious parallel between the history of our treatment of criminals and that of lunatics.

"The history of the treatment of insanity is divided into three epochs: the barbaric, the humane, and the remedial. Bedlams or houses of detention for lunatics existed in England from the 16th century but these were rare and otherwise no provision was made for the insane. Many were executed as criminals or

witches. About 1750 the condition of this class attracted some amount of public attention, not on account of any philanthropic sympathy with them, but as a measure demanded for the public safety and comfort, but this measure by no means brought about the termination of the barbaric period. The houses misnamed asylums were prisons of the very worst description, the unhappy inmates were immured in cells, chained to the walls, flogged, starved, and not unfrequently killed."\* This continued down to 1827.

What a family likeness this bears to our treatment of criminals. There is no worse story of man's inhumanity to man than the revelations made by Howard of the condition of prisons in his day. We might think we had passed from that sort of barbarism, but the evidence is against us. True it is, prisons no longer generate the foul poisons which at the Bloody Assize in Oxford Castle in 1577 killed the Lord Chief Baron, the sheriff, and 300 more within 40 hours, of jail fever caught from the prisoners, and again at Taunton in 1730, when judge and sheriff and several hundred more died under almost precisely similar circumstances. We have changed all that as to sanitary matters. But what about the moral poisons? Mr. Tallock in his work on Penology says a prisoner in an association jail is like a man thrown amongst a group of lepers or plague-stricken wretches. Yet we are daily thrusting half-innocent youths into these places to be fatally tainted by evil communications.

"To establish a school of crime requires (1) teachers skilled in the theory and practice of crime; (2) pupils with inclination, opportunity and leisure to learn; (3) a place of meeting together. All these requirements are provided and paid for by the public, in the creation, organization, and equipment of county gaols and city prisons. With less than half a dozen exceptions, all the gaols and city prisons in the United States, are schools of this kind, and it is difficult to conceive how a more efficient system for the education of criminals could be devised. . . Every observant gaoler knows with what devilish skill the professors of this school ply their vocation. Hour after hour they beguile the weariness of the enforced confinement with marvellous tales of successful crime, and the methods by which escape has been accomplished. If attention fails, games of chance, interspersed with

\*Ency. Brit., Article Insanity, 110.



obscene jokes and ribald songs, serve to amuse and while away the time. In this way the usual atmosphere of a gaol is made so foul that the stamina of a saint is scarce strong enough to resist. Let a prisoner attempt to be decent, and to resist the contaminating influences brought to bear upon him, especially in a large gaol, and he will find that, so far as personal comfort is concerned, he might as well be in a den of wild beasts." \*

Have we emerged from the barbaric stage? We condemn our fathers for their wholesale hangings for all manners of offences, they killed the body, we refrain from that and poison the soul.

But we are advancing. We are beginning to believe in the moral cure of the criminal, which Christ taught eighteen centuries ago. Professor Amos says:—"It is the great moral discovery of the present age that very much can be done in this direction."

In 1776 a commission was appointed to devise some scheme for the disposal of convicts at home—the agitation of Bentham and others had awakened the public conscience to the evils of transportation. The Commissioners were Howard, Blackstone, and Eden. As a result of their labours an act was passed in 1778 which contains the first public annunciation of a general principle of penal treatment.

"It was hoped by sobriety, cleanliness and medical assistance, by a regular series of labour, by solitary confinement during the intervals of work, and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders, to inure them to habits of industry, to guard them from pernicious company, to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and practice of every Christian and moral duty."

Thirty-five years passed before this act bore fruit. Howard died, and Bentham, and Blackstone, without seeing any result from their labours. The first penitentiary in England was built in 1813. The next step is the establishment of Reformatories and Industrial Schools. These existed in Scotland as voluntary benevolent institutions for some time prior to the first legislation on the subject, which took place in 1854. In that year there are acts providing for Reformatories and Industrial Schools. The

\* General Brinkerhoff, of Ohio.

Industrial Schools Act at first was confined in its operation to the Industrial Schools of Scotland but subsequently was applied to the whole kingdom. The aim of these schools was to rescue young children from the criminal life, and their success from the first has been remarkable. But Penetentiaries have not been a success. There is a general consensus of opinion that our system of punishment both as a deterrent and as a reforming influence is a failure.

“ The existing laws of punishment of crime in their principles and scheme are an inheritance of mere barbarism with modified penalties.”

“ The idea of the mere legal punishment of crime on which our penal legislation is based has been found fallacious in theory, false in principle, absurd in practice, and almost a total failure in results.”\*

In the United States from 1850 to 1890 population increased 170 per cent, the criminal class increased 445 per cent. In Spain it has doubled in ten years. In France it has increased several hundred per cent within the last quarter century. In Italy Professor Ferri says:—“ We have disquisitions on the futility of repression”, and in Germany it has been held that existing criminal law is powerless against crime. The British Isles are the only bright spot in sight. Crime there has decreased so remarkably that the figures are challenged. The decrease is largely attributed to the reformatory and preventive methods used. The British Home office reports “ It is certain that by Reformatory the Industrial Schools a large proportion of the supply of raw material for the manufacture of criminals has to a great extent been cut off.”

Bentham said “ Rightly regarded the most profligate offender will present on the one hand no fitter object of profitable resentment, on the other hand no less necessary object of preventive coercion, than would be presented by a refractory patient or a froward child.”

“ The main characteristics of the born criminal are im-

\*Boies Prisoners and Paupers, 36.

providence and moral insensibility."\* "Intellectually and morally criminals are for the most part weak."†

"In English prisons 72 per cent can only read or read and write imperfectly. A certain number of criminals are almost incapable of acquiring instruction, their memory and reasoning powers are so utterly feeble that attempts to school them are a waste of time. Deficiencies of memory, reason and imagination are undoubted characteristics of criminals."‡

Punishment is worse than a failure—so long as a prison is a school of crime, it propagates the disease it was meant to cure. And our legal machinery is not framed to determine the moral desert of the criminal. Its wise administration by humane and experienced judges does much to supplement its defects, but it manifestly is not adapted to measure accurately culpability. How much do heredity and environment enter into the question, how shall we take account of these? How can justice be done without considering them?

How far is society itself responsible for the criminal? "When it is remembered to what extent society in general by its selfish arrangements, its laxity of moral judgments, is largely responsible for every crime committed, it is bound to make what reparation it can to the offender whose crime its own sins have nursed into life."§ Are these the words of truth and soberness? They come from a professor's chair.

How is it that we treat the criminal? "By solemn trial and public punishment the criminal is made conspicuously visible to his fellow-citizens, he is held up to their criticism and it becomes a part of their duty and of their education to hate him. When the law is satisfied and the punishment inflicted can he return to his former estimation and rank in the community? Not so—beyond the legal punishment another is inflicted of endless duration and fatal severity. He may be condemned to fine, or imprisonment, or exile, but in all cases he incurs another sentence, in all cases he is condemned to a place among the bad, to excommunication from the society and league of the virtuous. A

\* Ferri, *Crim. Sociology*.

† Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*.

‡ *Crime and its Causes*—Morrison.

§ Amos, *Science of Law*, 280.

fatal prejudice rests upon him for the future, a clinging suspicion oppresses him: crime is expected of him, his virtuous acts require explanation, his endeavour after virtue is distrusted by the good, or passed unobserved by them, he lives among the bad; the bad are now the censors of his conduct, to their standard it is most expedient for him to conform. . . . And when the criminal is the father of children the curse descends even upon those who are wholly innocent. Before they are old enough to distinguish right and wrong they are as it were received into the evil church, by infant baptism, their parents or their parents' friends standing sponsors, and promising for them that which when they come to age they take upon themselves but too willingly. . . . They enter into perdition by a natural title."\*

The author of *Ecce Homo* claims that Christ's attitude towards the whole criminal class is distinctly at variance with that of his own day and ours. "With Him came the newly-revealed virtue of mercy." "Criminality certainly appeared to Christ more odious and detestable than it appeared to his contemporaries and yet he openly associated with the criminal and outcast classes. He refused to condemn the woman brought to Him by the Pharisees, who had incurred the death-penalty under Mosaic law; He received into His Kingdom the dying malefactor; the story of the Magdalen has gone to the heart of Christendom. He is so sanguine of the possibility of restoring the lost that He avows Himself ready to neglect for this the training of the virtue of the good. He is distinctly at issue with the world in this. The world practically says 'once a villain always a villain.' Christ believes that the most inveterate and enormous criminality may be shaken off."†

Is it optimistic to believe in the possibility of the cure of the criminal? The world hitherto has not believed in it, if we judge of faith by works. Dr. Dyde says in an address to the students of Queen's—"Crime is a mark of a morally imperfect community and he who carries out his little life in utter indifference to the spiritual needs of his fellow men is not moral, however sinless he may be in the usual sense of that word." "True morality implies the effort to abolish crime and want." The State must

\**Ecce Homo*,  
†*Ecce Homo*.

treat its erring children better than they deserve. For ages it has treated them worse. Its schools of crime must become hospitals for the sick children of sin. The criminal must be studied as to his heredity and environment: he must be treated for his disease and not cast out and trodden under foot of men. This is being done. One who enters for the first time upon an investigation of this subject is surprised to find a whole literature devoted to it. Howard, Bentham, Elizabeth Fry, have had devout followers, who have caught up their spirit and tried to carry on their work.

Dr. Wines says the best way to deal with crime is to stop the manufacture of criminals. Stop it in our gaols and penitentiaries, in our criminal procedure, in the dens and dives of our cities, in the homes where crime and vice dwell. Prevention is better than cure.

"Child-saving societies and institutions are the most efficient and hopeful agencies for diminishing the criminal class."\* Our own Province has begun this work. The Gibson Act of 1893 marks a new era in the history of the treatment of crime. For the first time the State interferes between parent and child, in the families of the criminal and the vicious. Hitherto the family has been a sacred corporation, which the law has treated as the social unit for many purposes, recognizing and supporting parental authority if necessary, and enforcing parental duty, but never touching the integrity of the institution. Now it is proposed to do so, and to declare that the criminal and vicious parent has forfeited the rights of parent-hood, and thereupon it is proposed to take from him his children, and to place them in foster-homes, where they may grow up to be good citizens.

This is one element in Dr. Wines "prevention of which we see as yet but the early dawn."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of this new departure.

Professor Ferri says "Prevention has always been held as subsidiary to repression, whereas we have arrived at the positive conclusion that prevention instead of being a mere secondary aid,

should henceforth become the primary defensive function of society, since repression has but an infinitesimal effect upon criminality.

The report of the Royal Commission of 1882 says, "before Reformatory Schools a large portion of adult criminals of the worst classes consisted of those who in their childhood had been neglected or abandoned, or trained to a career of crime. The effect of these schools in diminishing crime has been remarkable. The proportion of offenders under 16 in English prisons between 1857 and 1866 was 6¼ per cent, it is now 2 per cent." Mr. Douglas Morrison says, "it might easily be reduced to zero by using reformatory methods."

In a reformatory or an industrial school, a boy is under restraint and deprived of his liberty; he herds with others, it is not home life. How much better to get him in his innocence and place him in a Christian home, before he has become a conscious member of the Evil Church, and a pupil in the schools of crime.

G. M. MACDONNELL.

#### A SONNET OF PETRARCH.

Gentle rebukes and soft remonstrances,  
 Full of pure love and pitying tenderness,  
 A sweet severity that could repress  
 My passionate will to due observances.  
 A low soft voice, in whose clear tones unite  
 All courtesy with spotless purity,  
 Fount of delight, white flower of chastity,  
 Winning my soul from wrong to love the right.  
 Eyes of divinest beauty, such as fill  
 The soul of man with happiness, yet strong  
 To curb the strivings of my restless will,  
 And heal my spirit, vexed with constant strife,  
 In this perfection of thy lovely life  
 I find my peace, mid conflict stern and long.

LOIS SAUNDERS.

## MINING INVESTMENT.

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IT would appear, from various indications, that Canada is at present in the initial stages of an industriously organized mining boom. This movement is evidently in imitation of recent speculative efforts in other parts of the world. As the imitation extends to several undesirable features which have borne bitter fruit elsewhere, it may not be out of place to make a few general observations upon mining speculation and mining shares, with a view to determining the chances for profitable investment which are open to the ordinary citizen, who has some savings to invest, but who is neither able to investigate mining properties for himself, nor to employ a reliable expert to do it for him.

A very large number of people in England and in some European centres, notwithstanding their wider experience in such matters and the repeated exposure of the flimsy foundations of the glittering castles in Spain, were yet successfully inoculated with the virus of mining speculation and now mourn the loss of scores of millions invested in worthless or over-rated South African or West Australian mining property. It is thus not unreasonable to expect that those who are now spending many thousands on the systematic organization of the Canadian boom have a fairly certain prospect of large profits on their outlay at the expense of the very slightly experienced and very meagerly warned people of this country. There are very few papers in Canada which can afford or are willing to take the stand of the better papers in England, such as *The Times* or *The Economist*, and none at all which can speak with such accurate knowledge and skilled treatment of the facts as the latter. If, therefore, the boom in this country can once be given good headway the calculations of the promoters and speculators are likely to be well founded.

In criticizing the present movement we have to observe, first of all, that the safety of the speculator, and the danger of the miscellaneous investor, lie in the fact that mining for the precious

metals, and particularly for gold, is more or less uncertain. All losses, however disastrous, may always be attributed to this uncertainty. Hence members of Parliament and all sorts of distinguished people may lend their names and mend their fortunes in speculative mining companies without fear of being held responsible for any consequences, however unfortunate. When the collapse comes, if only they have been successful in getting rid of their shares and in squaring the matter with their own consciences, nothing else need trouble them. They may smile sweetly upon their victims and sympathetically murmur: "*Caveat emptor* you know: unutterably sorry for you: better luck next time: bye bye."

Though uncertainty attaches to nearly all mining, yet there are various degrees of it. The business is far from being a mere lottery. There are mines which afford quite certain indications that profit may be made on capital invested in them; others where there is only a reasonable chance of gain; and still larger numbers of others where there is only a reasonable excuse for believing that gold or silver may be found.

Since there is always plenty of capital to be had in large quantities, where personal and practical investigation will indicate safe investment, it results that almost none of the first class of mining properties are offered to the general public. There is no use in spending thousands of dollars in booming mining shares in the newspapers, engaging agents to go about the country peddling them from city to city, or employing other expensive machinery of promotion, when they can be disposed of with practically no expense to men who can satisfy themselves of their value by personal examination or through experts in whom they can trust.

It does not follow that those originally purchasing the best mines will necessarily hold the stock under all conditions, deriving their profits from working the mines. It is quite possible that, under the influence of a speculative boom, even the best stocks may rise above their actual value. Then more profit would be made by selling the stock than by working the mines. Such a result often occurs, people forgetting that even gold may be bought too dearly, and that it is quite possible to lose as heavily on the best stock as on the worst.



Mining regions are visited by two distinct classes of capitalists. The first are those who are seeking to obtain mines with a view to working them, hence they desire only the best, though they may take chances on some of the more promising of the others. The other class consists of those who are looking for mines, not to work, but to capitalize and sell at as large a profit to themselves as possible. Their capital is spent, not in working the mines, but in advertising and peddling the shares of mining companies. What these persons look for in a mine is not so much its mineral wealth as its advertising qualities, chief of which will be its proximity to paying mines. There being little competition for the purchase of very uncertain properties, they naturally afford the largest prospect of margin for speculation. During a mining boom these are the properties which enjoy the highest proportional rise in value.

This is naturally the character of the great majority of the mining stock which is offered to the general public, and which they are asked to purchase without having seen the property, or ever expecting to see it, and with little or no information of it more reliable than what is given by those whose interest it is to dispose of the shares.

I do not assert that there is no chance of making a profit on mining shares purchased in this way. What I do maintain is that the chance for gain, for those who are purchasing with a view to the profits from actual mining, is very small; and past experience amply justifies this conclusion.

In the case of regular industrial undertakings, such as most other kinds of mining, lumbering, and other procuring of natural products, in manufacturing and all other familiar forms of industry, there are practically no sound companies, having in view serious business, the shares of which are publicly boomed by expensive and flaming advertisements, supplemented by daily columns of alleged news of the proposed industries. The miscellaneous public are not personally canvassed by agents to buy such shares, nor are they offered at a small percentage on large fictitious par values. The chief reasons why no such attempts are made in the case of normal industrial undertakings are, first, that where the prospects are good there will be no occasion to

apply to the general public for investment, since plenty of capitalists, with large sums of money and opportunities for obtaining first hand knowledge of the business and its prospects, are ready to take them up. Secondly, the public are familiar enough with such undertakings to know that, whatever the alleged prospects, it would be the height of folly to purchase shares in companies of whose business they know little.

If such an attitude is wise in the case of stable and familiar industries, how much more should it be the mark of wisdom in the case of such uncertain and unfamiliar undertakings as gold and silver mining! In mining there may, indeed, be large opportunities for profit, but even more than elsewhere such opportunities are the perquisites of those who enjoy first hand and expert knowledge of the mines and their prospects.

Yet the only reason for warning people is the fact that the very ignorance of the public, and the uncertainty of gold and silver mining, instead of increasing caution tend to destroy it, and afford the very opportunities most desired by the speculator. Their ignorance he enlightens from the fulness of his wisdom, and the void of uncertainty he dexterously fills with the golden sureties of imagination.

But, it may be said, do we not find shrewd business men, equally shrewd members of Parliament and others investing in the shares which are being industriously boomed, and are we to believe that these men would invest in anything that was not pretty certain to afford a profitable return? This is one of the most convincing arguments of the personal canvasser. In most cases we must admit both the fact and the implied inference. But, as we have seen, there are two possible kinds of profitable return. One is the profit from actual mining, the other is the profit from the sale of mining shares. The latter is very possibly the special profitable return upon which the admittedly shrewd business men have their eyes. And the persons upon whom the shrewd Mr. So-and-so, who does not put his money into losing concerns, may expect with reasonable certainty to unload at a profit, may be just such as are induced to invest in the shares because the shrewd Mr. So-and-so has previously invested.

Another striking feature of mining speculation may be noted. In the case of opening subscription books for the shares of an ordinary company, the shares may be placed at the par value of say one dollar each. Under normal conditions what this means is, that when the shares subscribed for are fully paid up one dollar will have been paid for each share. When first issued a call, or assessment, of only ten cents may be made on each share, and this may give sufficient capital for the first stages of the company's operations. The holder of the shares, however, remains liable for future assessments up to the limit of one dollar on each share, and any person buying this stock before it is fully paid up becomes liable for the remaining assessments, quite irrespective of what he has paid the last owner for the shares. When fully paid up a share may sell for more or less than one dollar, but its par value can never be more or less than one dollar. In other words the par value of a share is not its market value, but simply the amount of money which requires to have been given before it is fully paid up.

Taking advantage of this normal condition of affairs, many mining companies, either directly or indirectly advertise their shares as of the par value of, say, one dollar, and in the same advertisement they may be offered as fully paid up and non-assessible for a small fraction of one dollar, a favorite figure being ten cents. But if a fully paid up original share is offered to the investor for ten cents, then the par value of such a share is only ten cents. Though it may afterwards sell on the market for more or less its par value can never be anything else than ten cents, and nothing more than that goes into the funds of the company. The asserted par value is purely fictitious and might have been placed at any sum, the point at which it is placed is the one at which it is supposed to do most good. Being fixed at the modest and convenient sum of one dollar, it is found that many people easily drop into the belief that somehow they are getting a dollar's worth of paid up capital for ten cents, and this is encouraged by the statement that the shares are only temporarily selling at this figure, and that before long they will be up to their normal value. Thus the unwary investor is induced to confuse the possible market selling price of the shares with the capital of

the company, and to believe, in a hazy way, that because in the future the shares may be selling for seventy-five cents or one dollar each, he has shares in a mining company whose capital is represented by something like the total number of shares multiplied by the selling price of the stock.

An enterprise that is intended to live by its actual production of wealth can have no interest in stating its basis and prospects in other than the simplest and most direct terms. There could be no object in advertising mining shares, as commonly advertised, to men who know the mines or to men who are familiar with stocks and investments. It is quite obvious for whom such advertisements are meant, and what is the intent of the same.

If such is the nature of the bud what is to be expected of the full leaf and flower and fruit? Doubtless men are occasionally deceived for their own good, but mining companies are seldom the instruments of such philanthropic deception.

Without going further into details the conclusion of my criticism is simply this. Whatever there is of value in the mines of Canada, and there is without doubt a great deal, must be determined in the mining regions by those who understand their business, and to qualify persons for such work is the object of our mining schools. The real value of the mines can never be determined by speculative operations upon the imaginations of people who have no first hand knowledge of them. If the prospects are at all good there will be no lack of capital to work the mines. But it is safe to say that nineteen twentieths of the capital which will reap a profit from actual mining will come from persons who have first hand and expert knowledge of the mines and their possibilities. None of the best interests of the country will suffer if not a dollar is invested in mining by people who have not personal experience or reliable information of the mining properties. If it be urged that the large capitalists and the experts should not have a monopoly of the natural riches of the country, we may sympathize with this feeling, but it is well to remember that the advantages are not all on the side of those who are operating profitable mines. The stimulus to the miscellaneous industries of the country may, in the end, be the most valuable and abiding result of the mining prosperity. In any case, until

there is devised and put in operation, some means of preventing those who have the knowledge and the money combined from having the first choice of the investments, only the culls can be left for the general public, unless, indeed, what is equally disastrous for the investor, the public care to purchase the productive mines for more than they are worth. In purchasing speculative mining shares for the profits of mining, the amateur is simply investing in a lottery where the numbers of nearly all the prize tickets are known to a few privileged individuals. In buying mining shares for the profit of selling them again, the amateur may have a better chance, because the gullibility of the public is a much more certain field for profit than the returns from speculative mines. Even here, however, the amateur is at a very great disadvantage as compared with the professional speculator. He has not the machinery of speculation under his control, he can at best follow not lead, and he is pretty certain to be found, when the apex of the boom is past, with a good deal of stock on hand which he should have disposed of some time before.

Why cannot we have a sober and profitable development of our mineral riches, without the parasitic curse of a boom? Profitable mining may permit, but it does not require, or depend upon that ruinous side-play between the speculator and his victims. When, however, the victims discover their situation we shall have noise enough from them and their sympathisers. Their ignorance will then take another shape, and we shall be called upon in the name of all that is just and righteous, to chorus their denunciations of the modern industrial system, and the wickedness of those who were sane enough not to risk their wealth in what they did not understand.

ADAM SHORTT.

## OUR ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

### II.

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The article on the proposed fast steamship service between Canada and Great Britain which appeared in *QUEEN'S QUARTERLY* for October last, has led to so much comment that I am impelled to submit some further observations on the subject.

There is a common feeling that we should take every means in our power to improve the communication with the British Islands. *First*, in order that the products which we raise may be carried to their best market at the lowest cost and in the best condition. *Secondly*, that passengers and mails may be conveyed across the ocean as speedily and as safely as possible. *Thirdly* and generally, that the closest intercourse may be permanently established between Her Majesty's subjects, on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the article referred to I endeavoured to take a dispassionate view of the whole circumstances of the case, with the sincere desire to arrive at sound conclusions. Soon after the publication of the paper I left for England, and have only recently returned. Since my arrival in Canada, I have had my attention directed to extracts from the public press, in which I am charged with "casting aspersions on our noble river," with "bucking the scheme," with "want of patriotism," with "decrying the St. Lawrence" and such like offences.

In a project of this character, all sensible men must admit that the fullest investigation is desirable; that it should be examined from every side, so that no narrow or defective view be taken; and that, before the country is bound to pay an enormous subsidy, it be first established, that the expenditure has been wisely determined. Every Canadian must acknowledge the necessity of proceeding with deliberation, so that no false step shall be taken and no error committed. The question is of national importance. It is not simply a consideration, whether the establishment of heavily subsidized steamships will benefit

this or that city, or this or that Province, but the extent to which it will be advantageous to the whole community. Therefore the broadest view should be taken of the subject, and the project considered in its most comprehensive aspect. I am sure that we all desire that Canada should not be committed to an expenditure to result in disappointment and loss, nor that we should be restrained by niggardly economy, seriously to retard our national advancement; nor on the other hand that we should engage in a policy of inaction to end in loss to the commonweal.

I conceive that the duty rests on each person who has reflected upon the subject to express his views. The views of any particular individual are but a unit in the general mass of public opinion, "constituting" as Herbert Spencer says "with other such units the general power which works out social changes." In this aspect any man may properly give full utterance to his innermost convictions, leaving them to produce what effect they may.

In this spirit, in my first communication I submitted the essential facts bearing on this question, and drew the conclusions to which these facts logically led. I conceive that no fault can be found with this course; rather it should be accounted a title to public confidence when a man speaks what he considers to be the truth; the more especially when he aims at averting public evil or attaining public good.

It appears to me that the time has arrived when the Canadian people may profit by the experience which has been gained in subsidizing public undertakings. Many may remember cases when subsidies have been granted to enterprises that have been found impossible of successful accomplishment. The result has been grievous loss and disappointment and sometimes ruin to innocent investors, with much discredit to Canada. As more directly connected with the present question, I may refer to the experience gained in the history of Canadian mail steamships, though I do not wish to recall the series of disasters which at one time befell the Allan Line, when eight passenger ships were lost in eight years, or the shipwrecks and losses sustained by the Dominion and Beaver lines. I have been called to account by the press of Quebec for mentioning that the navigation

of the St. Lawrence offers many dangers to the rapid steaming of vessels of heavy tonnage. Some writers state that my knowledge of the navigation is very limited, and my opinion respecting it not worth much. As they will possibly recognize a Quebec authority as more competent to speak on this point, I would refer them to the work of Mr. Henry Fry, published so recently as 1896. This work entitled *The History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation* has been carefully prepared by one of the most respected residents of Quebec, long familiar with every circumstance connected with the St. Lawrence Route. In this volume will be found a record of details fully supporting all I have stated respecting the difficulties in the way of fast steaming, and the dire consequences to which these difficulties have already too frequently led, even in the case of comparatively slow steamships (see pages 144-5, and 201-6).

Among other things stated by Mr. Fry is that the distressing losses of life and property were not due to any want of skill or experience on the part of the owners or captains. He however expresses the opinion that the Government was not blameless in exacting speed, in the face of the serious obstacles which were presented to rapid steaming, and in imposing heavy penalties for non-punctuality in the delivery of the mails within the periods stipulated by contract.

Obviously no one wishes to see similar losses repeated, and it is to prevent them being repeated, possibly in an aggravated form, that words of caution are now being used. It matters little who proclaims the necessity of caution. There are occasions when by the voice of warning, the humblest individual may be instrumental in obviating the gravest calamities. Are we not told that Rome was saved by the cackling of a goose?

In my previous paper I submitted that the evidence of facts does not warrant the belief that steamships can always run with safety at great speed on considerable portions of the St. Lawrence route, and that this is especially the case in the approaches to the straits of Belle Isle. Frequently the navigation is beset with ice-bergs for hundreds of miles; moreover when within the straits the course of ships is confined between lines of rocky coast on both sides, while irregular currents and dense fogs frequently prevail.



In some newspapers it is stated that witnesses of marine experience, whose opinion is worth more than mine, have declared that the navigation of the St. Lawrence is safe for the largest and fastest steamers. I am disposed to agree with this testimony, with the proviso, whatever it may be worth, that the navigation is safe for fast steamers, provided they move as slowly as the occasion demands. Other statements have appeared in the press to the effect that there has been very little delay experienced for several years back by certain steamships which have made the passage by the route in question. The statement may be quite true; but it is equally true that other steamships and possibly the same steamships at other times have been seriously delayed. Moreover, we must not put out of view that all such steamships have been comparatively slow vessels. We are now considering the employment of steamships of much greater speed than any hitherto in use, and obviously the reduction from 20 knots to what would be regarded as a safe speed of say 6 or 8 knots for a slow vessel would, certainly, by comparison be counted as much greater delay. Be this as it may, it is to be feared that unless human nature greatly changes, there will be found among the commanders of fast steamships those who would, in order to make speedy passages, be tempted to drive ahead, trusting to the chance of getting through without mishap.

With respect to all that has appeared in the press on this subject, I can only remark that I have consulted many experienced men, the commanders of mail steamships and others, and I have read everything published which I have been able to obtain, but I have seen nothing not in accord with the facts I have submitted. I will add that no one would more truly rejoice than myself if the investigation of the facts led to different conclusions. I repeat the main conclusions, to which I conceive these irresistibly lead.

(1.) That our great waterway, the St. Lawrence, will always be employed to the greatest advantage in the conveyance of staple products, and all ordinary cargo merchandise, at the lowest possible rates; and that to secure low rates the products must be carried on steamships of moderate speed. (2.) That any attempt to establish on the St. Lawrence route, now followed, a line of

trans-Atlantic steamships to rival those running to and from New York, must result in disappointment. (3.) That if we desire to establish such a fast line successfully, the steamships must arrive at and take their departure from one of our Atlantic seaports.

I referred to the advantages and disadvantages of several ocean ports in the Maritime Provinces, and mentioned those which seemed to be entitled to the preference; but the gravamen of my offence is in having pointed out as mildly as possible that steamships could not run regularly at great speed with ordinary safety between Montreal or Quebec and the United Kingdom, by the ordinary route followed.

The facts which led to these conclusions, came under the head of climatic and geographical difficulties, but there are other considerations of a different character, which bear on the question. If the best authorities connected with steam transportation be consulted, they will state that if a subsidized line by the St. Lawrence is to carry freight in sufficient quantity, it should terminate at Montreal. If however the ships be designed for speed, and to carry little or no freight, in that case Quebec should have the preference. This is the opinion of the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Judging from his public utterances I have reason to believe the manager of the Grand Trunk Railway is of the same opinion, and I do not doubt all competent authorities will be found to hold similar views. Sir William Van Horne has clearly pointed out that it is purely a matter of profit or loss. In the case of steamships carrying a considerable quantity of freight, he says the voyage should be extended as far as possible towards the interior. The same rule does not prevail in the case of steamships carrying only or chiefly passengers, and in that as in all cases the character of the traffic determines the question. In a letter from Sir William to Mr. Garneau, published in the *Quebec Chronicle* of Nov. 11th, 1896, he points out that there would be a large profit in bringing ships laden with freight to Montreal, and a large loss in bringing them beyond Quebec if they have no freight.

The opinion of transportation authorities has an important bearing on the selection of a terminal port for a Canadian

line of fast steamships. I greatly fear that the views I expressed on this point six months ago, were somewhat in advance of the time, and that I have in consequence been misunderstood. I took it as an accepted principle that freight and passenger traffic should be distinctly separated, and that we should no longer attempt to combine the two in the same vessel, as in all the mail steamers which have hitherto ascended the St. Lawrence. I anticipated the time when as a rule only passengers and mails would be carried in ships constructed for speed, and that other ships would be designed for the transportation of freight. Under this arrangement the combination of the two classes of traffic would come to an end; passengers would no longer be carried at less speed than they desire to travel, and freight would be moved across the ocean under conditions which would admit of transport charges being reduced to a minimum. In the one case speed and safety would be the main object, in the other economy in carriage the primary consideration. If we look forward to that time, and there is every indication that it is not far distant, it will be most profitable for steamships of great freight-carrying capacity to proceed up the river St. Lawrence as far as the navigation will admit, but unprofitable for ships specially designed to carry across the ocean mails and passengers only, to proceed so far inland. When we come fully to realize these results, it will easily be seen to be advantageous to limit the length of the voyage of fast trans-Atlantic passenger steamships as much as possible. The president of the Canadian Pacific Railway says that steamships carrying but a small cargo, say 1,500 tons of freight, should not go further west than Quebec; logically it follows that if they carry no freight, the ocean voyage should terminate at some suitable port nearer Liverpool than Quebec.

I do not pretend that on this ground alone the ships of the proposed fast line should terminate their western voyages at some point on the Atlantic sea-board of the Maritime Provinces. Considered however in connection with the well-known difficulties, which operate against fast steaming on the route usually followed by the St. Lawrence, we are forced to enquire into the advantages and disadvantages of terminating the ocean voyage at one of our Atlantic harbours. In investigating this

point six months ago I found that of all the good harbours in the Maritime Provinces, Sydney on the eastern coast of Cape Breton has the advantage of being nearest to Great Britain; it has the disadvantage however of having the character of a summer harbour only, as it is liable to be blocked with ice at the close of winter and in spring. Fortunately Halifax, the next most eastern well-known harbour, is always open and available as a winter port for the Canadian passenger steamships, wherever they may run in summer. In my first paper a number of reasons were submitted in favor of using Halifax as the terminal port all the year round.

Naturally, the conclusion formed by me, that the St. Lawrence route generally is unsuitable for rapid steaming, was not received with satisfaction. I fully share in the disappointment experienced, and gladly welcome a suggestion which if carried into effect would give to the St. Lawrence an ever-increasing proportion of the European passenger business. This suggestion is to combine summer voyages through the placid waters of the Gulf and river, with a short passage across the ocean.

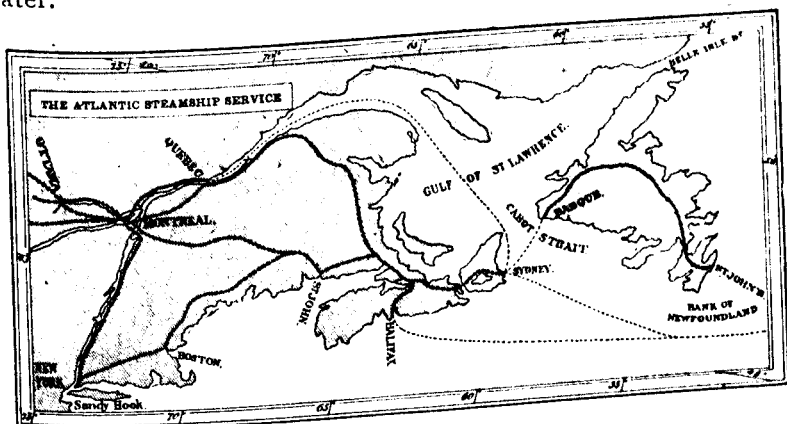
This object may be accomplished in two ways; in both it is proposed to use only the southern entrance to the Gulf.

The first proposal is to run fast steamships between Quebec and Liverpool, and with the view of expediting the mails and accommodating passengers from the Maritime Provinces and Eastern States, to make Sydney a port of call. The steamships to run at full speed between Sydney and Liverpool. Between Quebec and Sydney the speed to be reduced as circumstances may require.

The second proposal is to divide the voyage into two distinct parts, one extending over the ocean proper from Sydney to the most eligible port in Great Britain, the other embracing the River and Gulf; on the former, fast steamships constructed specially for carrying only passengers and mails to be employed, on the latter steamers of less speed than the ocean steamships, and suitable for the navigation of the gulf and river, to be placed on the route. The remarks which follow will refer chiefly to the

second proposal, as on examination it will be found on economic grounds to be entitled to the preference.

With the view of making the proposal clear, I may explain that Sydney is on a well-sheltered inlet of the open Atlantic, directly outside the southern entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is conveniently situated for vessels passing between Quebec and Liverpool by the Cabot Straits. The geographical position of Sydney is in other respects important. It is the extreme eastern terminus of the Intercolonial Railway, and with the exception of the channel about a mile wide, known as the Gut of Canso, (now crossed by a steam railway ferry,) Sydney is in unbroken railway connection with Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Sydney is in the heart of the Cape Breton coal field: an economic fact which adds immensely to its importance as a port of call for ocean steamships. There are striking circumstances in connection with the relations of Sydney to Newfoundland, which I shall refer to later.



By constituting Sydney a transferring point for passengers on the line between Quebec and Liverpool, we remain in allegiance to the St. Lawrence, while we are enabled to discard that portion of the route to which the greatest objection is taken, that is to say, the navigation through the Straits of Belle Isle. The proposal will admit of placing on the ocean passage proper, the very fastest steamships, without incurring the risks

inseparable from the more northern route. The fact that Sydney is 860 nautical miles nearer Liverpool than New York, itself indicates that with steamships of equal speed the ocean passage can be made to and from Sydney in nearly two days less than to and from New York.

The suggestion to follow the St. Lawrence from Sydney to Quebec, does not involve the necessity of running at any unsafe speed in the gulf or river St. Lawrence. As the mails can be conveyed to and from Sydney by railway much faster than by water, passengers only would go by the river and gulf, and there would be no pressure from the Post-Office Department to accelerate the movement of the river steamers. The one object of the captain in command would be the safety and comfort of his passengers.

These steamers, meeting at Sydney, would during the summer months constitute a passenger line of the highest class between Quebec and Liverpool. At the end of the season the river steamers would be laid up and the ocean steamships would extend their voyages to Halifax. On the opening of navigation in each new season and the disappearance of ice on the route to Sydney, the fast steamships would be withdrawn from the Halifax route and placed on the Sydney route. In the first part of the summer it would be expedient for them to follow a southern course across the banks of Newfoundland, as the New York ships do, in order to keep at a safe distance from ice-bergs and obviate all chance of delay.

I will say here but little respecting the terminal port in Great Britain, as that question chiefly concerns our fellow-subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. The suggestion in my former paper to make the termination of the ocean voyage proper at Loch Ryan, although regarded in some quarters as an interference with present practices has generally been received with favour. There is however a strong feeling that the long-established terminal port of Liverpool will continue to be the point where passengers will prefer to land and embark. The future may modify these views, provided among other things that the natural advantages of Loch Ryan be developed by local enterprise. Meanwhile there is nothing to prevent the Canadian line

of steamships making Liverpool the final terminal port, even if they call at Loch Ryan to land and receive mails. The chief reasons for suggesting Loch Ryan were, in the first place, that it is the nearest harbour in Great Britain to Canada, and that it is a point for the collection and distribution of the trans-Atlantic mail matter of the three kingdoms, more centrally situated than any other port. On the arrival of a steamship at Loch Ryan on the one side of the Atlantic, or at Sydney on the other, in both instances the ocean passage would practically be completed. The mails would be transferred to the railways at both points, and passengers remaining on board would be carried forward towards their destination. Of course passengers with a press of business would have it in their power to disembark with the mails and proceed to their destination by land more speedily than by water.

The distance from Sydney to Loch Ryan is under 2,160 miles, so that the Atlantic passage could be made by a 20-knot steamer in four and a half days, by a 22-knot steamer in about four days. The fastest ocean steaming on the New York route has been that of the "Lucania," which made an average speed throughout the passage of 22.01 knots. On the passage to and from Sydney there would be not far short of two days' less consecutive steaming than on the New York route and to that extent therefore the strain on the machinery would be diminished. It is reasonable to suppose that the "Lucania" or a vessel of her speed could easily cross the ocean from port to port, on the proposed Canadian route, in four days.

In making a comparison between routes, it is necessary to bear in mind that the reported passages, from New York to Liverpool, are misleading. The passage is reckoned from Sandy Hook Light Ship to Daunt's Rock. The former is outside New York harbour, and if tide and weather be favourable it may be reached from New York in two hours, but under unfavourable conditions it may take twelve hours or more. On the other side of the Atlantic, "Daunt's Rock" is 228 miles from the bar at the entrance of Liverpool harbour. These facts go to show that it is impossible to accept the time given in the press reports as the

actual time required to make the passage from land to land. One may make a just comparison between the proposed mail route *via* Sydney and the route *via* New York, if we take a common point in Canada such as Montreal, and a common point in England such as London—reckoning equal steamship speed in both cases and making all reasonable allowances for delays.

*Via* NEW YORK.

Montreal to New York, <i>Railway</i> .....	15 hours.
Average delay in New York, say .....	10 hours.*
New York to Sandy Hook, say .....	2 hours.*
Sandy Hook to Liverpool Bar, 3036 miles at 20 knots .....	152 hours.
Delay between Bar and Railway, Liverpool.....	3 hours.
Liverpool to London, <i>Railway</i> .....	4 hours.
	<hr/>
	186 hours.

Equals 7 days 18 hours from Montreal to London.

*Via* SYDNEY.

Montreal to Sydney, <i>Railway</i> , 898 miles.....	30 hours.
Delay at Sydney .....	2 hours.
Sydney to Loch Ryan, 2160 miles .....	108 hours.
Delay at Loch Ryan .....	2 hours.
Loch Ryan to London, <i>Railway</i> .....	8 hours.
	<hr/>
	150 hours.

Equals 6 days 6 hours from Montreal to London.

This comparison brings out very clearly that the proposed route *via* Sydney would be an excellent mail route, as according to the above, letters could be carried between Montreal and London, on an average, in 36 hours less than *via* New York.

The returns for 1896 give evidence of the exceedingly large proportions attained by the trans-Atlantic passenger business. They attest however that the traffic has become concentrated to a wonderful extent at the Port of New York. The total numbers of arrivals and departures are as follows :—

\*As large vessels cannot pass the entrance bar except at high tide, the hour of sailing from New York is variable. If the hour for sailing comes before the arrival of the Montreal trains, mails and passengers require to leave Montreal two days before the steamship leaves New York. The detention in New York ranges from 1 to 24 hours. After sailing, there are causes of delay before Sandy Hook is reached. I may furnish an instance which came under my own experience:—The "Alaska" sailed at 8 a.m., October 17th, 1882, but owing to low tide and fog she did not pass the bar in the tortuous entrance until 11 a.m. on the 19th. Montreal mails and passengers on board had to spend 3 days, 19 hours on the journey before they reached Sandy Hook to begin the voyage proper.



WESTBOUND PASSENGERS.

ARRIVED.	CABIN.	2ND CABIN.	STEERAGE.
At New York . . . .	55,034	45,591	251,779
" Canadian Ports	4,625	4,732	16,816
" All other ports*	2,034	5,381	47,273
Totals . . . . .	61,693	55,704	315,868

EASTBOUND PASSENGERS.

DEPARTED.	CABIN.	2ND CABIN.	STEERAGE.
From New York . .	55,642	36,999	109,520
" Canadian Ports	3,924	3,166	4,571
" All other Ports*	2,093	4,566	13,452
Totals . . . . .	61,659	44,731	127,543

The number of passengers who have arrived at and sailed from New York during the past year is indeed remarkable. We know that a very large proportion of Canadian travel has taken that direction. Persons from Canada have been attracted, as others have been attracted, by the superiority of the trans-Atlantic steamship service. This is not the only reason, but it is one of the influences that cause so many to prefer the New York route. Owing largely to British capital and enterprise, the fastest and best steamships run to and from that city, and they have aided in no small degree to build up the passenger business so generally turned in that direction. As a rule, passengers have a way of seeking out the ships which cross the ocean in the shortest time. This rule is not confined to cabin passengers, it extends equally to steerage passengers. Those engaged in the business inform me that in their choice of a ship, passengers of every class are, as a rule, governed not so much by the passage money charged as by the speed of the vessel. Experience goes to show that even steerage passengers will pay more to travel by a fast steamship than by one of moderate speed, and that lines with no reputation for crossing the ocean quickly are avoided. These facts are well established, and it has been found that the steamships of greatest speed placed on the New York route divert the traffic, not only from other ports in the United States and in Canada, but they

\*From Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Galveston.

also attract passengers from other vessels of less speed, running to and from New York. Do we not see in this circumstance an explanation for the disproportionately small number of passengers travelling by way of the St. Lawrence? Does it not make it apparent that a greatly improved service such as I have outlined would tend to make the Canadian route preferred by every class of passengers? If by way of a Canadian port we bring Montreal 36 hours nearer London than by way of New York, if we reduce the ocean voyage between the Dominion and a port in the heart of the British Isles to four days, would we not in effect place ourselves much nearer the mother country than ever before? Would we not open a new and wider door for a stream of welcome immigrants?

There are grounds for the belief that an improved railway service, such as we find elsewhere, would enable New York passengers to participate in the advantages of the Canadian short ocean passage by way of Sydney. No doubt the long land journey from New York to Sydney would be objected to by a large number, but after all the distance is much the same as that between Chicago and New York, a journey with ease performed daily by hundreds. It is not unreasonable to think that the land journey from New York to Sydney would not deter those from undertaking it who desire to travel by the steamships which would most speedily make the ocean voyage. The number of trans-Atlantic passengers of all classes, to and from New York gives a weekly average throughout the year of 6,777 westbound, and 3,888 eastbound. It may be assumed that a moderate percentage of these passengers, if the railway service was brought up to a good standard, would prefer the Sydney route, and it would require but a small percentage of the whole number to fill up one weekly steamer.

It always exacts time to establish a new route unless there be much to recommend it. In this case the geographical features of the Dominion in relation to Europe extend to the proposed new Canadian route advantages, which give it an exceedingly commanding position. Compared with the New York route it may claim as follows:

1. That the ocean passage would be nearly two days shorter.

2. That fewer steamships would be required to perform the regular weekly service.
3. That the consumption of coal on each voyage would be about one third less, and moreover the coal used would be obtained almost at the pit's mouth.
4. All other expenses of the voyage would be proportionately reduced.

In view of these advantages and the yearly increasing development of trans-Atlantic passenger traffic, it does not seem an unreasonable conclusion, that once fairly established the route *via* Sydney would prove successful, and that in course of years the number of steamers would require to be multiplied so that this route would partake of the character of a Canadian Ferry. Trans-Atlantic passenger traffic increases at a rapid rate, and every new facility promotes its increase. Beginning with a weekly line, on a route which narrows the Atlantic to the shortest compass, as time goes on and further improvements in ship-building are introduced, more frequent sailings would be demanded. Firmly impressed with these views, I see nothing to prevent the new Canadian route resulting eventually in a daily ferry connecting the two continents.

Not the least important consideration in connection with the establishment of the route *via* Sydney is the bearing which it has on the oldest British colony. Sydney is not far distant from Newfoundland. The railway through that island is nearly completed and will be in operation from St. John's to Port Aux Basque by July or August next. A first-class steel ferry steamer is at present being constructed on the Clyde, to ply between Port Aux Basque and Sydney. In a few months, the railway and steam ferry will be opened for traffic between St. John's and Sydney. It is easy to be seen that the establishment of the Canadian steamship line, *via* Sydney, as proposed, would give to Newfoundland direct connection with our mail services to Quebec on the one hand and to Liverpool on the other. It would bring the colony, with the assistance of the public works established through her own enterprise, within the sphere of all our great lines of communication. The improved means of intercourse could not fail to bring about results of the first importance, equally to Newfoundland and the Dominion.

SANDFORD FLEMING.

## NOTES ON FORT FRONTENAC AND THE OLD FORTIFICATIONS OF KINGSTON.

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**F**OR many years prior to the year 1673 the French had entertained the idea of establishing a fortified post at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The reasons for taking this step were urgent and important.

The object of the establishment of the French colony on the St. Lawrence was primarily the cultivation of trade with the Indians; indeed all the organizations to which the task of colonizing the country was committed, were trading organizations, though some of them undertook as one of the conditions of their charters, the spread of the Gospel.

To the south of the River St. Lawrence were formidable competitors in the English and Dutch colonists who had established themselves in the New England States, and had ascended and founded a trading post on the Hudson.

The French, being in possession of the River St. Lawrence and the country lying on both sides of it, were naturally anxious that the Indian trade from the upper country should be retained in their own hands and be prevented from flowing to the Dutch and English to the south; and that the Iroquois, the most formidable of the Indian tribes, whose main cantonments were in the state of New York, and who were the enemies of the French and their allies and the friends of the English, should be kept in order and confined, as far as possible, within the limits of their own territory.

The best means of accomplishing these objects obviously was to build a fort at a point which should command the entrance to the river from the great lakes and should form a convenient centre for trading purposes.

The French traders in Montreal were, however, strongly averse to the establishment of trading posts above their city, and were

therefore opposed to the building of a fort at Cataraqui; and up to the time of the appointment of Frontenac as governor no attempt had been made in this direction.

Frontenac, however, immediately upon his appointment—moved it is said by the hope of gain as well as by the interests of the colony—resolved to build the fort, and proceeded with his customary energy to carry out his work.

The motives which influenced him are thus stated by Parkman:—"By establishing a fortified trading post on lake Ontario, the whole trade of the upper country might be engrossed, with the exception of that portion of it which descended by the river Ottawa, and even this might in good part be diverted from its former channel. At the same time, a plan of a fort on lake Ontario might be made to appear as of great importance to the welfare of the colony; and in fact, from one point of view, it actually was so. Courcelles, the late governor, had already pointed out its advantages. Such a fort would watch and hold in check the Iroquois, the worst enemy of Canada; and, with the aid of a few small vessels, it would intercept the trade which the upper Indians were carrying on through the Iroquois country with the English and Dutch of New York. Frontenac learned from La Salle that the English were intriguing both with the Iroquois and with the tribes of the upper lakes, to induce them to break the peace with the French, and bring their furs to New York. Hence the advantages, not to say the necessity, of a fort on lake Ontario were obvious. But, while it would turn a stream of wealth from the English to the French colony, it was equally clear that the change might be made to insure, not the profit of Canada at large, but solely that of those who had control of the fort; or, in other words, that the new establishment might become an instrument of a grievous monopoly."

On the 12th July, 1673, an imposing fleet of canoes and flat-boats filled with soldiers, artificers and Indians, having completed a toilsome journey up the river St. Lawrence from Montreal, reached lake Ontario and approached in order of battle the spot on which the Tete de Pont Barracks at Kingston now stand. It was the fleet of Count Frontenac who had come westward with the double object of establishing a fortified trading post at

the eastern extremity of the lake, and of meeting in council a deputation of the Iroquois Indians who had been invited to hold a conference with him. The savage envoys had already reached the rendezvous when the expedition came in sight, and were assembled to greet the Governor as he stepped upon the shore.

On the 13th July the conference opened, and while it was being proceeded with the French engineers laid out the ground for the fort, and, procuring timber from the adjoining woods, pushed the work through with such diligence that in about six days it was completed. Frontenac represented the structure to the Indians as a storehouse, where they would be able to procure what they desired in the shape of merchandize. The conference having been concluded, and the work completed, Frontenac left a garrison in occupation and returned to Montreal where he arrived on the 1st August.

Frontenac had associated with himself in his enterprise Robert Cavalier de La Salle, a man of extraordinary courage and determination. It was either part of the original scheme devised by Frontenac and La Salle prior to the building of the fort, or was subsequently determined between them, that the latter should go to France armed with letters of recommendation from Frontenac, and should endeavour to procure a grant of the fort and part of the adjoining country from the French king. Accordingly in the year 1674 he proceeded thither armed with the governor's letters. "He was" says Parkman, "well received at Court; and he made two petitions to the king; the one for a patent of nobility, in consideration of his services as an explorer; and the other for a grant in seigniory of "Fort Frontenac", for so he called the new post in honour of his patron. On his part, he offered to pay back the ten thousand francs, which the fort had cost the king; to maintain it at his own charge, with a garrison equal to that of Montreal, besides fifteen or twenty labourers; to form a French colony around it; to build a church, whenever the number of inhabitants should reach one hundred; and meanwhile, to support one or more Recollet friars; and finally form a settlement of domesticated Indians in the neighborhood. His offers were accepted. He was raised to the rank of untitled nobles; received a grant of the fort, and lands adjacent, to the

extent of four leagues in front and half a league in depth, besides the neighbouring islands; and was invested with the government of the fort and settlement, subject to the orders of the Governor General."

Armed with his patent and the honours conferred on him, La Salle returned to Canada, and at once proceeded to fulfil the obligations imposed upon him. One of the objects he had in view in securing possession of the fort was to make it the base of future operations in connection with the exploration of the western country. "That he meant to make it a permanent one" says Parkman, "is clear from the pains he took to strengthen its defences. Within two years from the date of his grant, he had replaced the hasty palisade fort of Count Frontenac by a regular work of hewn stone; of which, however, only two bastions, with their connecting curtains, were completed, the enclosure on the water side being formed of pickets. Within, there was a barrack, a well, a mill, and a bakery; while a wooden blockhouse guarded the gateway. Near the shore, south of the fort, was a cluster of small houses of French habitans; and farther, in the same direction, was the Indian village. Two officers and a surgeon, with half a score or more of soldiers, made up the garrison; and three or four times that number of masons, labourers, and canoe-men, were at one time maintained at the fort. Besides these, there were two Recollet friars, Luc Buisset and Louis Hennepin; of whom the latter was but indifferently suited to his apostolic functions. La Salle built a house for them near the fort; and they turned a part of it into a chapel.

Partly for trading on the lake, partly with a view to ulterior designs, he caused four small decked vessels to be built; but, for ordinary uses canoes best served his purpose; and his followers became so skillful in managing them, that they were reputed the best canoe-men in America. Feudal lord of the forests around him, commander of a garrison raised and paid by himself, founder of the mission, patron of the church, La Salle reigned the autocrat of his lonely little empire."

In 1682 the fort was taken possession of by the French Governor de la Barre on the pretence that La Salle, who was then absent on an exploring expedition, had abandoned it. Den-

onville, having been appointed Governor in 1685, visited fort Frontenac with a large military force. This same governor, in 1687, was guilty of a gross act of treachery towards the Indians, in seizing and sending to Montreal a number of their warriors and women, who had come to the fort on his invitation to confer with him: an act which cost the French many a life and much valuable property.

La Salle lived till the year 1687 when his adventurous life was brought to an end in the far South by a bullet from the gun of a mutinous follower.

In 1689, two years after the death of La Salle, fort Frontenac was, by order of Governor Denonville, abandoned and partly destroyed. Its destruction had been insisted upon by the Iroquois; and Denonville, weakly acceding to this insolent demand, sent orders to Valrenne, the officer in command, to destroy it and withdraw the garrison to Montreal. Valrenne mined the walls and bastions, sunk the vessels in the harbour, burned everything that was combustible, and leaving slow matches alight to explode the mines, made good his retreat. On his arrival in Montreal he was met by Frontenac who had been sent out to replace Denonville, and who heard the news of the destruction of his much loved fort with angry indignation. As a matter of fact the mines had only partially destroyed the walls, and the works, with a large amount of military stores were taken possession of by the Iroquois.

For six years the fort remained in a dilapidated condition, but in 1695, Frontenac ordered it to be rebuilt and sent up seven hundred men for that purpose. The new structure consisted of four curtains of stone, each 120 feet in length, having four square bastions at the angles. About the year 1720, a wooden gallery was built inside to communicate from one bastion to another. The platforms of the bastions were laid on wooden piles, and the curtains loopholed for musketry.

For more than fifty years after its restoration by Frontenac nothing remarkable appeared to have occurred at the fort, which was held by a French garrison and was used as a base for military operations and a storehouse for goods.



On the 25th of August, 1758, the fort was attacked by a British force from Oswego, 3000 strong, under the command of Colonel Bradstreet, and after a short cannonade, was surrendered, the commandant and garrison becoming prisoners of war. Bradstreet, after destroying the stores and several vessels which were in the harbour, returned to Oswego. The fort was in the fall of the same year re-occupied by the French.

In 1763, the whole country passed by the Treaty of Paris into the possession of the British Crown. The value of the site of Kingston as a military post was recognized by the British Government, and steps were taken shortly after the conquest to restore the fort. Samuel Holland was directed to examine and survey the site of Kingston and the state of the fortifications, and he sent to His Excellency General Haldimand, the following report :

“ Sir :—Agreeably to the commands contained in your Excellency's letter to me, dated the 26th of last month, I immediately set off for Montreal with the two Mohawks, Captains Brant and John ; there I left them, Captain Brant being unable to proceed from sickness.

On the 3rd of June, Captain LaForce joined me at Lachine, and we proceeded with two Batteaux for Carleton Island. \* \* \*

\* \* \* I arrived at Carleton Island on the 10th, late at night, and applied to Major Harris to despatch your orders for Major Ross, and Mr. Tinling, the assistant engineer. On the 12th, I reached Cataqui and began the survey of the fort and entrenchments made there by the French troops. On the following day, my assistant proceeded to survey the harbour, and Captain Laforce to take the soundings. Lieutenant Tinling joined me on the 17th, when I examined the fort, and made arrangements for the re-establishment of this important post, which in every part surpassed the favourable idea I had formed of it. Your Excellency will perceive its advantageous situation by the plans and drawings which accompany this letter.

The vaults still remain entire with part of the walls of the fort, barrack, etc., and are in such repair as will lessen the expense of its re-establishment. The works or lines begun by the French on the commanding grounds near the fort, will cover a sufficient space for a town. The harbour is in every respect good, and most conveniently situated to command Lake Ontario. The Batteaux men prefer keeping over on this side, as they can follow the shore without crossing the island in their course. \* \* \*

On the 19th, we returned to Carleton Island, where I arranged matters with Major Harris, and wrote to Major Ross for fifty men from each post, and to transport materials to Cataraqui to prosecute the work carrying on under Mr. Tinling, with whom I left Lieutenant Holland as an assistant, who was dispatched to forward materials from Oswego. \* \* \* \* \* On the 20th, I set out from Carleton Island for Quebec, where I arrived yesterday.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Sgd.) S. HOLLAND,  
*Surveyor General.*

His Excellency, GENERAL HALDIMAND.

I have in my possession an interesting plan of the fort which was probably made before or shortly after the date of this letter, or the completion of its restoration, and I have also a copy of a picture in water colors, by Lieutenant Peachy of the 60th regiment which shows the town and fort and is dated in the year 1784, and the original of which I am told is in the British Museum.

An old plan which I found amongst my father's papers and which is said to have been the work of Alex. Aitken, in the latter part of the last century, represents the fort in much the same position as the Holland plan, though there is a slight difference between them.

The north and south bastions were almost on the present line of Ontario street in the City of Kingston. The east bastion occupied part of what is now the Barrack square and the west bastion part of the block of land which is now covered by the old buildings which form the south boundary of the hay market. The entrance to the fort was on the north east side. At the point where the barrack wharf now stands, there is on the plan, a wharf marked with the name of Mr. Forsyth, and north of this, another wharf which is stated to have been the property of Mr. Cartwright. In the space between these wharves, which is now occupied by the barrack stables, there appear on the plan some houses marked as occupied by the Quarter Master General, and near the gate of the fort is a store, which I am told was of stone, triangular in shape, and built so as to protect the gate from a direct artillery fire. There are also two buildings marked stores north of Mr. Cart-

wright's wharf on a point which separated the bay from the outer water and from which Cataraqui bridge now extends to the Pittsburgh shore. An old French fortification is shown to the west of the fort extending southward from the bay, which has been filled in to a considerable extent in late years. On the bay shore west of the present line of King street are some buildings which are marked as engineers' houses.

Ontario street is on this plan called "Front street." This street was produced northwards in 1819-20 through the site of the old fort which was then partly demolished. It was not however until the year 1832 that the last French tower was taken down. Mr. Sellars, an old official in the Royal Engineer's Department who died lately at the age of 100 years remembered the destruction of this tower, which he said was so well built that its removal by means of pick and bar was a work of considerable difficulty. Its site can easily be traced at the present time, as it forms a well defined circle of stone in the barrack square close to the ball alley.

The fort prior to its demolition in 1819-20 is thus described by Mr. Sellars :

"The gate was on the east side. The south side was two stories high and the buildings on this side were of stone and wood, occupied as officers quarters, mess-room and kitchen. On each side of the gateway were stone buildings, guard-house, storehouse, and ordnance store. The north side was occupied by buildings two stories high, the external walls of which were built of stone. Each room had two windows, three feet square. The inside walls were built of 6 inch logs clapboarded. This side was occupied by about four companies of soldiers. There was on the west side an embankment and ditch. The latter ran down to the river. What remained of it after the extension of Ontario street was filled up about 1824 by the 70th regiment. The tower was enclosed by a picket fence. There was no drawbridge but there was a building in front of the gate intended for its protection." This building marked "store" I find laid down in the plan. "The tower which remained standing till 1832 was two stories in height and was used as a powder magazine. It was built of small rubble stone."

After the demolition of the principal part of the fort in 1819-20 the troops were lodged in a frame building on the site of the haymarket.

After the war of 1812, it was thought expedient to protect the town of Kingston by the construction of blockhouses connected by a row of palisades. As nearly as I can ascertain these blockhouses were erected about 1813 and 1814 and were five in number. They were built on a segment of a circle, the centre of which would be the market battery, and the radius about half a mile in length. Number one appears to have been located at the corner of King and Gore streets, where Mr. Noel Kent's house now stands. Number two was on the angle formed by the junction of West and Union streets, nearly opposite the Macnee homestead. Number three stood on the line of West street produced, not far from, but south of, the point where West street intersects Earl street. Number four appears to have stood on the east side of the present line of Princess street, between Sydenham and Clergy streets, while number five stood, and still stands, on the high ground at the northeast end of Sydenham street. The stockade which connected these blockhouses appears to have been irregular in shape. In addition to those I have already mentioned I find a small blockhouse laid down on a military plan of Kingston, in my possession, at the corner of West and Ontario streets. All the blockhouses were two stories in height. The lower stories of numbers two and three were built of masonry, the upper stories of oak. The other blockhouses were all built of oak. Number one was the largest; numbers two and three of the same size, numbers four and five were smaller than the others. They were all armed with carronades of 6, 18, and 24 lb. calibre. The small blockhouse at the corner of West and Ontario streets was armed with a 24 lb. gun. These blockhouses and connecting stockades have gradually been swept away, and none remains except number five. Murney tower was built in 1846 on property purchased from the Marine Railway in October, 1840. The tower stands on the site of an old loop-holed guard-house which appears to have stood on the same plot of ground which was owned by the railway. The shoal tower which stands in front of the city buildings, was built

in 1847, at a cost of £8,725 sterling. The market battery, which occupied the present site of the K. & P. Railway station was built in 1848, at a cost of £11,173 sterling.

The buildings in the artillery park, formerly occupied as barracks, were erected in 1843, at a cost of £3,439 sterling.

In addition to the other fortifications there was at the north corner of the artillery park a battery of four guns facing Sydenham street protected by earth works and another battery at Mississauga point on the lake shore near the present site of the Government dry dock; and on the north side of the town, between Blockhouse No. 5 and the river, on the property of a person named Mrs. Farley, was a mine in an old root-house, filled with explosive materials, and covered with loose stones intended for the destruction of any enemy who might attack the city at that point.

About the year 1789, a ferry was established from Fort Frontenac to the Pittsburgh shore for the accommodation of the troops and the admiralty. The crossing was effected by a scow.

Mr. Sellars describes the scow as having been about 35 feet long, built of oak, the sides about three feet high, each end sloped and furnished with a hinged door. The crossing was effected by means of a cable which extended across the river and was let into groves at each end of the scow. The motive power was furnished by five men supplied by the Quarter Master General's Department. The late John Creighton remembered the ferry in 1823. It was established on the line of Cataraqi bridge. His description of it is much the same as that of Mr. Sellars. The scow was apparently intended for the use of the military and naval people. Civilians were conveyed across by two row boats, which plied regularly to and fro, the price of passage being two pence each way.

Cataraqi bridge was opened in the year 1829, and the following extract respecting it, from the Quebec Mercury of the 18th of August of that year, will perhaps be interesting.

“Brockville (U.C.) August 11th, 1829.—We learn from the Kingston Chronicle, that the Cataraqi Bridge is completed, and was formally delivered over to the directors of the company by the contractors on the 5th inst.

This bridge is 600 yards in length, and the piers 80 feet apart. It may justly be considered a work, on the completion of which the inhabitants of Kingston and its vicinity are entitled to congratulation."

I propose, at a future time, to give some information respecting the fortifications and other buildings on Points Henry and Frederick and the shipbuilding operations which were carried on at the latter place.

RICHARD T. WALKEM.

### CRITICAL NOTES.

DR. JOHNSON ON MILTON.

EVERYBODY now-a-days knows how defective Dr. Johnson is as a critic of poetry, and indeed of all literature that is of a very high order and requires to be measured by another standard than that of mere common sense and the logic of everyday life; everybody has read of his blunders, how he vilified Milton, how he jeered at the great republican's life and pretensions, and found fault wherever he could with his work as a poet; how he pronounced two of the best of Chaucer's *Tales* "hardly worth revival"; how contemptuously he spoke of Gray and his famous *Elegy*; of the ballad of *Chevy Chase* as a "chill and lifeless imbecility;" of *Tristram Shandy* as an odd thing that would 'not last long'; how he disparaged even the immortal Gulliver, and rated Congreve's solemn lines on a cathedral beyond anything that Shakespeare had written, ("the most poetical paragraph in the whole mass of English poetry");\* with innumerable other errors of a like kind, which would have fairly sunk the name

\*Here they are; good enough in their way, though there is nothing of the word-compelling power of Shakespeare in them:

How reverend is the face of this tall pile,  
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,  
To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,  
By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,  
Looking tranquillity! it strikes an awe  
And terror on my aching sight; the tombs  
And monumental caves of death look cold,  
And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart.  
Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice;  
Nay, quickly speak to me, and let me hear  
Thy voice—my own affrights me with its echoes.

and reputation of any but the Hercules of our English dictionary. And we hardly care to remember now that it was the same sturdy independence of judgment working on a fitter subject, that quashed the claims of Congreve as a lyric poet and trimmed the popular estimate of Addison's verse to a proper measure.

But in spite of his many lapses, in spite of his almost constant failure to appreciate or even to notice what is highest and most vital in poetic work, to read Johnson's critical lives and essays is still a profitable exercise for us. For his errors are not mere aberrations of taste or eccentricities of judgment. They are mostly the result of a fixed standard in literary matters, a standard fully recognized by his age and implied in its writings, but which he alone perhaps had reduced to a complete system and applied with a sublime disregard of consequences. The result is that his criticism with all its faults has an admirable precision and completeness. Many a reader suffering from the vagueness of modern criticism, the want of any clear reference to a standard in its utterances, and painfully balancing perhaps its apparently contradictory judgments, such as, for example, the different estimates of Emerson's style given by Lowell and Arnold, or the opinions expressed by Carlyle and Swinburne respectively as to the work of Byron, might well long for something like a definite standard in such matters, a standard which would at least secure us against having estimates which at bottom mean much the same thing expressed in phrases which seem absolutely to contradict each other. Such a reader might well envy that public which listened to Dr. Johnson, when with perfect security of judgment he pronounced the diction of the *Lycidas* to be harsh and its numbers displeasing. They at least knew the standard by which the critic judged, that standard of diction which he himself had defined, "not too familiar nor too *remote*", and that standard of numbers "smoothly-flowing" and "pure" (*i.e.* as regular in accentuation as is compatible with the necessity for some variety) and "excluding all casualty."

To these standards the *Lycidas* certainly does not often conform, and many of its lines would seem to Johnson equally offensive in their diction and their rhythm :

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

Anow of such as for their bellies' sake,  
Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold.

What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;  
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs  
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw.

To Johnson the diction of such lines would be at one time too mean, at another, too "remote," and their rhythmical movement would seem to his ear rugged, broken, harsh with obstructing consonants. Indeed, if Johnson's standard excluded only such lines, we should have no great fault to find with it; it is a fact that if it were not for the indefinable power which a great poet possesses of consecrating and establishing a phrase beyond the touch of criticism, we should be as ready as Johnson was to regard as harsh such combinations as "moist vows" "scrannel pipes of wretched straw," "lean and flashy songs." Johnson had his standard to keep him up to the mark; we who have no standard, succumb to the poet's influence, and hardly notice such harsh novelties.

But it is clear enough that Johnson's criticism was also directed against lines of a far higher character, such lines as

And question'd every gust of rugged wings  
and

Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
A shephook,

on account of the imaginative novelty of the diction and its figurative audacity. It is perhaps doubtful too if he felt at all the charm of such lines as

Ay me! whilst thee the shores, and sounding seas  
Wash far away, where'er thy bones are hurl'd;  
Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,

or the delicate touch which stirs the imagination in

Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old.

What is certain is they did not avail with him to redeem the rest. "Surely" he says in his candid way, "no man would have fancied that he read the *Lycidas* with pleasure, had he not known the author."



We do not think however that Johnson is quite so obtuse to the higher imaginative qualities of poetry as some critics would make out, or as his criticism generally implies. It is the authority of a standard too fixed and limited, that warps his judgment, and sometimes exasperates it, by forcing him into conflict with authority so great as he well knew that of Milton to be.

In our day criticism has no need to guard against such a mistake. The tendency of the modern critic is all the other way. If he accepts the author at all, be it Shakespeare or Ibsen, Shelley or Walt Whitman, he accepts him with all his errors, his defects, his extravagances even. He finds something to admire in them all; at the least, he passes over them in discreet silence. So evident is the want of a critical standard at the present time that we find critics like Professor Moulton going to the other extreme, and framing theories to the effect that criticism has nothing to do with the character of a literary work as good or bad, and ought not to recognize any such classification.

From this point of view all literary works, and I presume works of art in general, are equally worthy of examination and exposition, on inductive principles of course, by the critic. The point of view is certainly not attractive, and when I think of Prof. Moulton sitting in his Chicago library with the innumerable array of contemporary literature before him, all with an equal claim on his attention, I am glad to belong to a school of criticism which is not so scientifically inductive as to require me to examine all that, before I can speak, with any assurance, of literary methods. Only I am surprised that Prof. Moulton amidst all this variety should discriminate so cleverly and lay his hands on Shakespeare and the Bible as proper subjects for criticism, rather than on General Lew Wallace or Amanda T. Jones. Or does the Professor mean that really, quietly speaking, we have, as private individuals, a standard of good and bad, of superior and inferior, which as critics we must not make use of publicly?

Well, no doubt criticism will eventually reach a standard of some kind. Something of the sort is already germinating in the growing precision and refinement of its analytic methods. Such a work as Arnold's *Essay On Translating Homer* is a valuable contribution to the formation of a standard. But it will not be an ar-

bitrary and external standard such as Dr. Johnson used, a standard founded in a great measure on pre-conceived views of what should be correct in style and treatment of matter. It will be a standard which tries the work mainly by the worth of its ideas, by its value as an interpretation of life; but it will also be one which implies that in art or poetry, the value of the ideas always corresponds as a whole to the merit of the style and is exactly reflected in it. Its standard will thus be inside the work rather than outside of it. No criticism can now be of much value to us which does not keep this relation of matter and form fully in view.

Meanwhile let us take a look at the obsolete and forgotten standard of the 18th century, and the manner in which it was used by the great critical authority of the time, Dr. Johnson.

It is in technical matters, of course, such as diction and versification, that the working of a fixed standard is most clearly seen.

In No. 90 of *The Rambler*, Dr. Johnson is examining the character of Milton's blank verse, with regard to its use of pauses. He proceeds in his usual way to fix a standard, to establish a canon for the use of the pause (*i.e.* for the emphatic pause, the pause which concludes a clause or sentence) in this kind of verse. He finds that the only pauses which satisfy his ear are those which are placed on the fourth and sixth syllables in the line, such pauses, for example, as

So thick a drop serene hath quencht their orbs,  
Or dim suffusion veil'd. || Yet not the more  
Cease I to wander where the muses haunt

and

as the wakeful bird  
Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid  
Tunes her nocturnal note. || Thus with the year  
Seasons return; || but not to me returns  
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn.

He concludes therefore that these pauses are the most desirable, and that therefore any marked pause, especially a pause which concludes the sense, should as a rule be placed in one of these positions. No doubt Johnson's preference is not without reason. These pauses falling as they do on strong *i.e.* accented syllables,

and never isolating less than four syllables in a line are at once smooth, natural and powerful in their effect. But even Johnson recognizes that there is very little room for varying the rhythm here, as far as it depends on the position of the pause. For the sake of variety therefore he grudgingly allows the use of a pause on the fifth syllable, and also, which is a great extension of grace, on the the third or the seventh syllable. These pauses, however, he regards as defective, unsatisfying to the ear, because they all fall on weak *i.e.* unaccented syllables.

But most especially does he censure Milton for using the pause in epic verse as early as the second and even the first syllable and as late as the eighth; and he quotes with disapproval,

Hypocrites austere talk,  
Defaming as impure what God declares  
Pure; and commands to some, leaves free to all.

and

nor could the muse defend  
Her son. So fail not thou, who thee implores.

His reason is that the part of the line thus separated from the rest by the pause is too small to have melody in itself and if united to the line before or the line after, as the case may be, "corrupts its harmony."

Thus with the help of this logical but somewhat superficial analysis (which looks so like a sound appeal to common sense) Johnson proves to his own satisfaction that the emphatic pause ought to be restricted to the fourth and sixth syllables of a line. It is with some hesitation that he admits its use may occasionally be extended to the third and seventh syllables; and he regards the practice of placing it earlier than the third, or later than the seventh syllable, as positively inexcusable.

Much has been written of late about judicial criticism. Aristotle, the first and the greatest of critics, drew rules for poetic composition, which were founded partly on the practice of the best poets, partly on a philosophy of art, the one criterion always serving to verify and confirm the other. The result is a criticism which can be judicial enough at times, whether condemning the Heracleids or Theseids, or approving in spite of its unusual methods, Agathon's *Flower*; but it is a criticism

which is solidly founded on the authority alike of reason and the best usage. Dr. Johnson is much bolder. He sets up on the authority of a theory alone, a standard which is in direct contradiction to the usage of the one great epic poet in English literature. Evidently he disdains to quote such authority as he might find in the at least more moderate use of extreme pauses by Thomson, or Blair, or Akenside; and the authority which he does cite, that of the classic poets and their hexameter, is neither to the purpose nor altogether in his favour. In short it is a case of direct conflict, almost a personal one, between the great poet and the great critic. For it is not a question of a few discrepancies here and there. The habitual usage of Milton is quite at variance with Dr. Johnson's canons for epic verse.

Where Milton's rhythms are best, where they are most powerful, his pauses are frequently those condemned or slighted by Dr. Johnson. The finest and the most approved of by the usage of succeeding poets is the pause after the fifth syllable,

In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth  
Rose out of Chaos: || or if Sion hill  
Delight thee more,

Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move  
Harmonious numbers; || as the wakeful bird  
Sings darkling,

In Argob or in Bashan, to the stream  
Of utmost Arnon. || Nor content with such.

Very frequent also, and very beautifully managed is the pause after the seventh syllable as in the lines

—anon they move  
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood  
Of flutes and soft recorders; || such as rais'd  
To highth of noblest temper heroes old.

The pauses too which Johnson specially distinguishes for censure, the pause after the second and the pause after the eight syllable are special characteristics of Milton's versification. The first is frequently used to give a stern emphasis and energy to the line, as

—Mammon led them on.  
Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell  
From Heav'n; for ev'n in Heaven his looks and thoughts

—Thus they relate  
Erring; for he with his rebellious rout  
Fell long before.

As we see in the examples this pause is often used by Milton in combination with inversion of the accent in the first foot which makes it more emphatic. The other pause after the eighth syllable is also very frequent as a means of emphasizing a sudden and solemn change of thought.

—Thee I revisit safe,  
And feel thy sovran vital lamp; || but thou  
Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain.

If we read these examples along with the context, we easily see where the difference between Milton's standard and Johnson's arises. To Johnson the metrical unit is the single line; to Milton it is, as it was to the dramatists who preceded him, the rhythmical paragraph. Johnson seems never to have appreciated this fact, clearly as it is formulated in Milton's preface on *The Verse to Paradise Lost*.

Johnson thinks two syllables at the beginning of a line cut off from the rest by a pause have no rhythmical character in themselves, and if read with the previous line are corrupt redundancies. To Milton such extreme pauses are merely possible modes amongst others of closing a series of rhythms which avoid the dull effect of ending the line and the rhythm together, and just as allowable therefore at the second as at the fourth syllable.

The freedom of Milton's practice became a snare to succeeding poets who did not possess his judgment or genius. The blank verse of Blair and Akenside is tolerable only when it uses the smoother pauses. With the bolder pauses their rhythm becomes flat and disorganized. They saw Milton's freedom but they did not see that he used it under the condition of substituting a harmonic series of rhythms for the line as the metrical unit. The majestic epic movement is often broken up in their verse into fragments, and the pause often becomes a mere function of the sense without metrical meaning or melody. It was probably his observation of the verse of the *Grave* and the *Pleasures of Im-*

agination, (though he praises the 'musical pauses' of the latter), that helped Johnson to formulate stricter canons for epic verse. He saw that the power and charm of epic movement were lost in such lines as

Afflicted vision plunged in vain to scan  
What object it involved. My feeble eyes  
Endured not. Bending down to earth I stood,  
With dumb attention. Soon a female voice.

—*The Pleasures of Imagination.*

But although Johnson's judgment was afterwards supported to some extent by Hugh Blair's once famous *Lectures on Rhetoric*, in England the theory of the critic has never succeeded in controlling the practice of the poet. Cowper steadily vindicated by argument the freedom of Milton's verse, and followed it in practice. His authority no doubt helped to determine finally the development of English epic verse. Although in some respects Cowper accepted the standard of the 18th century, and stood besides in considerable awe of the authority of Johnson, he was emboldened by the usage of Milton to defy Aristarchus and his canons. It is true the armour of Achilles is generally too much for him. His imitations of Milton's bolder pauses are often ludicrous:

The villas with which London stands begirt,  
Like a swart Indian with his belt of beads  
Prove it. || A breath of unadulterate air.

With the rise of the poets of the 19th century, the traditions of the 18th century and its critical standard disappeared. The general result was, as regards epic measure, the establishment of a broken species of blank verse in which the pause is frequently nothing more than a function of the sense; a *sermo pedestris*, or plain uncadenced verse of which Wordsworth makes free use in his *Prelude* and *Excursion*, relieving it at times by a more heroic movement in which the extreme pauses are often finely placed. And mid the hollow depths of naked crags  
He sate, || and even in their fixed lineaments.

It was a freedom which Milton had won for English epic verse.

Amongst the nineteenth century poets Shelley's management of accent and pause comes nearest to that of Milton. These bold pauses and solemn accents are natural to the large superb movement of his blank verse:

—and whatsoe'er of strange  
 Sculptured on alabaster obelisk  
 Or jasper tomb, or mutilated sphinx  
 Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills  
 Conceals. Among the ruined temples there  
 \* \* \* \* \*

He lingered.

Even Tennyson on occasion will imitate these Miltonic rhythms, alien as they are to his graceful and fastidious style.

We taught him lowlier moods, when Elsinore  
 Heard the war moan along the distant sea,  
 Rocking with shatter'd spars, with sudden fires  
 Flamed over; || at Trafalgar yet once more  
 We taught him: || late he learned humility  
 Perforce, || like those whom Gideon school'd with briers.

These lines are from a sonnet (*On Buonaparte*); but they are a striking example of the way in which certain uses of the pause identify themselves with the manner of Milton. It is the mighty mould of Milton raising and supporting a talent of a different order, even as it raises and supports in their statelier and more majestic movements, all the English wielders, high or low, of the epic line, Blair, Cowper, and Pollok, even Wordsworth and Shelley, though these last have also high levels of their own. So effectually has Milton set the stamp of his genius on our epic measure and framed it in the mould of his own bold and lofty spirit.

JAMES CAPPON.

## THE COLLEGE.

THE graduates are becomingly increasingly interested in the election of representatives to the University Council. At first, only from 20 to 30 voted; but the number grew steadily, till the year before last it reached 130, and last year 180, while this year the number came within one or two of 200. Voting papers were sent to 500, though no doubt on account of changes in addresses, of which the Registrar is seldom notified, many of these were not delivered; and as it is a pity to waste time and postage stamps on graduates who will not fill up the forms sent to them, it has been resolved not to send voting papers in future to those who decline to vote for two years. Very decided independence on the part of the graduates is seen in the great number who receive their votes. Thus, while the representative at the foot of the elected list this year, had 79 votes, Miss E. S. Fitzgerald, B.A., Niagara Falls, J. D. Bissonette, B.A., Napanee, and F. G. Kirkpatrick, B.A., Kingston, had each 71; Rev. W. W. Peck, M.A., Napanee, Rev. John Millar, M.A., Norwich, and P. C. McNee, M.A., Picton, had each 67; and Rev. J. A. Sinclair, M.A., Spencerville, Rev. G. R. Lang, B.A., Wolfe Island, and Rev. Jas. Rattray, B.A., Eganville, had over 60 each. Dr. M. W. Hart, Prescott, Rev. Alf. Fitzpatrick, B.A., Cape Vincent, and Rev. R. C. H. Sinclair, B.A., Oliver's Ferry, had also large votes. Rev. A. Givan, M.A., Williamstown, John Marshall, M.A., Kingston, and fourteen others had supporters. The Council discharges very important functions in the life of the University. It elects the Chancellor; elects annually a representative to the Board of Trustees, who sits for five years; elects a representative to the Provincial Council of Physicians and Surgeons; elects half of the body who nominate to vacancies in the Medical Faculty; makes arrangements for Convocation; decides on terms of affiliation with other institutions; and advises on all University matters. As Associations of Graduates have been recently formed in Ottawa and Toronto, it has been resolved that a name sent in by each of these shall hereafter head the list of those submitted to the electors by the Kingston Committee.

The election of P. C. McGregor, B.A., Almonte, to the Board of Trustees, shows that the members of Council keep their eyes on those who are most deeply interested in the University. Men have in the past been put on the Council who never at-



tended its meetings, and who yet have mildly expressed surprise at not being elevated to the Trustee Board. Unfaithful over a few things, they are willing to be rulers over many things. Mr. McGregor is a man of different type. He has contributed liberally to every endowment scheme that Queen's has launched during the last quarter of a century, and has given time, thought and energy to increase the usefulness and defend the rights of his *Alma Mater*. He is one of the best High School teachers and head-masters in the Province, and his pupils know with what hope and love he watches their after progress. His work as a classical teacher is done so thoroughly that it is a pleasure to a professor to get one of his boys as a student. We congratulate him heartily on his appointment to the supreme governing Board of the University, and congratulate the Board on having in him a trustworthy representative of intermediate education in the Province of Ontario. We cannot however congratulate all the members of the Council on the knowledge which they bring to the discharge of their electoral duties. Some of them voted for R. V. Rogers, others for H. A. Calvin, and others for John McIntyre, all three being Trustees already! Others voted for men who were ineligible, not being members of Council! Those who voted right did so with a fine independence and contempt for mutual consultation. Nearly twenty different men had votes cast for them, George Bell, B.A., Francis King, M.A., H. W. Day, M.D., Rev. J. K. McMorine and J. R. Lavell, M.A. being the most prominent of the twenty, next to Mr. McGregor.

The last number of the *Queen's College Journal* publishes a list of subscriptions to the James Williamson Memorial Scholarships Fund. We confess to a little surprise, not at all at the small amounts, but at the small number of subscribers. Of course, it must not be forgotten that a second list has yet to be published; and, besides, other testimonials were presented to the beloved Professor during his life which he valued highly, and the students gave a memorial brass as their token. With all these deductions made, we think it is scarcely worthy of Queen's that there should be fewer subscribers to this—the only fruit-yielding and adequate memorial of so noble a man—than the number of years of service given by him to the University. There must still be dozens who intend to send to the Fund a dollar or two, if they cannot spare more owing to "the depression." He gave his life and left "his estate" to Queen's, and though the estate amounts only to seven or eight hundred dollars, it is as yet a larger sum than what has been contributed. No doubt a greater sum would have been sent in before this to the Treasurer (whose address it may be mentioned is J. B. McIver, Kingston), were it not for that trait in human nature which makes each of us wonder that our neighbour

is so illiberal or so thoughtless. Was it Dean Swift whose proof that benevolence is an essential attribute of man was somewhat as follows:—"A never sees B in want, without believing that C should help him"?

Except the Chancellor's Lectureship, and the Lectureship, Tutorship and Scholarship established by Mr. Hugh Waddell of Peterboro, Queen's has little to offer as encouragements either to its staff or to post-graduate students, save "the Royal Scholarship." This valuable prize, which we owe to the British Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 is given to men who are willing to devote themselves to research along lines of science that promise practical and especially industrial results, and who have shown aptitude or given positive proof of ability in this regard. Already Queen's is reaping direct benefit from this scholarship. Its first holder, Mr. Norman R. Carmichael, M.A., after three years study in John's Hopkins, has returned to us, and is not only assisting Professor Dupuis, but is lecturing to the Mining and other Practical Science students on Electricity and the Thermodynamics of the Steam Engine. It is to be hoped that the finances of the University will permit the Trustees to give him a permanent appointment. Canada has lost the services of the second holder of the scholarship, Mr. Walker, because the British Government is more eager to secure men of ability, without the slightest thought of their political leanings, than is our own Government. We would regret to lose Mr. Carmichael also. If the School of Mining were properly supported, India would not have captured Mr. Walker. The Senate has just nominated Mr. Pope to the Commissioners as the next holder of the scholarship, and if the nomination is confirmed he will leave soon for Heidelberg, to continue his studies, specially in inorganic Chemistry. He intends to make a thorough study, first, of the nickeliferous magnetic ores of Frontenac and Leeds Counties, and secondly of the mispickel gold ores of Hastings. It is well known that those gold ores are very extensive, but they are refractory and not of high grade. The question of whether the gold can be extracted so as to pay has not been fully settled yet. The old company which tried the chlorination process, the main point of which consists in roasting the ores, was ruined. A new company is trying the bromo-cyanide process, in which roasting is dispensed with. It is hopeful of economic success. But the problem is an exceedingly complicated one, and will require a thorough study of the ores, geologically, petrographically and chemically. All success to Mr. Pope in his interesting studies!

Convocation is always attractive to the alumni and the public, but "The Queen's Fair" promises to make it doubly attractive this year. The ladies, who have undertaken a series of enter-

tainments, scientific, dramatic, artistic, combined with the usual concomitants of refreshments, flowers and fancy work, to be carried on from Monday to Thursday of Convocation week, deserve every encouragement. They have united, without distinction of class or denomination, to raise \$3,000 for the new Workshops and Gymnasium; and as an earnest of what they can do, they have already over \$400 in the bank from concerts and cinematograph. They appeal to the graduates and friends over the country to send help, either in money or kind, to the President, Mrs. John McIntyre, or the Treasurer, Mrs. R. V. Rogers, and they promise cordial greetings to all who visit them between the 26th and 29th of April. Arrangements are being made with the Railways for return tickets for a single fare. The students of former days will hardly recognize the old rooms and halls, so resplendent are they certain to be with decorations and living beauty.

The Theological Alumni Conference has become a marked feature of college life. The following promising programme is offered for February next:—

- MONDAY, 3 P.M. Interpretation of modern life by modern poets.  
Prof. Cappon.
- 4 P.M. Development of national life and character in Canada. Papers by Revs. Salem Bland and S. Houston.
- 8 P.M. The relation of the pulpit to political and social problems. Paper by Rev. D. C. Hossack. Discussion led by Revs. Dr. Milligan and Mr. Claxton.
- TUESDAY, 10-12 A.M. Review of the prophecy of the 8th Century B. C. Paper by Rev. Mr. Hutcheon. Discussion led by Rev. Dr. Milligan and Rev. D. Strachan.
- NOON. The Chancellor's Lectureship. Prof. Watson.
- 3-4 P.M. The Influence of the Alexandrian School on the New Testament. Prof. Macnaughton.
- 4 P.M. The social life of the Canadian people. Prof. Shortt. Discussion led by G. M. Macdonnell, Q.C., and Rev. S. Bland.
- 8 P.M. The relation of the pulpit to modern thought. The Principal. Discussion led by Revs. T. G. Thompson, G. R. Lang, and W. W. Peck.
- WEDNESDAY, 10-12 A.M. The Prophets of the 7th Century B.C. Nahum by Rev. A. Laird; Habakkuk by Rev. Dr. McTavish; and Zephaniah by Rev. Mr. Atkinson.
- NOON. The Chancellor's Lectureship.
- 3 P.M. Interpretation of modern life by modern poets.  
Prof. Cappon.

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

- 4 P.M. The history of dogma. Rev. R. Laird. Discussion led by Rev. J. Hay.
- 8 P.M. The relation of the pulpit to missions, to Church organizations, and to organizations outside of the Church. Rev. Dr. Thompson. Discussion led by Revs. J. G. Stewart, J. A. Grant, and A. Fitzpatrick.
- THURSDAY, 10-12 A.M. Jeremiah. Rev. John Millar, and Rev. Dr. Hunter.
- NOON. The Chancellor's Lectureship.
- 3 P.M. The Influence of the Alexandrian School on the New Testament. Prof. Macnaughton.
- 4 P.M. The development of Religion. Rev. Mr. Easton on Pfeleiderer's *Gifford Lectures* and the answers to them. Discussion led by Rev. M. MacGillivray.
- 8 P.M. The right theological education for the time: from the minister's point of view, by Rev. W. T. Herridge; from the layman's point of view, by the Chancellor. Criticism of the first paper, by Prof. Dyde. Criticism of the second, by Rev. N. McPherson.
- FRIDAY, 10-12 A.M. "The Servant of the Lord" in Isaiah. Rev. W. G. Jordan.
- NOON. The Chancellor's Lectureship.
- 3 P.M. Tertullian and his times. Prof. Glover.
- 4 P.M. More New Testament problems. Prof. Ross.
- 8 P.M. Trusts, combines, and monopolies. E. R. Peacock. Discussion led by Prof. Shortt.
- SATURDAY, 10-12 A.M. "The Prophets of the Exile." Rev. James H. White.
- NOON. Meeting of the Association.

## CURRENT EVENTS.

**I**MPORTANT events have so crowded the last three months that the QUARTERLY might be filled with comments and with notes, queries and guesses interminable, but space is permitted for little more than a summary.

Scarcely had Lord Salisbury arranged with Russia that coercion should be applied to the Sultan, if he declined to make the reforms agreed upon by the Powers, when the action of Greece in Crete upset his patiently hatched scheme.

The Eastern  
Question.

Not that Greece is to be blamed for interfering. At the instigation of the Sultan himself, it is alleged on good authority, the Turks in Canea began a massacre of the Christians, as if to prove the worthlessness of the semi-autonomy given to the island; and the thousands of fugitives who fled to Greece excited the people of Athens to the unrestrainable point. All honour to them for their willingness to sacrifice everything in the good cause of their persecuted brethren! Lord Salisbury must take care that they are not sacrificed, or at any rate that the British fleet shall not be used to do the bidding of the young War Lords of Russia and Germany in the matter, or his majority of 150 will melt away like snow in May. "In foreign affairs, Parliament is an unknown quantity" said Lord Rosebery. Pitt found it so, early in his career, and English ministers have laid the lesson to heart. Fortunately, Lord Salisbury has in his Cabinet men who understand the temper of the British people better than he himself does. The probability therefore is that war shall be averted. For, if Britain is firm, Italy for certain and France probably will stand by her. And the Sultan must know, for he is crafty as Satan, that if war does break out, no matter what his success at first, the end must be his expulsion from Europe. Of course, an accident on the borders of Thessaly or Epirus may bring the hostile forces into collision, just as a mistake by a Turkish or Egyptian captain brought about the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827. Lord Salisbury must dread such a possibility; for, to quote Lord Rosebery again, "no English minister can ever wish for war"; and at no time could war be so unwelcome as when the Empire is preparing to celebrate the great Jubilee of the Queen. But the dread sisters three take little account of human wishes; and the blood of Armenia and of every Province ruled by the Ottomans is crying aloud to Heaven.

Cecil Rhodes' examination has proved that, to use the *Nation's* phrase, he is simply a pirate in top hat and patent leather boots; that is, one who gets others to do his dirty work;

“ The head of many a villian plot,  
But never once the arm.”

It is a pitiful revelation to many who admired the daring, resourcefulness and statesmanship of the man ; but it is another South Africa. proof that a man with an undeveloped conscience cannot be truly great. Some who trusted him before will trust him still, but the Boers of Cape Colony will not be of the number. They are slow to give their confidence, but if betrayed they will never give it again. The Prince of Wales may still take his hand, for it is not in him to go back on a friend because the public look askance. Mr. Chamberlain may forgive him, though that is doubtful, for the man must have lied to the Colonial Office last year and thus led the Secretary perilously near to making a disastrous mistake. But John Henry Hofmeyr and the Afrikander Bund now know him, and that is enough for them. His great career, either in Britain or as Premier of the Cape, is ended. He may yet do some good work in Charterland, but it will have to be in a private capacity, for the House of Commons committee can hardly avoid recommending that his company be deprived of political power. The newspaper talk that Mr. Chamberlain is meditating war on President Kruger is surely nonsense. The astute old Dopper has stood resolutely for the independence of his country, and—thanks to Mr. Rhodes—he has now almost every Boer in South Africa at heart on his side. Great Britain has no intention of practically condoning crime, or of imitating it on a great scale. To do so might end in the loss of South Africa, Capetown perhaps excepted.

It is pleasant to turn from South Africa, with its squalid history of attempted revolution and invasion of a friendly state in the interest of gentlemen stock-jobbers, to the West Coast, where at Bida, Ilorin and Benin, black troops well Nigeria. handled have extended the bounds of the Empire, opened up new regions for peaceful commerce, given freedom to vast numbers of slaves and cleansed out human shambles as horrid as those of Dahomey and Ashanti. Let us hope that some of those five hundred Houssas, who withstood the charges of the thirty thousand Foulahs may be in the Queen's procession next June. They deserve to see London *en fete*.

It has been definitely announced that a British-Egyptian force is preparing for a farther advance up the Nile. At last, General Gordon's words have been laid to heart. Pity they had not been listened to sooner ! An expenditure of a tithe of Egypt. what has now to be spent, would have prevented the capture of Khartoum, the death of Gordon, and the occupation of the Soudan by fanatical savages who have made it a desert.

But, better late than never. The British people at last understand that a great empire cannot be run "on the cheap;" and that far from being "the weary Titan," Britain is still fit for work. How much has been lost through the policy of the little Englanders! Forty years ago, Samoan chiefs visited New Zealand to urge the annexation of the Island to Britain. Now, a joint control between Britain, the States, and Germany has to worry along, with the result that the natives have been well worried too. Yet it is fancied that six great Powers can harmoniously police Crete between them! The same story holds true of the New Hebrides. So too with New Guinea. The power that owns Australia must own it, and Queensland on that account took possession of it, only to be snubbed by the Colonial Office. Now, the great Island is parcelled out between three Powers, as if to ensure quarrells in the future. Of course it is answered that Jingoos are always "grabbing," and that "they want the Earth." Surely, it is one thing to grab and quite another thing to stand by those who ask for protection. If any other flag symbolized equal rights and free commerce for all, we should rejoice to see it floating over every region it could redeem from slavery or lawlessness.

Some astonishment is being expressed that the triumph of McKinley should mean McKinleyism. All who knew Mr. Hanna understood that it could mean nothing else. His statemanship comforts politicians on the opposite side who care more for party success than for the welfare of the country. These are already predicting a clean sweep in 1900 if not in 1898. What else could be expected from a respectable wooden President, with a positive genius for platitudes? Yet one might have looked for something better from his guides, who had an insight given them into the perils from which the nation barely escaped last November, and who then acknowledged that the escape was due not to themselves, but to Democrats who preferred country to party and even to tariff. So far as Canada is concerned it needs no prophet to foretell the sure results of Dingleyism. It takes two to make a quarrel. So, it takes two to make friends, even in commerce, and our big neighbour refuses to be one of the two. Is it not about time to give something like reciprocity to Britain, since we cannot get it from the States? From them, we have asked for it directly five times, and indirectly five hundred times. If it is a good rule to offer to one customer why should we not practise it with the other? The resolution, moved by Mr. Davies years ago, can now be translated into actual tariff changes which would mean freer trade with our best customer and would also be a step in the direction of Free Trade.

The New  
President.

The bye-elections prove that the country is determined to give Mr. Laurier's Government a fair trial, and the arrival of a delegate from Rome proves that the Pope is inclined to believe that the Bishops' representations on the Manitoba schools dispute were not "the whole truth" on the matter. Every church contains reactionary as well as liberal elements, and when one tries to crush the other, there must be protests, and these may end in schism, unless there is a calm, wise and independent supreme authority. The Anglican Church would have been split into three sections in our own day, had it not been for the Royal Supremacy. Let it not be forgotten that Protestant Churches in Australia and Canada have found it convenient to appeal to their mother Churches for decisions regarding local policy. When the union question in Australia threatened to divide the Free Church there, deputies presented the case to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and its decision was accepted in the colony. So, prior to 1875, the Old Kirk in Canada asked for a decision from the Church of Scotland regarding its union policy. If independent Churches or portions of them found it advisable to do this, how much more imperative is it for members of a Church, which glories in being one body all the world over, to take a similar course! The dispute is one with which Protestants have nothing to do, unless the decision should raise the question of who is to rule Canada. It is unlikely that the astute head of the Roman Catholic Church will do anything to force such an issue.

Mr. Sifton's Winnipeg speech shows that he has grasped the situation. The facts are the reverse of pleasant. Canada, he says, has spent a hundred millions to open up the great lone land, yet Manitoba—its most productive part—has still a small population, and during the last ten years as many farmers have gone out of the Province as have settled in it! That exhibit should make the most light-hearted think. The remedy cannot be the imposition of more burdens on the farmer. Yet interested parties cry for more protection, and a dozen localities—backed by contractors—cry for more railways. This is exactly like the craving for more brandy. Surely the bottom fact of the situation is that the producer has to pay the piper, and that in Canada the chief producer is the farmer. He has no voice in determining the price of his products, and the price of the surplus determines the price of the lot. Let him buy freely then, at least in the market where he sells. So will he at the same time secure return cargoes and thereby lower freights for his own stuff.





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