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# UNIVERSITY OF Ontario TORONTO.

## QUARTERLY REV.

OCCUPIED WITH SUBJECTS OF CURRENT THOUGHT.

SECOND QUARTER, 1890

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# UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW

JUNE

1890

SECOND QUARTER

## THE BEHRING SEA QUESTION

BEHRING Sea is a part of the Northern Pacific Ocean; the name is of comparatively recent origin. The waters now known as Behring Sea were rarely if ever called by that name in the earlier part of the century. The sea is not wholly enclosed by the territory of any one nation, nor was it when Russia owned Alaska.

The distance from the most western island belonging to the United States to the nearest point on the Asiatic shore is over 300 miles, and from the same island to the nearest Russian island it is over 180 miles. The sea from east to west measures 1,100 miles, and from north to south 800 miles.

Behring Straits, which form a passage-way to the Arctic Ocean, are thirty-six miles wide. Such exclusive national rights over Behring Sea as now belong to the United States formerly belonged to Russia.

In 1822, His Imperial Majesty, the autocrat of all the Russias, for the avowed reason that "the trade of our subjects

on the Aleutian Islands and on the north-west coast of America appertaining unto Russia is subject, because of secret and illicit traffic, to oppression and impediments," issued an edict establishing regulations which declared that "the pursuits of commerce, whaling, and fishing and of all other industry on all islands, ports, gulfs, including the whole of the north-west coast of America, beginning from Behring Strait to the 51st degree of northern latitude, also from the Aleutian Islands to the eastern coast of Siberia, as well as along the Kurile Islands, from Behring Strait to the south cape of the island of Urup, viz., to 45° 50' northern latitude, are exclusively granted to Russian subjects.

"It is therefore prohibited to all foreign vessels, not only to land on the coasts and islands belonging to Russia as stated above, but also to approach them within less than one hundred Italian miles. The transgressor's vessel is subject to confiscation along with the whole cargo."

When this regulation was brought to the notice of the President of the United States, his then Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, addressed to the Russian Minister at Washington, by direction of the President, a communication stating that the President had "seen with surprise in this edict the assertion of a territorial claim on the part of Russia," to the territory referred to, and that "to exclude vessels of our citizens from the shore beyond the ordinary distance to which the territorial jurisdiction extends, has exerted still greater surprise," and Mr. Adams asked for "explanations of the grounds of right, upon principles generally recognized by the laws and usages of nations, which can warrant the claims and regulations contained in it."

The Russian Minister replied that the measure was exclusively directed against the culpable enterprises of foreign adventurers, who, not content with exercising upon the coasts referred to an illicit trade prejudicial to the rights reserved to the Russian American Company, took upon themselves to furnish arms and ammunition to the natives in the Russian

possessions, exciting them to revolt. The Minister alluded to the extent of the Russian possessions in the Pacific Ocean and added, "the extent of sea of which these possessions form the limits, comprehends all the conditions which are ordinarily attached to shut seas (*mers fermées*) and the Russian Government might consequently judge itself authorized to exercise upon this sea the right of sovereignty, and especially that of entirely interdicting the entrance of foreigners, but it preferred only asserting its essential rights without taking any advantage of localities."

Mr. Adams replied, claiming for the citizens of the Union the right to remain unmolested in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, and protesting against giving effect to "an interdiction manifestly incompatible with their rights." In his letter he uses the following language: "From the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, their vessels have freely navigated those seas, and the right to navigate them is a part of that independence."

In a subsequent letter on the subject to the United States Minister at St. Petersburg, Mr. Adams says, "The United States can admit no part of these claims; their right of navigation and of fishing is perfect, and has been in constant exercise from the earliest times, after the peace of 1783 throughout the whole extent of the Southern Ocean, subject only to the ordinary exceptions and exclusions of the territorial jurisdictions."

The result of this correspondence was the negotiation of a treaty between Russia and the United States respecting certain rights in certain parts of "the great ocean commonly called the Pacific Ocean or South Sea." In the negotiation the United States stoutly upheld the rights claimed by Mr. Adams, and as stoutly protested against those claimed by Russia.

At one of the conferences the United States plenipotentiary submitted to that of Russia a paper in which he claimed that the sea in question was a free sea, and that "the right of navigating all the free seas belongs, by natural law to every



independent nation, and even constitutes an essential part of this independence.

"The United States have exercised navigation in the seas, and commerce upon the coasts above-mentioned from the time of their independence, and they have a perfect right to this navigation and to this commerce, and they can only be deprived of it by their own act or by a convention."

On another occasion the United States Minister used the following language: "The existence of territorial rights to the distance of 100 miles from the coast, and the prohibition of approaching to the same distance from these coasts, and from those of all intervening islands, are innovations on the law of nations, and measures unexampled."

The treaty referred to was signed in April, 1824, and for a time put an end to disputes between the nations respecting Behring Sea. One of its articles was limited to the period of ten years; a difference of opinion as to the true meaning and effect of this article arose after the expiry of the period named, and some correspondence ensued on the subject. Mutual forbearance, however, obviated any serious conflict between the nations, and with the exception of an occasional interference with the free navigation and right of fishing in Behring Sea, nothing more happened which called upon the United States Government to re-assert its rights in the vigorous manner of Mr. Adams in 1822.

The general impression is that the territorial jurisdiction of a nation extends but one marine league (three miles) from the sea coast, and eminent writers have assumed that such is the law of nations. The reason assigned by the earlier authorities is that a marine league is the distance of a cannon-shot, and that a nation has the right to control so much of the sea as can be protected from its shore. The rule, however, did not universally hold good, and in many cases by custom or treaty the right of a nation to control a greater distance has been recognized, but no instance ever existed which could, by any kind of analogy or reasoning, be cited as a justification for the

pretensions of Russia, or as an answer to the position taken by the United States in 1822. If the law relating to the subject be founded upon the principle suggested, viz., the right to control so much of the sea as can be protected from the shore, it is worthy of consideration whether the increased range of the guns of modern warfare does not enable a nation to extend its territorial limits beyond a marine league from the shore. This question has not yet been decided by the nations, but Phillimore, an eminent writer on International law, says "the great improvements recently effected in artillery seem to make it desirable that this distance should be increased, but it must be so by the general consent of nations, or by specific treaty with particular states." Vattel says: "Powers extend their dominion over the sea as far as they can protect their rights—it is of importance to the safety and welfare of the state that it should not be free to all the world to come so near its possessions." Hautefeuille alleges that "the limit of territorial sea is fixed by the principle from which its territorial character arises as far as it can be commanded from shore." Bowyer concludes that "between nation and nation all that can reasonably be said is that in general the dominion of the state over the neighbouring sea extends as far as her safety renders it necessary and her power is able to assert it."

A writer in an American newspaper thus graphically sums up the situation: "The claim of Russia to sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean north of the 51st degree of latitude, as a close sea, was considered by our Government in 1822 as being against the rights of other nations, but now, as we have bought Russia out, it is all right. One's opinions change according to one's standpoint, and besides, cannons shoot farther now than they used to." After the spirited remonstrance against Russian pretensions with respect to Behring Sea in 1822, one would have thought that the United States would not in 1886 have taken an opposite position with respect to the very same sea. Yet in 1886, three Canadian schooners, named respectively the *Carolina*, the *Onward*, and the *Thornton*, while engaged in the

capture of seals, in the open sea, out of sight of land, were seized by the United States revenue cutter *Corwin*, for alleged contravention of United States laws, were taken to Oonalaska, a port in Alaska, and were subsequently condemned by proceedings in the United States Court for the District of Alaska; captains and mates of the vessels were fined and imprisoned. Each vessel at the time of seizure was more than sixty miles from the nearest land.

The charge was that the vessels were "found engaged in killing fur seal within the limits of Alaska territory, and in the waters thereof, in violation of section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States."

That section provides that "no person shall kill any otter, mink, marten, sable or fur seal, or other fur-bearing animal within the limits of Alaska Territory, or in the waters thereof, and every person guilty thereof shall for each offence be fined not less than \$200, nor more than \$1,000, or imprisonment not more than six months or both, and all vessels, their tackle apparel, furniture and cargo, found engaged in the violation of this section shall be forfeited."

Unless, therefore, Behring Sea, where these vessels were seized, is within the limits of Alaska Territory, or the waters thereof, the law referred to does not extend to it, and the vessels were unlawfully seized and condemned.

What rights did the United States acquire from Russia? The treaty of cession of the Russian Possessions in North America to the United States was concluded, ratified and proclaimed in 1867, and for the consideration of \$7,200,000, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias ceded to the United States "all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth." The limits referred to do not pretend to include the whole of Behring Sea.

It may be presumed that the seizures of the Canadian vessels, having been made by a revenue cutter of the United

States, were made under instructions from the general government. It is, however, by no means clear that such was the case, as, notwithstanding repeated attempts on the part of the British and Canadian authorities to obtain an official expression from the United States Government of the policy they proposed to pursue in their treatment of foreign vessels sealing in Behring Sea, no such expression has yet been made public, and from the course pursued by that government as explained below, it is probable that they do not intend to uphold the position which the seizure of the Canadian vessels would indicate they had previously taken.

Why, then, should the seizure have been made? Why should there have been a desire to exclude foreign vessels from the Behring Sea, and why should the United States Government risk the complications and difficulties necessarily attendant upon the action taken? Was it to uphold the supposed national rights only, or was there another reason of a more practical nature? The answer is found in the wonderful success of the fur seal fisheries of that sea, and in the substantial interest therein possessed by the United States and by *The Alaska Commercial Company*, a corporation which has for the past twenty years held from the United States Government the exclusive privilege of taking fur seals in certain parts of Behring Sea.

The avowed reason on the part of Russia, that the Edict of 1822, excluding foreign vessels from approaching within one hundred miles of the coast, was exclusively directed against the culpable enterprises of adventurers who carried on an illicit trade with the natives, was clearly not the only or chief reason for her action at that time. *The Russian-American Company* then held from Russia the exclusive right of taking seals in the locality in question. This company was a powerful organization and possessed great influence at court, and there is little doubt that the seizure of the Canadian vessels in 1886 was brought about by similar influences to those which led to the passage of the Russian Edict of 1822, viz., by the action

of a great company whose interests were being interfered with by foreign competition. This probably was the moving cause in both instances, but it is not likely that the United States Government would, for that reason alone, assume a position so fraught with international complications and so opposed to the position formerly taken by the eminent men who in 1822 represented the same government, nor is it likely that for the mere pecuniary interest in the question held by the States, its government would seek to override the rights of other nations or contend for a position which, as against Canada, must in the end prove embarrassing with respect to the St. Lawrence River or Gulf, the Hudson's Bay, and other places on this continent.

A reason exists for the attitude of the United States on this subject which gives to the controversy a more reasonable aspect; this reason is, that unless something be done to prevent the indiscriminate slaughter of seals in Behring Sea, that great industry will soon come to an end, and the world will be deprived of one of its many great benefits. In this reason all right thinking people must concur, and it is to be earnestly hoped that the efforts to that end, which are now being made by the representatives of the nations, who, by conference and correspondence, have for some time past been directing their attention to the subject will prove successful, and if they do, the high handed action towards the Canadian vessels may, after all, prove a blessing in disguise. Some such event was probably required to rouse the nations interested to a proper understanding of the situation and to the necessity for joint action, and one does not feel inclined to blame the United States too severely for taking advantage of the occasion to bring about, if possible, some fair and equitable arrangement with the other nations. A short account of these marvelous seal fisheries will prove interesting and will help to an appreciation of the general position.

The seals frequent Behring Sea in great numbers from the middle or towards the end of Spring till the middle or end of



October, a period of between five and six months. During this time they have rookeries on the islands of St. Paul and St. George, which constitute the Pribyloff group and belong to the United States, and on the Commander islands, which belong to Russia. By far the larger number resort to the Pribyloff group. The rest of the year they are supposed to spend in the open sea south of the Aleutian Islands.

The migration northwards is made through numerous passes in the long chain of the Aleutian Islands, above which the courses of their travel converge chiefly to the Pribyloff group. The females generally give birth to their young within two weeks after reaching the rookeries, and soon after they resort to the sea for the food which they require to enable them properly to suckle their young. The male seals, or bulls, as they are commonly called, require little food while on the islands where they remain watching the rookeries, and sustaining existence on the large amount of blubber which is secreted beneath the skin, and which becomes gradually absorbed during the five or six months. The greater number of seals found in the water during the summer and early fall are females in search of food, but it is impossible there to distinguish females from males.

When shot and killed in the water a seal generally sinks almost immediately, and great skill and quickness are required on the part of the hunter to reach, with his boat or canoe, the place where the animal was, in time to recover it ere it has sunk too deep. Those who have seen seal shooting on the Lower St. Lawrence will appreciate the difficulty, and will readily believe that large numbers of the animals killed in Behring Sea are lost. One of the special agents of the Treasury Department, in a report to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, states his conviction that not more than one seal in ten killed or mortally wounded in the water is landed on the boats and skinned, and he thus estimates that to get the 30,000 skins which were taken in this way in 1887, 300,000 seals were killed.

It is difficult to believe that such an estimate is reliable. Mr. Bayard, writing to Mr. Phelps in February, 1888, says that some authorities state that not more than one out of three of seals so slaughtered is ever secured, and, he adds, "this may, however, be an over estimate of the number lost." Whatever the true proportion may be, it is evident that if indiscriminate destruction of seals in the water by firearms or other similar means be permitted, the result may ultimately be disastrous to the enterprise, and, in any event, large numbers must be slaughtered which are lost entirely, and large numbers of females, some bearing young, must also be killed.

In the letter already referred to, Mr. Phelps refers to the result in other parts of the world where, in the absence of concerted action among the nations for its preservation, the fur seal industry has ceased, *e.g.*, among the South Pacific Islands and on the coasts of Chili and South Africa, the Falkland Islands and adjacent seas. In former years hundreds of thousands of skins were obtained yearly at these places; but, in 1880, according to the best statistics, less than 1,500 skins were taken at the Falkland Islands, and, in 1888, out of an estimated aggregate yield of 185,000 skins from all parts of the globe, over 130,000, or more than two-thirds, were obtained from the rookeries on the American and Russian Islands in Behring Sea.

An estimate has been made of the numbers of breeding seals on the Pribyloff Islands in 1886 and 1887. The sea margin of the various rookeries was measured, and the depth inland from the sea. The number of square feet was thus ascertained, and, allowing one seal for every two square feet, the result was the astounding number of over six millions breeding seals. This does not include the young male seals, which are not allowed by the old bulls to frequent the rookeries, and which are compelled to "haul out" on other parts of the islands; so that the actual number, if the above estimate be at all reliable, must far exceed six millions. Two square feet to a seal certainly seems a very small allowance; but, what-

ever the proper space may be, it is evident that under any circumstances the numbers frequenting these islands during the summer months must run up well into the millions.

Mr. A. Howard Clark, in response to a request made by the United States Treasury Department, prepared a memo as to the fur seal fisheries of the world in 1887. In it he says:—"A few men are still living who participated in the Antarctic seal fisheries years ago. Their stories of the former abundance of fur seals I have obtained in personal interviews. As to the manner of destruction there is but one thing to say: an indiscriminate slaughter of old and young, male and female, in a few years results in the breaking up of the largest rookeries, and, as in the case of Massafuera and the Falkland Islands, the injury seems to be a permanent one. As an instance, the South Shetlands were first visited in 1819 when fur seals were very abundant, two vessels in a short time securing full fares. In 1820, thirty vessels hastened to the islands and in a few weeks obtained upwards of 250,000 skins, while thousands of seals were killed and lost. In 1821 and 1822, Weddell says, '320,000 skins were taken. . . . The system of extermination was practised, . . . for whenever a seal reached the beach, of whatever denomination, he was instantly killed and his skin taken; and by this means, at the end of the second year, the animals became nearly extinct. The young, having lost their mothers when only three or four days old, of course died, which at the lowest calculation exceeded 100,000.' In subsequent years, till 1845, these islands were occasionally visited by vessels in search of seal skins, but never after 1822 were many animals found there. About 1845 the Antarctic fur sealing was abandoned."

Mr. Henry W. Elliott, writing from the Smithsonian Institution to Mr. Bayard, uses the following vigorous words: "Open these waters of Behring Sea to unchecked pelagic sealing, then a fleet of hundreds of vessels, steamers, ships, schooners and what not, would immediately venture into them, bent upon the most vigorous and indiscriminate slaughter of

these animals. A few seasons there of the greediest rapine, then nothing left of those wonderful and valuable interests of the public which are now so handsomely embodied on the seal islands."

By the terms of the lease to the Alaska Commercial Company, the Company can take but 100,000 skins a year; no females, pups, or old bulls are killed, and thus the breeding is not interfered with. The old bulls drive the young males from the rookeries and they are compelled to "haul out" on other parts of the islands. They are driven inland by the hunters and killed by clubbing when a convenient distance from the salting houses. Experience has shown that the fur of a seal is most valuable when the animal is three years old, the proportions being, at present prices, that a two year old seal is worth \$15 or \$16, a three year old \$16 to \$19, a four year old \$16, and a five year old only \$2.50.

When killing the seals on land care is taken to select as many as possible within the ages of two and four. The seals walk as if on four legs, raising their bodies from the ground as they move. Under favourable conditions they travel about a mile and a-half an hour; the longest drive made does not exceed eight miles.

According to the report of a Committee of Congress in 1889, the total amount paid by the Alaska Commercial Company under their contract with the government up to June 30, 1888, was .....	\$5,597,100
The total amount received from customs' duties on Alaska dressed seal skins imported from England (where the raw skins are for the most part sent to be dressed) was .....	3,426,000
To which should be added customs' duties on seal skins taken by the Company on islands belonging to Russia .....	502,000
Grand total .....	<u>\$9,525,100</u>

The amount paid by the United States to Russia in 1867 for Alaska was .....	\$7,200,000
The total amount expended up to June, 1888, for salaries, travelling expenses of agents of the Treasury Department in Alaska, was about ....	250,000
And for expenses of the revenue cutters cruising in Alaskan waters about.....	150,000
Total .....	<u>\$7,600,000</u>

Deduct this from the \$9,525,100 and the handsome surplus of \$1,925,100 remains. The \$250,000 and \$150,000 above mentioned seem to include all expenditure by the government in connection with Alaska from 1867 to 1888. The receipts have been almost entirely directly connected with the seal industry.

No wonder that a vigorous effort should be made to prevent any course which might threaten the destruction of this industry.

A difficulty in the way of a joint arrangement among the nations interested, for the preservation of the seal fisheries, is doubtless the fact that the nations owning the seal islands have so great an advantage. Those who have to seek the seals in open sea cannot readily distinguish males from females or old from young, and cannot fail to kill, if fire-arms be used, large numbers which are entirely lost; moreover it is comparatively easy to check the take of those who kill on land, but not so easy to watch or check the work of a sealing vessel.

Let us hope that some way out of the difficulties may be found, and that the great object in view may not be sacrificed by any narrow-minded, short-sighted or selfish considerations on the part of any.

In 1887, the United States Government sent to their Ministers in Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Russia and Japan, instructions to invite the Governments of the countries mentioned to "enter into such an arrangement



with the Government of the United States as will prevent the citizens of either country from killing seal in Behring Sea at such times and places, and by such methods as at present are pursued, and which threaten the speedy extermination of those animals and consequent serious loss to mankind."

Pursuant to this invitation negotiations have since been in progress, and still continue—but the result, if any has been attained, has not yet been given to the public.

Newspaper rumours say that the United States Government have admitted their liability to make compensation for the losses arising from the seizure of the Canadian vessels, and that the efforts have been mainly confined to devising some means of preventing the destruction of the seals, which will be fair to other nations. Let us hope that such is the case, and that the efforts will be successful.

Toronto, May, 1890.

Z. A. LASH.

NOTE —In addition to the three vessels seized in 1886, other vessels were seized in subsequent years, but their release was ultimately ordered by the United States Government. No new questions were involved.

## THE EQUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

THE designation Equal Rights almost explains itself. It suggests that all classes of people should be treated alike by the body politic. Race and creed should not be taken into account, but all should be dealt with according to the same measures: none should be favoured, and none placed under disabilities because they are French, German or English, or because they are Roman Catholics, Protestants, or Jews. No one can object to this statement or take the ground that Equal Rights should not be accorded to all. But the Equal Rights Association may be opposed on two grounds; either that Equal Rights are already established so that there is nothing to complain of—nothing to reform, or that Equal Rights so-called are not Equal Rights but something else. The Equal Rights movement is certainly shown to be unnecessary and mischievous if either the one or the other proposition can be sustained.

The Equal Rights Association originated in the opposition offered to the Jesuits' Estate Act, passed by the Legislature of Quebec in 1888. In the correspondence with Rome, which is incorporated in the preamble of this famous Act, the Premier of Quebec asks permission of the Pope to sell certain Government properties, known as the Jesuit Estates, and the Pope grants permission to sell, under condition that the proceeds should be disposed of with his sanction. Large numbers of persons in Ontario, Quebec, and other Provinces of the Dominion were shocked at legislation which not only recognized a moral claim on the part of the Jesuits to these estates, and endowed them with public funds, but placed, or seemed to place, the allegiance of a British Province at the feet of the Roman Curia—recognizing by implication, as it distinctly did, the superiority of the Canon Law to that of the Empire. The

feeling of opposition to this Act of Quebec was greatly intensified by the unseemly haste with which the Dominion Government declared its allowance of it, and by the overwhelming vote by which the House of Commons refused to ask the Government to apply the veto.

Had this been the only instance in which the strong hand of Ultramontanism had been felt in Provincial or Dominion affairs, little more might have been heard of it, beyond the indignant protest which was raised in many quarters. But the Jesuits' Estate Act had the effect of bringing home to men more than anything which had recently occurred, the ascendancy which a powerful and well-organized ecclesiastical body had attained in the politics of Canada. It could hardly be disputed that the Church of Rome had it in her power to make or mar the fortunes of political parties, that she was ready on proper occasion to exercise this power, and that in consequence she was regarded by the parties with a subserviency which degraded not only them but the politics of the country, and even in some degree threatened its liberties. It was sufficient proof of this to remember that no election passed in the Protestant Provinces without the keenest competition for *the Catholic vote* — an expression which of itself bears witness to a disturbing element in the community; while in the Catholic Province of Quebec the parties were in equally keen competition for the especial favour of the Church. With the professional politicians it had become an instinct to court the Church of Rome.

The Equal Rights movement sees no adequate remedy for the evil referred to except in so defining the provinces of Church and State that the one shall be clearly discriminated from the other, that neither shall be under special temptation to seek favour from the other, and that the Church shall have to depend entirely upon its own resources in doing its own work. "We deem it essential to the peace and highest welfare of our country and to the maintenance of good government that the line between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities

should be clearly defined and should be respected in all legislation and administration, both of the Dominion and the several Provinces thereof. While the Church is entitled to entire freedom and to protection in its own domain, which embraces all that is purely spiritual, the State must have full control in all temporal matters ; and it cannot, without abrogating its just authority, ask or accept permission from any ecclesiastical person or organization, or from any extraneous body whatever, to exercise its own functions and perform its own duties." These words, which are the fourth article in the platform of the Equal Rights Association, express the central principle of the Association and of the movement which it represents. Churches must not under any pretext receive public moneys to aid them in their proper work ; nor must they, under colour of doing work which is beneficial to the State, draw upon the public treasury. Their adherents must provide the means for carrying on all their operations. If the work for which in any case they claim assistance from the State is properly the business of the State, let the State attend to it, and if it is their own work let them do it on their own charges. To say that this work is beneficial to the State is no good argument for public aid, because all true work done by any class of people, in any connexion, is profitable to the whole community. The view here set forth is in no way allied to irreligion, and implies no failure to recognize the inestimable benefits which the Christian religion has conferred upon civil society.

The great majority of those who zealously hold it believe that the State—the community—is under unspeakable obligations to the Christian faith, and that the Christian Church in the humble discharge of her high duties is indeed a great public benefactor. But they also hold that any arrangement which, on the one hand, tempts the Church to lean upon secular favour, or, on the other hand, encourages the politician to regard the Church as an instrument which he may use for his own ends, should be declined in the interests of both Church

and State. The question as to the teaching of the New Testament regarding the constitution and maintenance of the Church lies entirely beyond the scope of the present statement ; though, were it here proper, we might easily show that the duty of supporting the Church and diffusing the Christian faith is definitely laid in Scripture upon those who profess that faith.

Our principle therefore cuts off all endowments, subsidies, or grants of any kind made to any particular religious denomination, or to a variety of denominations concurrently ; and in this way it would avoid serious evils of which Canada has too much experience, the undue influence of churches in politics and the subserviency of political parties to ecclesiastical power.

It will hence be seen how completely they who regard the Equal Rights movement as an anti-French and anti-Catholic crusade have failed to comprehend its meaning. Regrettable things will be said in connection with any movement which enlists considerable numbers in its support ; for all men are not wise ; but to cite sporadic utterances of a harsh or senseless character about Frenchmen or Roman Catholics, as if this were the sufficient condemnation of the Equal Rights Association, is to trifle with a great question. Let all uncharitable language be severely condemned, and all rabid persons of every class muzzled if possible, but let the very important questions which the Equal Rights Association has brought forward be considered without prejudice, upon their merits. They *must* indeed be considered ; for whatever be the merits or demerits of the Equal Rights movement, it has made it impossible to keep these questions away from public view.

The present writer confesses his anxiety that a proper intellectual and moral perspective should be observed in discussing matters which are cognate to the central principle of Equal Rights, and especially that the subject of the French language should be handled with delicacy, and only in so far as it directly affects that principle. The general question of promoting homogeneity in the Dominion, though quite important, is not specially before the Equal Rights Association.



It must not be imagined that the Equal Rights Association seeks to terminate at once, and in some violent way, what is peculiar in the institutions and customs of Quebec. With Quebec as a Province the Equal Rights Association of Ontario has indeed little directly to do. The Association will gladly see its influence tell upon that Province, but it will not forget the rights which are properly guaranteed to Provinces under the Constitution, and will not attempt anything so foolish as to seek, perforce, the complete assimilation of social and political conditions throughout the Provinces of the Dominion. But the system of Quebec must not claim to be national in the broader sense, so that its special features should be reproduced in the new territories and provinces. No vindication of such claim can rest upon anything which does not involve contravention of the fundamental principle of separation between Church and State. It is almost unnecessary to say that when Mr. Mercier in his recent pamphlet taunts the Equal Rights people with the inconsistency of Protestantism in maintaining tithes in England while pronouncing against them in Quebec he makes no point against them; for the Equal Rights Association does not profess to represent Protestantism throughout the world, or indeed anywhere, and its members—almost without exception I should suppose—would condemn a tithe system or fabrique system enforced by-law, wherever it may exist.

A word respecting the application of Equal Rights principles to Separate Schools. These schools are established in order that the Roman Catholic children may escape a danger to which it is alleged they are exposed in the Common School, and may be thoroughly indoctrinated in the tenets and observances of their faith. In our school law provision is made for the establishment in certain circumstances of Protestant Separate Schools also, but so little has advantage been taken of this provision that practically it is of no account. For the purposes of this argument Separate Schools may be identified with Roman Catholic Separate Schools. The objection, then,

to such Schools from the Equal Rights point of view, is that they use public funds in the special service of a Church, and for teaching definitely and in detail, the peculiarities of a Church. The principle of the Equal Rights Association would not be more certainly violated by giving public money for the endowment of a church, or for its annual expenditure. This is so clear that it only needs to be stated, and to state it is, to Equal Rights men, to condemn it.

The question of abolishing the system of Separate Schools is, in the opinion of the Equal Rights Association, one which is properly open to discussion. In the British North America Act, which guarantees these Schools, the Association cannot recognize any such character of inviolability that no attempt may be made, by constitutional methods, for its improvement; nor can they admit that its provisions as to Separate Schools are more sacred than the rest of the instrument. No people can permanently renounce the right to revise or improve their constitutions without at the same time renouncing their liberty; nor can any valid reason be given why the subject of education should, in the Confederation Act, be committed to the Provinces under restrictions which do not apply to any other subject, and more especially why Ontario and Quebec should be placed under bonds from which the other Provinces are free. The Equal Rights Association believe that the existence of Separate Schools in Ontario is a violation on a large scale of a principle which should be consistently applied and acted on; that it will be impossible, even were it desirable, to prevent the question of abolition of these Separate Schools from coming up for discussion; and they do not doubt that, whatever the issue may be, nothing will be done to imperil the rights of the minority in Quebec any more than those of the minority in Ontario, in Manitoba, or in any other Province. To argue, as many do, that because in the Province of Quebec, where a strictly denominational or ecclesiastical school system exists, the minority are allowed dissentient schools, therefore in Ontario, where we have an undenominational Public School

system, provision should also be made for Separate Schools, is to overlook an essential point of difference in the two systems. But obvious as this is, the Equal Rights Association in Ontario will doubtless seek to act in concert with their friends in Quebec and elsewhere, and will do nothing rashly while endeavouring to bring forward a question which all who have given attention to the educational movement on this continent must regard as uncommonly important. It is quite unnecessary to say that the Equal Rights Association is perfectly aware that the Imperial Parliament alone can modify or give permission to modify the British North America Act.

WILLIAM CAVEN.

## MESSENGER PIGEONS: A NATIONAL QUESTION

UNTIL fifty-three years ago there was no more rapid means of conveying intelligence than was supplied by pigeons. It is only within the last half century that electricity and steam have come into competition with the messenger pigeon; and even in the present day there are innumerable conditions under which the bird is still *facile princeps*.

Prior to the development of railways and telegraphs, travelling was so slow and transportation had so many difficulties with which to contend that the training of pigeons could only be carried out by a very few individuals for short distances; and the places at which they were employed were so remote from one another as, with few exceptions, to preclude arrangement for their reciprocal connection by pigeon post.

What is known of the employment of messenger pigeons prior to the early years of the present century may be related in the words of a Reviewer in the *Royal Engineer Journal* of June, 1885.

“The employment of carrier pigeons for transmitting intelligence was known to the ancients; early navigators, when they neared their native shores, used pigeons to advise their friends of their coming home. In Greece the carrier pigeon was the messenger employed during the Olympian games. When Greece became a Roman Province, carrier pigeons served to convey to the Romans news of the gladiatorial fights and of races. In Egypt, of old, the carrier pigeon post was a public institution. The African traveller, De Volney, writes on this subject: ‘The state columbaries were distributed all over the country in towers specially built, and it was owing to constant communication between the several stations that public order and safety could be preserved in the extensive Syro-Egyptian Empire.’

"John Moore asserts that these oriental carrier pigeons were brought by Dutch mariners to Europe. They were called *Bagadettes* after Bagdad, and it is probable that the Belgian carrier of the present day is a descendant of the oriental bird. It is quite surprising into what a variety of services the carrier pigeon has since then been pressed. Instances of its successful employment in the interests of speculation, politics, the saving of life, public safety and war are numerous.

"In 1770, an Italian is said to have had recourse to having the winning numbers in lotteries sent him by carrier pigeons. It is a well known fact in this country (England) that the London house of Rothschild used carrier pigeons in 1815 to obtain information of the course of events on the continent, and thus was able to receive the news of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo three days before the English Government did, and to buy up largely English Government stock at its then depressed price, and sell at an enormous profit after the rise which took place when the news became generally known, thereby realizing an immense fortune. . . . It appears from the writings of Pliny that the Roman armies in all probability made use of carrier pigeons, otherwise the great rapidity cannot be explained with which Julius Cæsar received information of risings in Gallia, enabling him to descend the Alps with his legions at the least sign of disturbances. It is also stated that during the siege of Candia by the Venetian admiral Dandolo, at the beginning of the 13th century, the latter received important intelligence from the island (Crete) by carrier pigeons, which facilitated its conquest. The siege of Harlem by Frederick Toledo (1572), the siege of Leyden by the Spaniards (1575), the bombardment of Antwerp (1832), supplies also examples of the successful employment of the carrier pigeon post."

The foregoing sketch of pigeon service carries its history down to times when railways and telegraphs originated and began spreading into the wonderful net work they now present on maps of the civilized world. For a time the employment

of pigeons appeared to be doomed to extinction. Love of sport, however, came to the rescue, and with the assistance of railway and telegraph the systematic rearing and training of birds were carried on to an extent that had hitherto not been dreamt of, until in 1870, at the siege of Paris, a most powerful impetus was imparted to the movement, and to-day the area of the civilized world over which organized pigeon post is established, the vast flocks of birds employed, and the vital importance of the reliance placed upon them are nothing short of marvellous.

But, in Canada, where is the organization? Where are the birds? How many of its people have even heard of them?

It is the aim of this article to awaken interest in its subject, to make known what the power of the messenger pigeon is, to show what services the bird may render, and to demonstrate that to encourage, to support and to actively co-operate in developing pigeon posts throughout the Dominion are, for government and people, national duties.

Amongst the names of the numerous varieties of pigeons, *the Carrier* is perhaps most familiar to the public ear. This name is popularly misapplied to birds used to convey messages. *The Carrier*, however, is not suited to this purpose. It is essentially a fancier's show-bird—tall, erect and bold in carriage. It is specially marked by what the uninitiated might regard as warty excrescences around the eyes and above and below the beak. An excessive and regular development of these apparently abnormal growths or *wattles*, is considered by the professional fancier as an important criterion of excellence. If of perfect form and full size the wattles interfere with the birds vision in the direction of its beak. The *homing faculty*, or power to satisfy a desire to trace its way homewards is not possessed in any high degree by *Carrier* pigeons.

Birds used in messenger service are common-looking pigeons undistinguishable by sight from the ordinary house pigeon bred for the table. They cannot claim, as *Carriers* may, to be a distinct species. In olden times—pigeons being used for

comparatively short distances—many varieties were available : but, as time has passed, the principle of the survival of the fittest has been in constant operation ; and now there are classes of birds in which the homing faculty, with great powers of wing and endurance, are highly developed.

Such pigeons are known in German as *brieftauben*—letter pigeons : in French as *voyageurs*—travellers ; and in English variously as travellers, couriers, homing and messenger pigeons.

“Homing pigeon” may be the name in most general use. It refers to the faculty which when highly developed renders the bird useful.

“Messenger pigeon” would appear to be the most appropriate name, as it implies the service to which the bird is put. The facility this bird has in directing its flight homewards has been variously accounted for. Some ascribe it to an exercise of highly developed intelligence, others to perfection of sight, and yet others to instinct or intuition. In keeping with these opinions we find that in selecting birds some people consider that the form of the head is of special importance—breadth between the eyes, and development backward from the eyes indicating large brain. Others pay more attention to the eye itself—looking to its brightness and prominence as evidence of power of vision ; and even the colour of the eye is noted by some. Again, others deem pedigree to be the only reliable guide in selection.

It might be supposed that all would agree with regard to strength being indicated by size. Yet, there are those who prefer gracefully outlined slight birds—while many prefer robust and sturdy-looking pigeons. Long tails and short tails have their admirers.

With regard to the wings there is a near approach to unanimity. Length of wing, breadth and firmness of pinion webs and perhaps the straight alignment of the wing feather-tips when the wing is fully expanded, are generally accepted as desirable conditions.



There is perfect agreement in the view that trial in flight affords the only conclusive test, and that birds which do not pass through the ordeal satisfactorily should be removed from the loft, since their inferiority may be repeated in their progeny.

With a view to ascertaining whether sight enabled the messenger pigeon to trace its way homewards, birds have been blinded before being *thrown* for flight, and they failed to find their way. On the other hand they have been able to steer a correct course through the darkness of night—and there are innumerable instances of their passing directly homewards over hundreds of miles by lines they had never previously explored. It is difficult to conceive that any development of what the five senses are understood to be, could enable a bird to accomplish what the *homer* does.

From Berlin to Paris is, roughly, 500 miles. It is authentically recorded that a French bird captured near Paris was conveyed to Berlin, kept there for four years, and then, on escaping, returned to its loft in Paris. The writer of this article purchased two birds at Toronto, eastward of which place they had never been flown. From Toronto they were conveyed to Kingston, 150 miles eastward, and there kept prisoners in a breeding cage. Through an oversight they were subsequently sent northward forty-seven miles to be flown from Sharbot Lake. Instead of returning to Kingston they went westward 150 miles direct to their old loft at Toronto. These birds had been sent from Toronto to Kingston, and thence to Sharbot Lake in a closed basket, and they had not previously seen the intervening country. Neither sight nor a combination of all five senses could have helped to guide them. There are cases without number of birds being sent in training 100, 200 and 250 miles beyond a point to which they had previously been.

Whatever the homing faculty may be, it is one which is present at a very early age and rapidly develops. It is potentially present at the bird's hatching, and needs only opportunity for development into activity. Very young birds

may be removed from the loft in which they have been hatched, domiciled in a new home, and there liberated **without** much risk of their deserting. Older birds cannot be so treated.

The rapid development of the homing faculty is illustrated in the following experience: "The Scamp," when a squaleer three weeks old, was removed from the loft where it had been hatched in Utica, New York, to a loft in Northampton, Massachusetts. Thence it was being trained in a southwesterly direction until White Plains, New York (105 miles) was reached. From this station, instead of returning to Northampton, it made its way direct to its native loft in Utica, 153 miles north-west of White Plains. From Utica it was returned by express to Northampton and there kept a prisoner until apparently redomiled. Presently, however, accompanied by a mate, it deserted and at noon of the same day the pair was found to have turned out the occupants of the nesting place in which the Scamp had been hatched at Utica, and to have taken possession of his old residence.

Again, in 1882, Major-General Hazen, of the United States Signal Service, and Major-General Breckinridge, of the Department of the Pacific, had their attention directed to the use of messenger pigeons for communicating between signal stations and in Indian warfare. The War Department enquiries resulted in an adverse report by Lieut. Birkhimer, based upon information, not upon experience. Mr. E. H. Conover, of Keyport, New Jersey, thereupon undertook to prove that birds could be used for distances of 150 miles "before October of the year in which they were hatched," and needed no gradual training. He tested the case with nine young birds, with one exception under five months of age on the 15th August when the experiment began, and none of them had previously been more than sixty miles from home.

The successive flights were: 100 miles from Elkton, Maryland, 15th August; 117 miles from Havre de Grace, 19th August; 183 miles from Washington, 26th August; 338 miles from Lynchburg, Virginia, 1st September.

The start from Washington was arranged under the superintendence of the United States chief signal officer. The return of the birds from this trip to Keyport was announced at New York by message bird, and the result telegraphed to Washington by noon, and received at Keyport by bird at 12.45 p.m. In the flight from Lynchburg (338 miles) the start took place at 6.10 a.m. The first bird home arrived at 6.01 p.m., having flown at a rate not less than a mile in 2 min. 7.6 sec. None of the birds were lost in these journeys.

In Belgian training, after attaining fifty miles, birds are commonly sent to greater distances by successive stages of fifty, 100 and 200 miles and even more at a time. Amongst the regular long single day courses may be mentioned :—

Liège, from Toulouse .....	505 miles.
Ghent " Morceaux .....	545 "
Malines (Mechlin) from Tarbes .....	554 "
Ghent from Bayonne .....	560 "
Liège " Lourdes .....	565 "

The distance between San Sebastian in Spain and Liège in Belgium, 615 miles, was traversed by a bird in 1862 in one day. This is probably the greatest distance which has been passed over in a single flight. Fifteen other birds thrown at the same time arrived at their loft early the following morning.

As instances of long rapid flights, may be mentioned that in 1885 a bird liberated at Abington in Virginia flew 508 miles to Brooklyn at the rate of a mile in 1 min. 42.1 sec.; and 351 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles between Châtellerault and Verviers were passed at the rate of one mile in 1 min. 12.87 sec.

The following are instances of rapid short flights :—

One mile in 60 seconds.	180 miles,	Paris to Moulins.
" 59.6 "	177 miles,	1665 yds., Dijons to Blois.
" 58.8 "	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Albert to Shaerbeck.
" 58.5 "	243 "	Cresson, Penn., to New York.
" 57 "	63 "	Quievrain to Antwerp.
" 56 "	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	St. Quentin to Boussu.
" 55 "	70 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Noyon to Flenu.
" 50.4 "	215 "	Etampes to Louvain.
" 48 "	80 "	Arras to Antwerp.

Amongst these instances two are exceptionally noteworthy : In 1879, in the United States, the 243 miles between Cresson, Pennsylvania, and New York were passed over at the rate of 1,805 yards in a minute.

From Etampes to Louvain, 215 miles were flown at the rate of 2,095 yards in a minute.

A fair idea of the performance of a good bird may be gathered from the result of a race from Orleans to St. Nicholas, 243 miles, on 6th June, 1875. Out of 1,445 birds thrown, the 214 which accomplished the distance in the shortest time travelled at rates varying between 1,469.7 and 1,362 yards in a minute, the slowest of these being 23 minutes later than the swiftest in completing the flight.

When distances greater than can be flown in a continuous period of daylight are attempted, the rate of flying is not ascertainable, and the time occupied varies extremely. For the present Canada is not interested in these longer flights ; but it may be noted that the 1,600 miles between Aix-la-Chapelle and Rome was passed in 10 days and 7½ hours. A case of 1,500 miles having been passed over in three days is somewhere mentioned.

A noted bird, Arnoux, that belonged to Mr. A. P. Baldwin, of Newark, U.S., in the course of four months in 1885 flew as follows, successively :—

Trained up to . . . . .	150 miles.
Raced . . . . .	130 "
" . . . . .	196 "
" . . . . .	272 "
" . . . . .	372 "
" . . . . .	535 "
" . . . . .	515 "
" . . . . .	1,010 "

Total . . . . . 3,180 miles.

Later it was sent to Boutte, Louisiana, 1,154 miles ; but, news of its return had not been received by the publisher of the paper from which these details have been taken.

It is observable that for its last finished race the bird had been sent out 475 miles beyond a point to which it had previously been sent.

Hitherto mention has been made of flights over land only ; but the bird's faculty enables it to find its way home across the sea for distances but little short of those which it can accomplish over land in a single continuous flight.

There is reliable evidence of their conveying news from 320 miles, outside Sandy Hook. The United States Signal Department place the sea limit at about 500 miles. Dr. Johnson, of Keyport, one of the leading authorities on the subject in the United States, is of opinion that 450 miles may be regarded as the limit of reliance on the bird's power from seaward.

Birds of the Plainfield Club have been successfully flown from 100 miles at sea—300 miles to their loft.

The regulations of the United States Government loft at Key West Island—established for naval and military purposes—intimate that their birds are to be trained to 100 miles in their first year, an additional distance in the second year, and to 400 miles in the third and subsequent years.

In the regulations just mentioned it is noted that "successful flights have been made during storms of wind and rain, and even during the night," but, a warning is added that only tested and thoroughly reliable birds should be placed under these disadvantages.

Count de Bury, of St. Johns, New Brunswick, has flown his birds successfully through 12 miles of dense fog, and in snow storms.

On the 30th of July, 1883, 650 pigeons sent from Verviers, Belgium, to Calvi, Corsica, 560 miles, were there liberated. They passed in a direct line homeward over Monaco, where they were seen after crossing  $93\frac{1}{4}$  miles of sea from Corsica. These birds, had they made for the nearest mainland to avoid the sea would have followed a N.-E. course, instead of one to the west of north which they followed.

Mr. R. Stevens, of the Plainfield Club, New Jersey, flew birds from Manassas, Virginia, about 231 miles, which returned to his loft in heavy rain and fog, having moved at a rate not less than 695 yards in a minute.

Between the Island of Maddalena—north coast of Sardinia and Rome—149 miles, all sea—communication has been kept up by pigeons in all weathers.

Naples and Cagliari, Sardinia—279½ miles across sea, are immediately connected by pigeons.

From what has been remarked, the power of the messenger pigeon to endure the fatigue of long flights, and to select its direction homewards, will readily be admitted. It is a matter of general knowledge that these birds are prolific. A pair may be counted upon to rear three pairs of young ones in the course of a year. As many as nine pairs of young ones have been reared by a single pair of birds in twelve months. The birds are hardy and need no exceptional treatment apart from training. Training is nothing more than giving them practice in the exercise of their homing faculty.

One gramme, equal to 15.432 grains or .032 oz. avoirdupois, is the weight which the French—during the siege of Paris by the Germans—considered might be carried by pigeons without affecting their flight. Two and one-quarter inches in length of large turkey quill weighs about ½ gramme. Foreign post note paper 14 sheets to 1 oz. gives about 43 square inches of writing surface to the ½-gramme. A strip of such paper 10 inches long by about  $2\frac{1}{10}$  inches broad, rolled up and inserted in the quill, would form what was held to be a pigeon load.

With this low limit of carrying power the resourceful ingenuity of the French enabled them to send over one million words by a single bird at one time; and, not only this, but to despatch the news received to the persons for whom it was intended in a readable form, in a time beyond comparison shorter than that in which the work could have been accomplished had one or even several telegraph wires been available to them.

The small pictures, transparencies, which, when passed behind the lenses of a magic lantern, have their enlarged duplicates cast on a screen, are familiar to all. The effects of photographic slides used in magic lanterns are nearly as well known as those of the old coloured slides. The photographic slides are made of glass, and the pictures they bear are shadowed on a transparent, sensitive medium, covering the surface of the glass. The glass slides could not be carried by pigeons; but sensitized films of collodion, having photographic impressions on them could well be carried. The results obtained were so remarkable that a few more details of the subject may be given here. During the investment of Paris messages were received by the postal authorities in London for transmission to the beleaguered city. Certain conditions were attached to the privilege of using this channel of communication. A message might not contain intelligence affecting the war proceedings. A message was limited to twenty words. Postage at the rate of 5*d.* a word, and a registration fee of 6*d.* per message had to be prepaid.

By steps the method of conveying the messages gradually improved and finally took the following shape :

On receipt of the messages in London, they were set in type, and printed off on pages, including 200 messages each.

Assuming that correspondents took full advantage of their opportunities—each printed page included 4,000 words—upon which the charges would be:—

Postage . . . . .	£83 6s. 8d.
Registration . . . . .	5 os. od.

Total for each page . . . . . £88 6s. 8d.

The matter contained on sixteen of these pages was, by the process of microphotography, depicted upon a transparent film of collodion, measuring 2 inches by 1 inch.

Each film might consequently have had the messages upon which sixteen times £88 6s. 8d. or £1,413 6s. 8d. was payable for postage and registration ; 18 of such film's rolled together



and inserted in a quill, made up a pigeon load of one gramme, upon which £25,440 were the charges. This sum at \$4.86 = £1—is equivalent to \$123,638.40 for freightage on each bird load.

Postal communication between London and Tours was not cut off during the war. Tours is about 132 miles S.W. from Paris.

Pigeons carried out of Paris in balloons, were collected at Tours. The quills with their charges of photographic films were attached to the tails of the pigeons, and by them carried into Paris. On receipt in Paris the films were opened out and spread on plate glass slides. Screens to receive enlarged pictures of the slides—through the intervention of the magic lantern—were made of sensitized material, and thus were at once obtained enlarged photographs of the matter on the micro-photographic films. The screens were then cut up into their separate messages, and these despatched to whom they were addressed.

From the figures given it may be deduced that one full pigeon load might have included 1,152,000 words. Supposing these to have been received for dispatch by telegraph from Tours, the following steps at least would have been entailed: The messages would have had to be read and checked and charged for; transferred to the transmitting clerk, and by him spelt over and transmitted; the receiving clerk would have also to spell over the whole and transcribe it, and possibly duplicating for record purposes might have been required.

Allowing an average of four letters to a word, the number conveyed from Tours to Paris in less than three hours by a pigeon would have been 4,608,000. By the telegraphic process these must have been spelt over at least twice, and thus transcribed at least once before being sent out for delivery. Against this set the photographic process by which the reading, spelling, and transcribing is effected by light, mechanism and chemicals, almost instantaneously, and one may faintly realize the economy effected in this case through the use of pigeons.

I have purposely left out of the account the type-setting element in England, for I assume that the type-setting might have been dispensed with by taking micro-photographs of the messages as they were received in manuscript. Moreover it was not always necessary in Paris to despatch the messages to addresses. In a large darkened chamber many people assembled and read on the screen the news intended for them. Copies of the *Times* were thus published in Paris, and advertisements from friends in England were readily picked out by the spectators.

On the authority of the *Century Magazine*, for July, 1886, the carrying power of the pigeon, under some circumstances, would appear to be much in excess of 1 gramme. The *Magazine*, relating that during the United States yacht races in September, 1885, a pigeon service was extemporized by Mr. Arnoux, states :

“The messages then sent from sea were each not less than ten pages of manifold note, and were carried upon the middle feathers of the tail, to which they were fastened by fine copper wire wound about and pressed flat, to hold the messages close to the feather. The editor of a newspaper served by these pigeons said : ‘It gives me a peculiar sensation to receive copy from the hand of one I know to be out of reach upon the water, and to feel that he may talk to me, but I cannot answer him back. It is a wonder to me, after this experience, that the officers of any vessel, excursion steamer, yacht, sail or tug boat, should be willing to leave the shore without this means of communicating with it.’”

What has been remarked will have sufficed to show that in the homing pigeon we have a reliable, easily maintained and readily multiplied messenger for distances within 400 miles in all but extremely bad weather. The birds may be distributed to a system of scattered centres, and thence transported without difficulty by those who desire to avail themselves of their services.

It is not an easy matter in these days of steamboats, railways, telegraphs and telephones to persuade people unaccustomed to the use of pigeons that their employment can be beneficial. Perhaps the task may be most easily approached by some references to what has occurred within a few years in almost every country in Europe.

There—as here—there were neither railways, steamers, telegraphs nor telephones in the year 1800. The first railway engine, only a comparative success, was used at a Welsh colliery in 1804. It was not until 1830 that the first general traffic railway was opened between Liverpool and Manchester; and there was no telegraph service before 1837. Preceding those days messenger pigeons were scarcely heard of. They had been used, but only exceptionally. The London Stock Exchange employed them between London and Paris. Newspaper and betting men used pigeons, and there were races in Belgium. But, as said before, while Europe was without railways and telegraphs, messenger pigeons were not generally heard of. Since 1830 the face of Europe has become a network of railways and telegraph lines. It is desired to bring forcibly under the notice of those who consider that railways and telegraphs entirely dispense with the utility of pigeons, that within the last fifty years, while railways and telegraphs have been extending and multiplying beyond what would have been considered sane expectation in Europe, it may be said that pigeon service took its birth there, and has grown to proportions that cannot fail to excite wonder. In France, in Germany, in Austria, Italy, Russia, Spain and Portugal, the governments now maintain numerous large pigeon service establishments. Four of these countries employ the birds in connection with the defence of their coasts; all of them include pigeon service as important departments of military organization; and all of them, with Denmark and Belgium added, encourage the civil population to maintain lofts.

Belgium—the cradle of homing bird sport—is peopled, it might almost be said, by loft-keepers. In 1885 it had over

1,000 pigeon associations. Yet there in the midst of universal spontaneous action amongst the people, the Government extends encouragement to breeders and trainers by awarding liberal prizes for competition, and by affording special facilities with regard to transport over the railways.

The Secretary of the London Amateur Pigeon Society notes, that in seven provinces in Belgium there are records for 1873 of 1,045 races, receiving 22,656 prizes; 1874, 1,225 races, receiving 27,494 prizes. From only 12 places, and during the short period of only 35 days in 1874, 7,787 birds were started, the maximum length of course being 545 miles, and the average length  $330\frac{1}{2}$  miles. In four races in 1875, an average of 1,654 birds started in each race for a mean distance of  $246\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

More than 1,500 races are held annually in competition for 900,000 francs in prizes.

The *Century Magazine* relates that at Ixelles, one of the most enthusiastic centres of sport—a national sport in which even children and ladies may take part—a company of militia was at drill early in the morning, to be free at the time the birds liberated in the races of the day should arrive. All went well until the cloud of returning birds appeared on the horizon, when there was an instant uneasiness in the ranks; then, as if with one impulse, the company broke, and rushed at full speed to their lofts in the town. The officer, having his back towards the birds, was speechless with amazement, until he saw the cause, when he too joined in the stampede, regardless of his accoutrements. The *Morning Press*, in comment, hoped “if this should reach the ears of the authorities, they would recognize the exigency of the occasion, and be lenient.”

Russia began pigeon establishments in 1874, at Warsaw, Moscow, and Kieff. Now, in small Poland alone the Government maintains the following lofts:—

Brest Litevski . . . . .	1,000 birds.
Warsaw . . . . .	750 “
Ivangarod . . . . .	500 “
Nova Georgiensk . . . . .	500 “
Louminetz . . . . .	250 “

At an annual cost of \$3,742,20.

The staff superintending these consists of: 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 4 Subaltern Officers, 12 Trainers, 24 Servants.

Half a bushel of grain is allowed daily for every 100 birds.

The Russian vote for pigeon service is \$10,000 annually.

Successful experiments were made in grand manœuvres of the Russian Army in using pigeons to keep up communication between a detached turning force and the main body. On such occasions telegraphs would be extremely exposed or might be impracticable.

Russian cavalry scouting parties will probably be supplied with birds.

A few years ago three millions of pigeons were taken into France in the course of one season for training, from Germany and Belgium.

The German Government in 1885 had nine military lofts. Now it has lofts at Strasbourg, 600 birds, Metz, 600 birds, Wurtzburg, Mayence, Cologne, Wilhelmshaven, Kiel, Dantzic, Tönning, Schwetzingen near Manheim, Thorn, 1,100 birds, Posen, etc. The whole of the German frontier is connected by pigeon post with the interior and army headquarters. The whole of its northern coast is studded with pigeon stations under the control of the Minister of Marine.

Experiments have proved that pigeons bred on board ship have no difficulty in recognizing their own vessels amongst a number of others.

An ordinary German loft has 200 birds. In 1883-4 the German vote on this account and visual signalling was \$8,500.

The German pigeon service is now the most extensive and complete in Europe.

There are 350 private pigeon societies in the country. Of these many train in directions indicated by their War Minister. The Emperor gives annually gold medals for competition in races if not less than 248½ miles; the Minister of War and of Agriculture also grant prizes.

In Austria the first private loft was established in 1873. The Government began work in 1875 at Komorn, and then

in 1882, at Cracow. Up till lately Austria had chiefly directed attention to pigeon service for mountainous districts where military telegraphs could not be laid with sufficient rapidity, and visual signalling is constantly obstructed by intervening elevations.

In Italy, the military pigeon system is extensive. The coast lofts train from seaward with a view to cruiser service.

During the squadron manœuvres pigeon reports had been received many days in advance of advices sent at the same time by despatch boat.

Italy has, moreover, connected Massowah and Assab in Africa by pigeons.

The twelve principal Government lofts in continental Italy are controlled by the Engineer in territorial command at Rome.

In Portugal there are Government pigeon stations at Lisbon, Oporto, Setubal, Tameas, Vedras, Novas, Elvas and Mafra.

In Spain there are coast-guard pigeon stations to receive messages from cruisers intercepting enemies' vessels and to check smuggling.

In Denmark the War Office grants prizes for competition amongst private loft owners who are very numerous.

France has taken the subject up thoroughly. In 1885 France is said to have had 75,000 trained birds in her postal service. Every one of her great fortresses has now about 400 birds, the Engineering Corps superintending their maintenance and training.

The different pigeon societies, of which there are not fewer than 300 in the country, are subject to military authority and requisition. They are required to train their birds in directions conducive to military ends. At periodical contests the Government awards Sèvres vases, medals, diplomas and various other distinctions. At the instance of the Government societies' birds are carried at half ordinary fares, and empty hampers are returned free of charge. Besides the large societies there are small clubs, and individual loft owners—all of whom have to make annual census returns of their birds.

The Colombophile Society at Paris has a loft of 1,500 pairs of birds, and supplies fortresses.

In 1885 France had eight military pigeon stations—Paris with its central loft at Mont Valerien, Vincennes, Marseilles, Perpignan, Lille, Verdun, Toul and Belfort—100,000 francs being appropriated for these.

Now her inland system is complete, a recent article in a French military paper remarking: "In a word, all dispositions are made, so that when war breaks out, the service of messenger pigeons will not have to be improvised as in 1870. An exchange of correspondence between the central authority, the governors of fortresses and intrenched camps is insured."

The United States took the question up in 1888, and the Army Signal Office established a loft on Key West Island, aiming amongst other objects, at communicating between cruisers in the neighbouring seas and the mainland. Another loft was established on board the *Newhampshire* at Newport, Rhode Island.

Early last year it was reported that from Key West birds had already been trained to bring messages from any easterly direction 100 miles seaward.

It is now time to submit to those who argue that railways and telegraphs make it unreasonable to promote the establishment of an organized system of pigeon lofts throughout the country—and to others who take no interest in the matter because it has no detachable coupons—it is time to submit to such that they should reconsider their opinions, for it has been shown that during the last fifty years, over the continent of Europe—not the least intelligent and not the least experienced quarter of the world—there has spread an amazing system of railways and telegraph lines, and with these has developed the most wonderful use of messenger pigeon service. It has been shown that this has been arrived at through unanimity of opinion amongst the vast majority and most influential of technical experts in national defence, and with the assent and concurrence of the leading statesmen in Europe



and the United States, who are not any of them ignorant of the uses to which railways and telegraphs are applicable.

Is more needed to prove that our feathered messengers should not be neglected by those of us wishing to strengthen our country's position?

The patriotism of every Canadian will accord ready approval and praise to the motives and aims of the enlightened governments and officials who have been endeavouring to increase their national security. Are the approval and the praise to be accorded, but the example disregarded?

Men whose thoughts have dwelt on the circumstances of warfare need no reminder of the importance of keeping control over supplementary and alternative methods for rapidly transmitting intelligence. A word, however, may not be out of place here to others who have not considered the character of the slender thread which conveys thought and even voice to unlimited distances, with almost unmeasurable rapidity and nearly uninterrupted regularity. So well nigh perfect is its action that many have ceased to reflect that it has its weak points.

In warfare it is not solely reliable. The message it carries may be drawn off at any point in its length. False and misleading information may be designedly passed through it from any point at which an expert can get hold of it. Its vitality is at the mercy of the elements. Snow may break it down, wind may throw it over, lightning may shiver its supports. The scout and the secret agent can destroy it when and where they choose.

In the case of an attack, the invader, at the cost of but trifling pre-arrangement, might give many an idle hour to telegraph operators at the very instruments where the safety of their country most needed their whole energies.

By pre-arrangement any wire or any sets of wires might be severed at the instance of the enemy at a given hour if desired. What would be the effect? How would any large and active firm be situated if it found communication between

its manager, heads of departments and clerks suddenly cut off? The normal smooth clockwork movement of the organization would inevitably be replaced by confusion and impending disaster.

How much more numerous are the vital parts in the machinery of national defence, and how much more exposed than those in the detached mechanisms of commerce?

All the details of mobilization, concentration and tactical movements in this country at this moment are dependent upon our telegraph wires. What a slender thread to carry our national safety!

With wires between army headquarters, divisional and brigade headquarters severed, we should be open to attack where the enemy purposely confused our arrangements.

In such a pass it is not too much to say that in organized pigeon service, and in that only, could there be found ground for expectation that the tables might be turned against the enemy. They would keep us informed of his movements, and would maintain our power to transmit orders uninterrupted.

The circumstance which gave a first impetus to military pigeon service was its improvised use at the siege of Paris, in 1870. In the course of a review of an article on messenger pigeons by an Austrian officer, an English military paper thus refers to the subject:—

“On September 2, 1870, the day of the battle of Sedan, one of the most experienced breeders of carrier pigeons in Belgium, M. La Perre de Roo, made the offer to the French war minister, basing it on the assumption that from the information published by English journals, Paris would be shortly completely invested by the Germans, to furnish him with a supply of carrier pigeons for keeping up communication between Paris and the Provinces. His letter was never answered.

“After the appearance of the German army before the capital the Paris association for breeding pigeons—L'Esperance—generously offered to the Government all their carrier

pigeons for aerial postal service, and to conduct the latter. M. Cassier, the president of the association, asked for an audience of General Trochu, but was received by a subordinate who, after hearing the patriotic pigeon breeder, smilingly replied that he, M. Cassier, was the sixty-second person who had bothered him with carrier pigeons, and he hoped he would be the last.

“Meanwhile Paris, to the consternation of the inhabitants and the annoyance of the daily press, which had been constantly trying to prove that the immense city could never be properly invested by the forces at the disposal of the enemy, was cut off completely from the outer world.

“Notwithstanding that there were a great number of carrier pigeons in Paris, not a single bird had been sent out of the capital, so that it seemed entirely impossible to keep up communication with the Provinces.

“In this dilemma the French postmaster-general, M. Rampont, hit upon the ingenious idea of sending off a number of pigeons by balloon. On September 25, at 11 a.m., the balloon—La Ville de Florence—rose amidst the plaudits of an enormous concourse of people, carrying besides the aeronaut, M. Maugin, three carrier pigeons and six cwt. of despatches. The wind carried the balloon westward until it disappeared from the eyes of the Parisians. But, on the same day, at five in the afternoon, two pigeons arrived at their home in Paris. Attached to the tail feathers of each of them was a label with the following words:—‘We landed safely at the village of Vernouillet, near Triel, and are on the point of leaving for Tours with the official despatches.’

“The population of Paris, who for the greater part had probably never heard of the capabilities of carrier pigeons, were intoxicated with joy at such success. The newspapers were full of illustrations of this breed of pigeons, and printed most fabulous tales of their performances. Subsequently a balloon was sent off every second or third day; altogether sixty-four balloons were despatched, and from the pigeons

taken, some returned almost regularly to Paris. . . . Many performed the journey from four to six times."

The writer of the article states that seventy-three birds returned with despatches to Paris, and thence argues that only twenty pigeons really did the work.

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" states that fifty-seven was the number which actually did the work.

The bird which repeated the trip six times was named "The Angel of the Siege."

In addition to 156,000 official despatches, over one million private communications were carried by pigeons into Paris.

In French experiments with pigeons for naval use—the first attempt—made at Toulon, was to domesticate the bird on board the *St. Louis*, artillery practice ship. The pigeon house was placed near two seven and a-half inch and two nine and a-half inch guns, firing an average of 600 rounds weekly. The aide-de-camp of the Vice-Admiral Commander-in-Chief at Toulon stated that the experiment to establish communication between a ship at sea and a pigeon loft ashore succeeded perfectly. The converse experiment was not so successful, but was to be repeated. The results, however, proved that the homing bird adapts itself perfectly well to life afloat and breeds there. The pigeon house on the *St. Louis* had an inside capacity of three cubic metres, accommodating eight pairs of birds.

As to the use of pigeons for naval purposes, a sketch by Lieut. Wainwright, U. S. Coast Signal Service of Defence Arrangements, will give a fair general idea of their importance as auxiliaries. Lieut. Wainwright says: "An ideal system of transmitting intelligence coastwise and to seaward during a naval war would be one in which observation stations, connected by telegraph lines, were established at certain intervals along the coast; at each station trained men with the necessary instruments for receiving and sending visual signals; at certain of these stations pigeon lofts for furnishing pigeons to lookout vessels and receiving from them reports, and also for

despatching birds with information to the outside stations of the fleet; also lofts, at such stations as from the position of the telegraph lines, are liable to have their connections interrupted, the birds being used to maintain communication when the lines are cut. All coast lines to be connected with the interior lines whenever practicable, in order to give additional security. The instruments necessary are heliographs, electrographs, semaphores, and at the most important stations captive balloons. By means of observation vessels also, furnished with signal instruments and pigeons, the point towards which the enemy is making would be known, and his progress along the coast followed by observers, so that the defending fleet might meet him, or acting as a flanking fleet, follow up and engage him at the critical moment. If the enemy's fleet break up into detachments the course of each will be known to the admiral commanding the defence, and he can oppose the enemy with similar detachments or keep his fleet together, and overwhelm the smaller bodies with his united force. Thus at a comparatively small cost, the effective strength of the fleet would be greatly increased to the greater security of the defence.

"In times of peace these signal stations could be utilized by the Life Saving Service and Weather Bureau, and for the purpose of sending the usual commercial intelligence.

"As will be seen the system adopted by the French approaches very closely the ideal one."

In Lieut. Wainwright's lucid sketch one cannot fail to be struck by the great importance attached by him to pigeon service.

The writer in the *Royal Engineer Journal* whose reference to the Siege of Paris has been quoted, remarks on the organization of military messenger pigeon posts:—

"If it is to be used as an auxiliary means, whether of offence or defence, it must be organized thoroughly, efficiently and on a large scale. A large fortress or other suitable place in the heart of the country must be selected as the central station,

where the carrier pigeons needed for stocking the pigeon stations of the whole country must be bred. The selection of the stations which are to be connected mutually by carriers, their housing, feeding and tending must be made the subject of careful study. Of course only strategical consideration must be the guiding principles in selecting lines of flight, and the organization of the carrier pigeon post must be left to the general staff.

“ Besides breeding pigeons in state columbaries private breeders must receive every encouragement, so that in case of war a large supply of those useful birds may be always obtainable.

“ The great military powers of Europe have recognized the importance of this means of intercourse and have made most extensive preparations.”

Of the uses to which the bird is put in peace the *Century Magazine*, speaking of the United States, says :—

“ In our country of magnificent distances and tardy messengers, pigeons are more largely employed as carriers than is generally known, inasmuch as the service is mainly for individual convenience. Very many business men in cities communicate with home in the suburbs by pigeon post, or use the birds between office and factory. Farmers use them as messengers through the neighbourhood and from the post-office and the town. Country physicians often have an apartment prepared for the birds in their conveyance and carry the birds on their rounds as regularly as they carry their instruments and their bottles, using them to bring word later on from their patients and to send word home when there is need. And even New York brokers promise to follow the example of Mr. A. De Cordova, who says :—‘ I use my birds to bring the reports from Wall street to me at Chetolah, near North Branch.’ Mr. R. D. Hume, of Fruit Vale, California, claims to use pigeons with complete success between his factories some three hundred miles to the north. Years ago certain of the Wells Fargo agents in the mountains of Nevada used pigeons

to bring them news from the nearest station the same day that by the regular means would not have reached them until the third day. There are many prominent men and capitalists in the vicinity of New York to-day who owe their prosperity to the foundation laid years ago through advices conveyed by pigeons in advance of the mail by stage. . . . Very many of the merchant marine, especially in European waters, have pigeons on board for use in communicating with the vessel from the small boats away from them, or from the shore. The birds, it is said, never mistake another vessel for their own at the dock or in the harbour. It has been remarked of several flights that the birds in exercising, when far out of sight of land, will go away for hours at a time, and upon their return will have dried mud on their feet and legs, shewing them to have been ashore."

The passage from land to land across the Atlantic by the St. Lawrence is about 1,800 miles. Assuming that a vessel on this line has a good Irish bird and a good Canadian bird on board—then for only 900 miles will she be beyond communicating distance from the mainland.

The Newfoundland fishermen and vessels engaged in the coasting trade and in navigating the inland lakes, explorers, surveying parties, and sportsmen in remote districts, would frequently avail themselves of the services of these birds were there lofts whence they might readily obtain them when required for use.

Who can estimate the mitigation of anxiety that pigeons might have afforded to the passengers of the *City of Paris* in her recent accident? At what a slight cost this relief might have been supplied!

Why should not all transatlantic steamers carry birds with them to announce the approach to either coast?

The *Illustrated Daily Graphic* in England has its pigeon loft. Its birds brought to it a succession of sketches taken on board a steam launch following the course of the Oxford and Cambridge race; and from the train in which the Prince of



Wales travelled to open the Forth Bridge its pigeons brought pictures of incidents *en route*.

Newspaper men here might receive early photographic copies of European news two or three days in advance of the arrival of the mails by vessels liberating messenger pigeons. The eastern Canadian press might exchange news in a similar way with the western press, and Canada generally exchange with the United States. With well-tested, reliable birds, it might even be possible to transmit official despatches between the British Embassy at Washington and Ottawa—more rapidly far than by mail.

It is earnestly hoped that not a few of those who read this article will consider it a citizen's duty to encourage the breeding and training of messenger pigeons as a means of furnishing abundance of innocent amusement to young and old alike, as useful helps in domestic and personal affairs, as servants of the press, as aids in the transaction of business, as assistants in commerce, as invaluable friends of the merchantile marine, and as indispensable auxiliaries to the navy and army in the time of our country's need.

D. R. CAMERON.

## A MOVEMENT TOWARDS CREED REVISION

MANY thoughtful men on both sides of the line have been following with interest the deliverance of the American Presbyterian Church in regard to the proposed revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith. It is not probable that any definite step will be taken immediately, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that some change is desirable ; and while an intelligent minority oppose the discussion even on its threshold, there is little doubt that in the near future a more or less revised creed will find authoritative approval.

Nor is the interest excited by this debate confined to those who possess an exhaustive knowledge of the subject at issue. Whether it is matter of regret or not, it is certainly true that the document in question is unfamiliar even to the great majority of orthodox Presbyterians. Assent to it is not made a condition of church membership, nor is it commonly consulted as a solution of those religious problems which always confront the earnest soul. Enshrined in a sort of Valhalla, it scarcely seems a suitable instrument either of defence or aggression in the actual battle of life. But when those who ought to know it best express some discontent with its phraseology or its doctrine, their protest becomes too significant to be disregarded by any one who tries to read the signs of the times. The hostility to creeds observable in some quarters to-day may not deserve very serious consideration. It often arises from ignorance of their real character ; for there is a certain class of persons whose fluency of conversation on any subject is in inverse proportion to what they know about it. The pursuit may be after a phantom, not a reality ; a phantom conjured up, perhaps, by unintentional misrepresentation of the creed which is being condemned. The virtue of stating

fairly the views of an opponent is much rarer than it ought to be; and while it may be a good thing to see ourselves as others see us, we all naturally prefer a portrait, not a caricature.

But the suggestive fact in the case before us is that the men who so earnestly desire a revision of creed are neither ignorant nor irreverent nor influenced by immoral motives. It will be generally conceded that they are sincere and thoughtful, that they do not wish to be unfair, that they have no personal ends to serve, that they are not particularly desirous of creating a sensation; and yet they feel constrained, if for no other reason, from a sense of duty, to seek some means by which the avowed religious faith of the church shall come into better harmony with the principles which dominate their life, and into better harmony, as they conceive, with the truth as it is in Jesus. They may be mistaken, but it would be worse than useless to dismiss their arguments with a sneer.

If any one chooses to discredit such movements by saying that the critic is guilty of Christian disloyalty, there is nothing to prevent him from doing so. That is an easy way of stopping one's mouth, but it is a very mean one. It is impossible to deprecate too strongly any attempt to check the right of free thinking by assailing the thinker with hard names, and I do not envy the man who would complacently do so. The creeds of Christendom are not necessarily identical with Christianity. They are, at best, the efforts of wise and godly, though fallible men, to express their conception of it. The failure to make this distinction is a fruitful source of needless anxiety. Truth must be given to man in the form of a gradually evolving revelation upon which *Finis* cannot be written until human life is perfected. In this purely subjective sense Christianity is capable of constant improvement, not that its principles change—for they are as eternal and immutable as God Himself,—but that by earnest thought and action we come into a better understanding of them. To suppose that no new glimpses of heavenly light may appear to each suc-

ceeding age is to ignore the universal laws of growth and the methods of Divine Providence. So far from being disloyal to the faith if we venture with the prophet of Israel to mount to the watch-tower of the soul to hear what God will say, we are disloyal if we think that the human soul is now impene- trable, and that the sacred oracles are heard no more. Such a monstrous idea would render revelation an utter impossibility ; for how could God speak to us, either in the Scriptures or else- where, if we did not possess or had lost the faculties by which to apprehend His message? Better be disloyal to any shib-boleth, if that is the alternative forced upon us, than disloyal to our own nature and to Him who made us.

The most radical member, therefore, of the school of revi- sionists, whether we agree with him or not, must be treated without prejudice ; for except with those who regard creeds as an infallible idol, until the matter is discussed on all sides, the question of "heterodoxy" is still an open one. Nothing but the blindest ignorance can ever lead us to suppose that the reasoning process which makes a formal creed is of Divine origin, while that which seems to discover some flaws in it is an invention of the devil. We are false to the spirit of our boasted Protestantism if we brand dissent by social disabilities or ecclesiastical censure. If the great Master had followed that method with the perplexed and doubting disciples by whom He was surrounded, we should have had no church at all.

But even when the opinions of the more radical party are heard without prejudice, as they will be, I think, except by an intolerant few, it may be urged that on prudential grounds it would be wiser not to raise any agitation for a revised creed. "When we consider," says President Patton, of Princeton, in discussing this question, "the danger of unsettling opinions, of disturbing old anchorages, of being obliged, when the work begins, of going further than we intended, it is better to act upon the maxim, *Quieta non movere*." This dictum from one held in such deservedly high repute for his talents and zealous

orthodoxy is worth considering, but it can scarcely be adduced as a sufficient argument for giving up the whole discussion. Though I cannot oppose my own limited experience to that of President Patton, it has led me to conclude that it is a far more disastrous thing—and disastrous to the faith too—to have a stagnation of thought than its freest possible exercise, provided there is a real desire to find the truth. Supposing it were better that this discussion had not risen, which remains to be proved, it is too late to stop it now. We had better meet it without needless anxiety, even though we cannot predict what the end may be. The value of the nondisturbance doctrine depends altogether upon what you propose to disturb. "If an offence come out of the truth," said St. Jerome long ago, "better is it that the offence come than that the truth be concealed." We can well afford to disturb even the "old anchorages" if our ship of religious faith is thus enabled to make its way past narrow inlets into the broad ocean of the love and Fatherhood of God.

It must not be hastily concluded, however, that those who desire to see the Westminster Confession of Faith revised have ceased to believe in the general current of its teaching. In that case, revision would scarcely seem radical enough for honest minds. Though I cannot undertake to speak for any of the Presbyterian ministers of the United States, it is quite possible that there may be some who, everything considered, would prefer to do away with the Confession altogether. But the majority of those who plead for revision have no great quarrel with the main doctrines of the Confession, though they might wish to have them stated in a somewhat different way. They would be content to eliminate one or two chapters, or to modify the terms in which the doctrine of election or reprobation is stated, or to add a supplementary section which should put in the foreground the dominant ideas of the religious world to-day. Even among those who are quite sure that the Confession should be revised, it must be admitted that there is no uniform opinion as to the best method of

revision, and possibly it would not be an easy matter to hit upon the exact changes which would commend themselves to all.

It has been said, therefore, that under these circumstances the objections to the Confession must be rather visionary, and that until the disaffected know exactly what they want, it would be worse than useless to disturb the monumental formulas. But I think that there is another reason for this apparent vagueness of criticism. It is, of course, always easier to feel an objection than to state the best method of removing it. But when theologians of the nineteenth century are dealing with a creed of the sixteenth, to make amendments in terms of the old symbol becomes well-nigh impossible. The Westminster Confession belongs to an age whose spirit was quite different from our own; its methods of statement do not fit the moulds of current religious thought; it moves in a speculative realm into which we may indeed project ourselves, but only by a distinct and somewhat unnatural effort. When we consider the circumstances under which this Confession was framed, and the specific purposes which it had in view, it is just the kind of document which we would naturally expect it to be, and as regards its logical precision is not, I think, likely to be excelled in an age which does not take kindly to elaborate creed-making. And therefore, to my mind, the best solution of the matter is to leave the Westminster Confession just as it is, and formulate a new creed more simple and yet more comprehensive, and giving better expression to the religious thought of our time.

This seems to be the real aim of the revisionists, however much they may differ as to the best method of reaching it. Consequently the main point in debate is not so much whether the doctrines of the Westminster Confession are true or false as whether they satisfactorily embody the great principles which underlie present religious thought and teaching; for the best creed, however venerable its associations, is not one which we lock up in a museum of history, but one which shows its radiant face amid everyday doubts and trials. Even

a perfect creed of the sixteenth century could not be expected to measure the religious thought of the nineteenth, unless God had ceased to teach us and man had ceased to learn. When such a wise and devout theologian as Dr. McCosh says, "There is a want in our confession of a clear and prominent utterance, such as we have in the Scriptures of the love of God to all men, and the free gift of Jesus Christ and His salvation to all men, not to the elect alone," he is not bidding us despise the confession, but rather remember the inevitable limitations of time and circumstance and the fallibility of mortal men. Surely we have learned something in the passage of the centuries. If not we ought to hide our heads in shame. The new wine of truth will not go into the old bottles without bursting them and to insist that it shall do so or be proscribed is to repeat the tactics of mediævalism. The creed of to-day, in whatever form we write it, will clearly recognize the great truth of the Fatherhood of God and the presence of God in the complex order of the material and spiritual universe; it will insist on the sacredness of human reason as equally a divine gift with the revelation presented before it; it will enlarge the realm of the supernatural until its mysterious presence is felt everywhere; it will leave some blank pages for truths not yet clearly apprehended; it will take the Christian religion out of all technical bondages, and assert the majesty of its influence in the most of the varied lights and shadows that move across the stage of humanity.

Now, to expect the embodiment of these and other ideas in the Westminster confession of faith would be to expect impossibilities. We may have no wish to deny the dynamic view which it presents of the divine government, but we think the moral one more just and powerful. God is still sovereign; but He is Father too. We recognize everywhere the principle of selection or election, but we prefer to view it from the anthropological standpoint, believing, as we do, that in a certain sense man may be truly said to elect himself. We do not deny the evils of Ultramontaniam, but the complacent



exegesis which confines the Antichrist to the Church of Rome and thus lets all Protestants into a self-righteous paradise scarcely satisfies us. The desire for a simpler creed may or may not mean that Presbyterians love Calvinism less ; but it certainly does mean that they love Christianity more, and I do not see how that church or any other can possibly be weakened by putting Christianity, according to Calvin, on a lower plane than Christianity according to Christ. It would be absurd to expect any confession to embody in perfection the whole spirit of Christianity, but an Eirenicon will come nearer to it than a polemic. It cannot be a bad sign that the religious thought of this age is bringing into greater prominence the doctrine of that disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast, with whose letters the canon of revelation closes, and is thus reminding us that the final word of Christianity is love.

I believe that the Presbyterian Church is quite able to frame a simplified creed and to use it properly. As long as we think on religious questions at all we must have a creed of some kind ; and nothing, therefore, can be more irrational than the demand that dogma shall be dismissed altogether. It can only disappear with universal know-nothingism. But we must keep creeds in their proper place. They belong to the second plane, the intellectual ; not to the first, the spiritual ; and beneath their divergences there is common ground of tolerance and unity. We may feel in Canada, as elsewhere, that this is a transitional period in the religious world, and for a little while the mere iconoclast may seem to win the day. But if the "higher criticism" is destructive the highest criticism is constructive ; and I am persuaded that present controversies will, in the end, only serve to confirm us in the essential principles of the faith once delivered to the saints, will increase our love for the character and mission of Christ and the whole brotherhood of man, will widen our horizon of religious truth, and impart to all churches a more intelligent understanding and a fuller application of the manifold wisdom of God.

WILLIAM T. HERRIDGE.

## THE PREHISTORIC NATURALIST

"NATURE," said the acute and learned Dr. Samuel Johnson, "never gives everything at once." Man, since his first appearance on this globe, has been a student of Nature, and in each of the periods of his existence, during which he has progressed from savagery to barbarism, and from barbarism, through various stages, to what we now call civilization, he has looked upon her works with a different eye, whose glance grows ever keener as we approach our own day.

Side by side with the revolution in biology that is associated with the names of Darwin, Wallace and Herbert Spencer, has gone that broadening of ideas as to man's intellectual development, which has given rise to the new sciences of comparative religion and comparative folk-lore. The crude conceptions and absurd beliefs of rude and savage peoples, the mythological wealth of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Palestine, India, China, to say nothing of the strange jumble of deities presented to us in the Pantheons of Greece and of Italy, are being subjected to strict investigation, and, from apparent chaos, law and order are slowly but surely arising.

The "right divine" of our ancestors to think for us has passed away forever. The spirit in which, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the student must approach the mythologies of the past and the religions of the present, is not inaptly expressed by the Poet Lowell when he says:—

"There is an instinct in the human heart  
Which makes that all the fables it hath coined,  
To justify the reign of its belief,  
And strengthen it by beauty's right divine,  
Veil in their inner cells a mystic gift,  
Which, like the hazel-twig, in faithful hands,  
Points surely to the hidden springs of truth."

Creation legends and Deluge myths are found the wide world over, each with the local colouring that differentiates it from the rest. Men and gods commune together. Transformed into heroes, deities, or saints, men find a place in the Paradises of the Old World, and in the countless Elysia of the New. Gods in the garb and guise of men, descend upon earth, institute order and civilization, then disappear, leaving peoples in hopeful expectation of their speedy return. But the devotees of Saturn, Hiawatha, Glooskap, Quetzalcoatl, Bochicha, await their coming still. Religions and their votaries arise, and, having served their purpose, perish, leaving to future generations the task of separating, in the inheritance which has fallen to their share, the chaff from the wheat, what is false from what is true. As he proceeds in his investigation the student will

“ find on every stone

That each age hath carved the symbol of what god to them was known.  
Ugly shapes and brutish sometimes, but the fairest that they knew ;  
If their sight were dim and earthward, yet their hope and aim were true.”

Gradually we are learning to trace the steps in the development of man's ideas of a Supreme Being from the absurd caricature of rude savages to the anthropomorphic Jahveh of a later age, and the more or less idealized Deism of our own day.

Prehistoric man looked on the universe as an animate existence of which he formed a part. The whole world was akin to him. The earth was the fruitful mother of all things. The great orb of day and the milder regent of the night were beings for whose regular appearance and disappearance he was at no loss to account. When eclipsed they were dead, or had been swallowed up, for the time being, by some superior power. To this day the Chinese populace are said to beat their tom-toms and fill the air with shouts in order to prevent the great Dragon from swallowing the moon, for this, they believe, is the cause of the eclipse. There was a time when

daylight did not exist, say the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, until the artful gull deceived the raven, who was the custodian of it, into opening the box in which it was contained.<sup>1</sup> There is a Polynesian legend that earth and sky formerly held each other in a close embrace, and it was not until they separated that the light of day appeared.

The savage Australian peoples the vault of heaven with the departed ancestors and heroes of his tribe, and the shadow of a similar belief lingers with us yet in the names of some of the stars and constellations, which, together with many traditions concerning them, have come down to us from grey antiquity. In the heavenly bodies above their heads the Bororó Indians of South America recognize all shapes and forms of animals, as indeed we ourselves do still. To them the infinitude of orbs in close proximity is nothing more nor less than the sand-fleas that trouble them so much on earth.<sup>2</sup> Much more beautiful is the belief of the Omahas<sup>3</sup> that the Milky Way is the path by which the spirit travels to the land of the dead. The Mississaguas of Ontario, however, explain its appearance by saying that the sturgeon is stirring up the mud at the bottom of the crystal lake of heaven with his nose and making "rily" water. The Bororó see in the swiftly passing meteor the soul of a great magician, and the Mojaves<sup>4</sup> of Arizona, the spirit of a chief whom an adverse power sank beneath the waves but whose soul mounted to the skies. The belief that thunder is produced by the flapping of the wings of

<sup>1</sup>For this statement regarding the Kwakiutl, the authority is Dr. F. Boas, in the "American Anthropologist," Vol. II., 328.

<sup>2</sup>For the Bororó the authority for all statements is the article of K. Von den Steinen, in the "Verh. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," Bd. XV., s. 483-489.

<sup>3</sup>When not elsewhere stated the authority for Omaha beliefs is the essay by Miss Fletcher in the "Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research," Vol. I., pp. 135-150.

<sup>4</sup>For the Mojaves the authority is J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mojave Indians, of the Rio Colorado Arizona," in "Journal of American Folk-Lore," Vol. II.

a great bird and the lightning by the flashing of its eyes is widespread amongst the aborigines of North America, and the Micmac tribes of Acadia have many stories to tell of the great wind-bird, Wuchowsen. An Eskimo legend states that thunder and lightning are caused by an adult person and a child, who went up into the sky long, long ago; they carry a dried seal-skin which they rattle, making the thunder, and torches of tar, which they wave, causing the lightning. The Mohawks of Canada say that the thunder and lightning are produced by men up in the sky, and they explain the fact that an Indian is never (!) struck by lightning, by telling us that once upon a time a Mohawk succeeded in getting up amongst the "thunder-men," and since his arrival has interested himself on behalf of his fellow Indians.

With more than one savage people the *Auroræ Boreales* are the spirits of the departed at play, and the *habitants* of Quebec still believe that a song sung at eve when the air is calm causes them to dance at will. But the unlucky singer gradually becomes fascinated and remains rooted to the ground, until at last his soul leaves him to join in the giddy mazes of the spirits' dance.<sup>1</sup> The Omahas ingeniously maintain that the Aurora is the light thrown up by the sun in its passage under the earth during the night. The Mississaguas and other Algonkian Indians think that the rainbow is the cloak of the Manitou, with which he covers the rain, for such is the meaning of its name in their language. The Bororó believe it to be a huge water-snake. The Mojaves say that the rainbow is the "medicine" of Mustam-ho, the creator for stopping the rain; the various colours are his different "medicines," and the full number is used only to stop a "big rain." The Hare-skin Déné Indians of the Mackenzie River region call the rainbow *Kokkralé*, "the spider"; they believe that it is the web of an immense spider that is trying to capture the sun.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>Faucher de St. Maurice. "A la Veillée," 1879, p. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup>The authority for this and other statements regarding the Indians of this region is Emile Petitot, "Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest."

Omaha Indians think that the whirling columns of dust often seen on the prairies are ghosts travelling over the country. The Irish peasant believes the howling of the storm at night to be the "wailing of the suffering souls wandering about in search of shelter," and after sending his children to bed he places a seat near the fire for the spirit visitor.<sup>1</sup> Many indeed are the savages whose

"untutor'd mind

Sees God in clouds, and hears Him in the wind."

As to how man and the rest of the animate universe were created, there is a legend for every people. There is a widespread belief that the first men were earth-born, sons of the mother of all. I cannot do better than quote here the words of Dr. Brinton<sup>2</sup>: "Out of the earth rises life, to it it returns. She it is who guards all germs, nourishes all beings. The Aztecs painted her as a woman with countless breasts; the Peruvians called her 'Mama Allpa,' *mother Earth*; in the Algonkin tongue the words for earth, mother, father, are from the same root. *Homo, Adam, chamaigenes*, what do all these words mean but earth-born, the son of the soil, repeated in the poetic language of Attica in *anthropos*, he who springs up like a flower?" Many savage peoples believe that the first of the tribe came out of caves or holes in the earth. The first Greenlander came out of the ground, and got his wife out of a hillock.<sup>3</sup> The Haytians and Patagonians believe their ancestors came out of caves. The Iroquois of New York still point out, near Oswego Falls, the exact place at which the first Indians issued from the earth. In the Blackfoot country, says De Smet, are two lakes, from one of which,

<sup>1</sup>For this and for other statements as to "Irish Folk-Lore," see James Mooney's article in the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society," Vol. XXV.

<sup>2</sup>"Myths of the New World," second edition, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup>On this subject see an interesting article by G. S. Jones on "The Cave Myth of the American Indians," in the "Magazine of American History," Vol. III., pp. 552-565.

according to Indian tradition came the first men, and from the other the first women.<sup>1</sup> Some savage people believe that a man and a woman were in the beginning created at the same time, others that man was made first and woman afterwards. As to the material out of which the first human beings were made legends differ greatly. The Choctaws believe that the Great Spirit moulded the first Indians out of clay in a cave, and brought them to earth after the material had hardened into flesh and bone.<sup>2</sup> Mojave legend states that Mustam-ho, the creator, made the first human beings, a boy and a girl, out of his own flesh, and there is an Eskimo story that the first man came from a reed. In several creation-legends the creator of man tries his hand time and again before he is satisfied with his handiwork, and many peoples who regard themselves as "*the men*" claim that they were created last. But there is also another version, which makes the best to be created first before the stock of material had begun to run out.

Regarding the creation of the animal and vegetable life of the globe, the legends of uncivilized peoples have much that is strange and seemingly utterly absurd. The Eskimo believe that deer were made from the earth, and fish from chips that fell into the water while the Creator was chopping wood. A Cherokee legend tells us that the animals were originally shut up in a cave, into which a disobedient youth once penetrated, whereat his father was so angered that he kicked off the cover of a jar from which came bedbugs, gnats, lice and the like.<sup>3</sup> The Onondagas believe that snails came from the brain of a slain giant, and mosquitoes arose from the blood of a huge mosquito which the benefactor of men ultimately succeeded in killing. Corn and pumpkins, say the Hurons, came from the body of the first Huron woman, who

<sup>1</sup>"Oregon Missions," p. 178.

<sup>2</sup>"Brinton Myths of the New World," second edition, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup>See James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," in "Journal of American Folk-Lore," Vol. I., pp. 97-108, for this and other statements.



died in giving birth to twin sons, and a similar legend is found amongst the Cherokees. Time and space will not permit the citation of many beautiful stories that remind us of Narcissus and other figures in classic mythology.

Many Indian and other savage tribes believe that when man and the animals were first created they did not differ much in form and habits. The Mojaves have a legend that when Mustam-ho first created men and animals they were so much alike that he did not know what each was good for. So he gathered them all together and made them run, crawl, fly, swim, and dive, and so, discovering what each could do best, he finally separated them and gave them all their names, assigning to each his proper position. Man helped him to do this, and when Mustam-ho asked the animals, "Which of you is willing to live without work and eat such food as man may throw to him?" the dog said he was, and from that time forth he has been the servant of man. According to Dakota belief bears were the most perfect of beings created by the Great Spirit, but on account of having disobeyed his commands, they were driven into the woods and forbidden to associate in future with mankind.<sup>1</sup> Very common amongst primitive peoples is the belief that in former times animals could speak and commune with man. With the Micmacs this took place after the departure of the culture-hero of the tribe; the legend has been woven into verse by Mr. A. W. Eaton in his "Acadian Legends and Lyrics," in the poem entitled, "The Departure of Glooskap." After giving a parting banquet, to which came birds, beasts, turtles, etc., Glooskap, the great benefactor of the Micmac peoples, entered his canoe on the Basin of Minas, and sailing westward in the moonlight, disappeared. Then the wolves, bears, and beavers, who had before been brothers, lost the gift of common language, and birds and beasts, hating one another, fled into the distant forests, where to this day the wolf howls, the owl hoots, and the loon utters its sad notes of woe.

<sup>1</sup> "Journal of American Folk-Lore," Vol. II., p. 65.

A close relationship with other animals is clearly recognized by primitive man. Miss Fletcher tells us that "the general belief of the Omaha Indians is that in some way man has been developed from animals," and a custom of a tribe of Brazilian Indians noticed by Mr. Hyde Clarke would lead us also to believe that they had a pretty clear conception of the Darwinian theory. The study of the peculiar institution of totemism has brought to light many strange facts as to the nature of animals and their connection with the everyday life of primitive man, as well as with his social and religious customs.

A belief that is found in many parts of the world relates that in the beginning men were immortal, like the gods, and that by disobeying the Great Spirit they came to die. Nor at first were men subject to "the ills that flesh is heir to." With the Semites it is a serpent, with the Omahas it is the otter, who brings death into the world. The Ainos believe that death rides upon the setting, and life upon the rising, sun. On the coast of Ireland the people believe that "life goes out with the ebbing tide." Space will not permit me to even refer to the great mass of lore amongst savage peoples relating to death and to the hereafter, which latter subject scarcely comes within the scope of this paper. Diseases, in the belief of primitive man, were probably referred to the influence of supernatural powers. The Omahas think that paralysis is caused by the touch of ghosts, and some other diseases are produced in a similar manner. The view of lunacy and demoniacal possession held by many, even in our own day, savours strongly of savage superstition. "Death or injury by the visitation of God" was more commonly believed in in primitive times than it is now. Witchcraft, sorcery, and magic then held complete sway. Primitive folk-medicine is a most interesting study.

The savage imagination has been called into play with its full strength to account for the invention of the arts and those helps which have aided man in his progress towards civiliz-

ation. Were I to relate these many a legend would be told that might fairly vie with the myth of Prometheus, the fire-stealer, and the story of Dibutades, the fair daughter of the potter of Sicyon.

But I must pass on to that part of my paper which has more particularly given it its title. No portion of the folklore of primitive peoples is more interesting than that which accounts for peculiarities in the shape, colour, habits, etc., of man and of the rest of the animate creation.

Science has offered many explanations for the peculiarities which differentiate the various branches of the human race, and each people has its own account to give. A negro legend<sup>1</sup> states that in the beginning all men were very nearly white. One day the Great Spirit took them to the shore of a pool and told them to leap in and bathe. The white man went in first without hesitation, and came out whiter than ever. The rest delayed; and when at last the negro went in the water was so dirty that he came out black—those who had entered before him and after the white man coming out of colour less dark than his, and of various shades according to the time of their entering the pool. The Eskimo, when taxed with his lack of personal beauty, explains that his ancestors were seals who came out of the sea and made their home on the land. In explanation of the sexual organs and of the labour of women at child-birth there are many strange and wonderful legends. A legend of the Mohawks of Caughnawaga accounts for the finger-nails and toe-nails of man thus: Before the Fall men were all covered with a hard, shiny substance, and after the forbidden fruit had been eaten this commenced to disappear, and all that is now left of it is seen at the ends of the fingers and toes. It is scarcely necessary to state that this legend is not an original Indian one; a very similar story is current in France and in other parts of Europe. Everybody knows the popular explanation of the protuberance of the larynx in the throat, known as "Adam's apple." It

<sup>1</sup>A similar story is found in "Uncle Remus," No. XXXIII.

was caused by the piece of apple which stuck in Adam's throat, but which apparently went down Eve's without any difficulty. There was current in Lanarkshire some seventy years ago a legend to this effect: "During the Deluge, there were three holes in the ark through which the water poured in; into the smallest the dog shoved his nose; into the next larger a man pushed his knee; and to the largest a woman applied her back; and in consequence these have been peculiarly cold ever since."<sup>1</sup>

The feeling for man's kinship with animals is seen in the adoption of totems and in the belief in transmigration. Primitive man looked upon animals, in many cases, as friends, heroes, gods. The beast-deities of Egypt, the Satyrs of classic mythology, and the brazen serpent of the Hebrews in the desert, were not alone in the world. The great Hare or Rabbit is a chief deity of the Algonkian Indian tribes, and with the Quichés of Central America the wild hog figures as a god. The Tlingits of Northwestern America ascribe divine powers and actions to the raven. The negroes of Guinea believe that their creator was a spider.<sup>2</sup> If we keep in mind these facts, some of the explanations hereinafter cited will be seen to be not so very absurd after all, considering the mental acquirements of primitive and savage man.

It is well known that the wolf figures to disadvantage with the fox in the great Reynard epic of mediæval Germany. The former induces the latter to hold his tail through a hole in the ice, in order to catch fish, but the only result is that the tail freezes in and the poor animal loses it. It is not told how he got a new one. Ictinike, the deceitful son of the sun-god, in Iowa tradition, serves the coyote in an exactly similar way, but the animal manages to get a new tail.<sup>3</sup> The Mojave Indians tell the following story in explanation of the black mouth of the coyote. Before the father of Mustam-ho died

<sup>1</sup> See the *Athenæum*, March 9, 1889, p. 322, col. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Bosman's "Guinea."

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. O. Dorsey, in "American Antiq.," November, 1886.

he told his son to be sure and cremate his body. The coyote tried hard to get the corpse to eat. At that time there was no fire on earth. The blue fly put a star in the sky and sent the coyote to fetch it. Meanwhile the blue fly, who well knew the art of making fire, lit the pyre and the corpse was burnt. The coyote seeing the blaze, came back on the run, but all the other animals had formed a ring around the fire, and it was only by jumping over the badger, who was very short, that he succeeded in getting within the circle. He then seized the heart which was the only part unconsumed, and in so doing burnt his mouth, which is black to this day.

The bear has some peculiarities that did not fail to catch the eye of the savage. A Navajo myth tells the reason of his ugly feet. He had lent his moccasins to be used in the game of kesitcé one day. In this game the moccasins are half buried in the ground, and the bear in his haste to get away puts his left moccasin on his right foot and *vice versa*, and the result was that in travelling homeward his feet became misshapen.<sup>1</sup> At that time the bear's coat was "as black as midnight." He was so late in getting back from the game to his home on the high mountain, that the beams of the rising sun shone upon him and tinged with red the tips of his hairs. Mr. Harris, in his "Nights with Uncle Remus," tells us why the bear has no tail. Long ago Brer Mud Turtle and Brer Terrapin were amusing themselves by sliding off a slippery rock into the water, and Brer Rabbit was looking on. By and by the bear came along, and Brer Rabbit induced him to slide down the rock, but he "hit the water like a chimbly a-fallin'," and his tail broke off quite short.

From "Uncle Remus," also, we learn why the 'possum has no hair on his tail. He had been stealing Brer B'ars persimmons, when Brer Rabbit informed on him, and Brer B'ar chased him; just as he reached the fence the bear seized hold of his tail, from which all the hair was pulled off, and "fum dat day

<sup>1</sup>The authority for Navajo stories is the article by Dr. Matthews in "American Anthropologist," Vol. II.

ter dis, Brer Possum ain't had no ha'r on his tail, en needer do his chilluns."

The Loucheux Indians of northern Canada explain the origin of the colour of the hair of the otter and fisher and the odour emitted by them, by saying that once, when the Navigator (one of their mythological heroes) was sleeping, these animals crawled into his body, from which he with some difficulty expelled them. An Abenaki legend states that the porcupine and toad have no noses, because Glooskap, not receiving a civil answer to a question he asked of them, pinched them off.<sup>1</sup> The Navajos say that when the wood-rat was returning from the kesitcé game, he ran so fast that he raised great blisters on the soles of his feet which can be seen there to this day. The dormouse is a rather diminutive animal, but according to Ojebway tradition<sup>2</sup> it was formerly as big as a mountain. But one day a mischievous boy managed to catch the sun in a snare, just before his time for rising, with the result that darkness reigned over the earth. There was a great commotion amongst the animals, and a council was held to see who would go to cut the string of the snare, which was a rather risky task as the sun's rays were very hot. The dormouse, who was the biggest animal in the world, undertook it, but, before he succeeded in biting the cord in two with his teeth, his body was burned to such an extent that he became one of the smallest of creatures.

The deer, belonging to the order of ruminants, has no incisor teeth in the upper jaw. The Eskimo of Greenland believe he once had. When deer were first made they had large teeth in the upper jaw, and were somewhat unruly animals and given to biting the poor savages. So the mythical personage, who figures as the Creator, called the deer to him, and pulled out the obnoxious teeth, making the animals "good," as the story has it. The Cherokees, Mr. Mooney tells us, explain with equal ingenuity why the deer's teeth are so blunt that he

<sup>1</sup>" Journal of American Folk-Lore," I., 85.

<sup>2</sup>" Schoolcraft, Onéota, p. 77.

has to feed on grass and leaves. Originally his teeth were long and sharp like a wolf's. One day the artful rabbit stretched a vine-branch across the path, and bit it nearly through in the middle. Seeing the deer coming along he began to run and jump at the vine, and told him he could bite through it at one jump, which he did easily enough, to the deer's great astonishment. The rabbit then stretched another vine across the path, and the deer only injured himself in trying to bite it through. At last the rabbit told him his teeth were too blunt, and that they ought to be sharpened. The deer agreed, upon which the rabbit got a hard stone with rough edges and worked away on the teeth until he had worn them down almost to the gums. When the deer tried again, of course he couldn't bite at all, and with a sarcastic remark, that he had got even with him for a former defeat, the rabbit bounded away.<sup>1</sup> The same legend explains why it is that the rabbit is condemned to spend his life "gnawing twigs and bushes." This punishment was awarded him for having tried to cheat the other animals in a race through the thicket. All who have read the delightful stories in "Uncle Remus" are familiar with the way in which Brer Rabbit lost his "fine bushy tail." It came about in this wise. One day Brer Rabbit met Brer Fox coming along with a fine string of fish, and the latter told him that all he had to do was to go down to the creek after sundown, drop his tail into the water, and sit there till daylight, when he would "draw up a whole armful er fishes." This Brer Rabbit did, after providing himself with a dram, for the weather was rather cold. During the night his tail froze in the ice, and when he tried to pull up the fish in the morning it came off short. It is curious that a somewhat similar accident happens to the wolf in the "Reineke Fuchs" epic. A negro legend in "Nights with Uncle Remus," tells why the alligator's back is rough. One day he was sleeping amidst the broom-and-marsh grass. The cunning

<sup>1</sup>James Mooney, "Cherokee Myths," in "Journal of American Folk-Lore," Vol. I.



rabbit set the grass on fire, and before he could reach the water the alligator was badly burned.

The superstitious peasants of the west coast of Ireland believe that seals "are the embodied souls of the dead, and their plaintive cries are wails of sorrow in their misery;" and a tribe of Brazilian Indians think that a certain bird which sings mournfully in the night is a messenger sent by a deceased friend with news from the spirit land. The Bororó believe that after death their souls appear as gaudily plumaged Arara birds, while the spirits of the negroes enter the ugly and malodorous bodies of vultures. The chattering of the magpie, the hoot of the owl, the croaking of the raven, the crowing of the cock, the drumming or ticking of the beetle are regarded in various parts of the world as admonitions of approaching death. Some butterflies are marked with spots and some are white without a blemish. Among the uneducated in Ireland there is a beautiful explanation for this. The pure white butterfly is the soul of the sinless and forgiven dead on its flight to the gates of Paradise, whilst the spotted ones are the embodiments of spirits condemned to spend their time of purgatory on the earth, the number of their sins corresponding with the number of spots on the wings of the insect. A belief similar to this is said to exist in China. With this may also be compared the beautiful conception of the dove in the religious teachings of the early Christians.

Perhaps no bird is better known throughout the length and breadth of Europe than "the children's friend cock robin." It is of him that the sweetest lyrist of the Carolinian era sings:

"And when I'm laid out for a corse, then be  
Thou sexton, redbreast for to cover me."

The verses of Spenser, Gray, Thomson, Wordsworth, and of many more of England's poets<sup>1</sup> preserve the memory of this

<sup>1</sup> See a most interesting article on "Myths of the Robin Redbreast in Early English Poetry," by Dr. R. Fletcher, in "American Anthropologist," II., 97-118.

"pious bird," and in the ruder songs of the people he has his place from time immemorial. Legends and myths relating to robin redbreast there are in great number in almost all the languages of Europe. The popular imagination before which the robin appears as "the pious bird with the scarlet breast," found no difficulty in assigning a reason for the colour of its plumage. One legend, current among Catholic peoples, and coming down from a time when belief in the stern cruelty of the Creator was much stronger than at present, tells us that "the robin was commissioned by the Deity to carry a drop of water to the souls of unbaptized infants in hell, and its breast was singed in piercing the flames." Another popular story, much more beautiful, relates, that when Christ was toiling beneath the burden of the cross on his way to Calvary, the robin, in its kindness, plucked a thorn from the crown that oppressed His brow, and the blood of the divine martyr dyed the breast of the bird, which from that time has borne the insignia of its charity. Another version of the same legend makes the thorns wound the bird itself and its own blood dye its breast.<sup>1</sup>

An Ojebway tradition states that the gaudy plumage and topknot of the kingfisher were the bribe given by Nanabush, the culture-hero of the tribe, to induce the bird to impart some information he required. The Mojaves explain the marks on the woodpecker's tail thus: Long ago the Arizona valley was all under water except the top of some mountains. There the woodpecker stayed for ten days. The water kept rising until it wet his tail, where the stain can be seen yet. Another legend of the same people tells us that long ago two twin-brothers were killed by the fathers of the maidens whom they loved. The woodpecker saw the deed committed, drank the blood of the victims, and hurried home with the news. The blood can still be seen on the woodpecker's beak. According to a myth of the Iowa Indians,<sup>2</sup> the reason of the turkey's

<sup>1</sup>See Lecky, "History of European Morals," II., p. 224.

<sup>2</sup>Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, in "American Antiquarian, November, 1886.

red eyes is this: Ictinike, the son of the sun-god, deceived the turkeys, causing them to dance around him with closed eyes while he sang. He seized the largest ones, wrung their heads off and put them in his sack. But some of the birds peeped and gave the alarm so that many escaped. Those who did so had red eyes and so have their descendants. A somewhat similar legend of which Nanabojou is the hero, is current amongst the Ojebway, and accounts for the red eyes of certain waterfowl; in this case all who escaped flew away except the "diver," who had to run to the lake. Nanabojou ran after him and stamped upon him, and this is why to this day the "divers" have a flat back and red eyes. Another Iowa myth states that the buzzard has no feathers on his head because of a trick he once played on Ictinike, who stripped the feathers from the head and neck of his deceiver. From "Nights with Uncle Remus," we learn that the guinea fowl were originally all blue, until they came to "Sis Cow" and asked her if she could not make them so that they would not be so visible, being all of one colour. So "Sis Cow" let down her tail into a pail of milk, and sprinkled the birds, "an fum dat time out dey got dem little speckles un um."

Everybody has heard of "St. Peter's fish." We read in the New Testament how St. Peter took the tribute-money from the mouth of the fish. Now on each side of the haddock is a black mark, which the popular mind has concluded was left there by the Apostle's thumb and finger. There is an inconsistency in this explanation that would do credit to the naivest Red Man, for certain it is that, in St. Peter's time at least, the haddock never swam in the sea of Genesareth.

A Cherokee legend states that at first the trees had leaves all the year round. Some time after the world was made the "Great Apportioner" commanded all the trees to keep awake for four days and nights. All but the pine, spruce and balsam proved unable to withstand the attacks of sleep, and they were punished by the "Great Apportioner," who declared that those who had obeyed him should be green for ever, whilst those

who failed to do so should lose their leaves with the coming of the winter. Another story current amongst the same tribe tells why the cedar is red. Long ago the Cherokees killed a giant monster, and bringing his head home in triumph, placed it on top of a cedar pole in front of the town-house. The blood trickled down the pole and dyed it red, which colour the cedar retains to this day.

Theologians and philosophers have devoted much learned argument to the elucidation of the nature of the "forbidden fruit," that "brought sin into the world, and all our woe." In Europe generally, the popular mind, which acts more quickly than the philosophical, has given this name to a species of orange (*Citrus Paradisi*), introduced into the south of that continent from China. The tree bears a large, somewhat pear-shaped, greenish-yellow fruit, having around its base a circle of depressions resembling the marks of teeth, whence the name. The product of a tree belonging properly to Ceylon, the *Tabernaemontana dichotoma*, of the natural order *Apocynaceæ*, is also named "forbidden fruit"; its shape (a follicle containing pulp) has suggested the explanation that part of it was bitten off, and the legend regarding it cruelly adds that the fruit was good before Eve ate of it, although it has been poisonous ever since. There are many more legends of the forbidden fruit which I cannot even mention here.

Mr. Mooney tells us that the grass above the graves (on the hill of Tara) of those insurgents who fell in the rebellion of 1798, is green upon one side and red upon the other. This the uneducated people believe is owing to the fact that it springs from the blood of those who sleep beneath the sod.

One of the "final resorts" of mediæval theological argument, on the production of which the doubter was expected to retire in utter confusion, was the tangible and visible evidence of the statue of salt on the borders of the Dead Sea, which had formerly been Lot's wife. With a remarkable wealth of illustration and citation of authorities, the Hon. A. D. White, in a recent number of the *Popular Science*

*Monthly*, has pointed out the origin and development of the story of Lot's wife being turned into a pillar of salt. It seems to be merely an *ex post facto* myth, invented to account for the peculiarly shaped columns and masses of salic rock produced in that region by the denuding action of rains and the atmosphere. All of us, perhaps, can remember from our childhood days some such freak of nature, and many a weird legend connected therewith. And savage man has stories of this kind galore. In Ceylon we find what by some is termed the footprint of Adam, by others that of Buddha, on the top of a high mountain. And the sanguine Anglo-Israelites would have us believe that the pillar on which Jacob slumbered at Bethel forms a footrest for the Queen of Britain. The Micmac Indians still point out the image of Glooskap in the living rock, and the Abenakis will show you, near Lubec, in Maine, the spot where the hero of his tribe killed the great moose, whose entrails, turned into stone, are yet visible there. Not far from the mouth of the River St. John, on the shore of the Bay of Fundy, Glooskap left his pack one day, and on his return found a sable gnawing at it. The pack exists to this day in the form of a huge rock, in which the hole made by the sable is still to be seen.<sup>1</sup> Ten or twelve leagues from Fort Good Hope, in far northern Canada, are three isolated rocks of curious shape. Petitot informs us that the Hareskin Déné think they are a man and two women, whom Yamon-Kha, a deity of the morning light, metamorphosed into stone. The Ojebway can still discern on the shore of Lake Superior, near Thunder Bay, the depressions made by Nanabojou, when he rested after his arduous labours were completed.

More, much more, might be said. But I think I have said enough to show that whilst primitive man may not have been a naturalist like Darwin, Wallace, and others who have read the evolution pages in the great book of nature, and given to the world the truth they found inscribed therein, he was a

<sup>1</sup> "Journal of American Folk-Lore," Vol. I., p. 85.

student of nature, a naturalist, none the less. He looked about him upon the world of life, with its strange phenomena, and for all he saw he had explanations to offer, and accounts to give, which, if not scientifically accurate, were at least naïve and ingenious.

In the beliefs of savage tribes yet existing on our globe, and in the legends that can still be heard in the quiet villages of continental Europe, where the past is wont to linger on far into the present, we must seek to find the safest guide to what have been the thoughts of primitive man in that far distant period in the world's earlier history, when the words of the poet applied to all the human race—

“and wild in woods the noble savage ran.”

A. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

## HOW AN ELECTION IS WON

POLITICIANS, party men, machine men, ward workers, etc., are freely used by the general public as terms of reproach and contempt, and if parties are to be judged by their accounts of each other, the verdict is not an unnatural one.

The man who indulges in the use of such terms of general condemnation knows very little, in most instances, about the workings of an election campaign; his experience being entirely superficial. He notices that an increasing portion of the space of his daily paper is being devoted to political news. He reads the headings of the large proclamations that are posted on fences and blank walls. He hears groups of men, returning home late at night, talking earnestly and excitedly of candidates, conventions, committee rooms, wards, etc. The very atmosphere seems surcharged with party antagonism, and he realizes that he will soon be called on to vote. Walking along the street, to or from his place of business a few days before the election, he sees a window filled with great flaming posters, announcing that the committee rooms of one of the parties are located within. He enters, familiarly or timidly, according as his leanings are toward or away from the party. He sees two or three men, seated at desks or tables, writing as if the fate of the nation depended on the speed of their pens. Voters' lists, directories, candidates' cards, campaign literature, and a promiscuous quantity of printed matter are scattered confusedly about the room.

"How do you do, sir?" says one, with warm cheery tones and a gay campaign smile, as he pauses long enough to dip his pen into the ink bottle.



"I came in to see if I am on the voters' list," answers the independent elector, with the air of one who expects an immediate "yes" or "no" to his implied question.

The scribe indulges in one rapid glance that says, "Why didn't you find that out two weeks ago, when we had a few minutes to spare?" then in the same hearty tone he asks what sub-division the enquirer lives in.

"I don't know exactly," slowly answers the elector; "I live on — street."

"What part?"

"Near the upper end."

"Between — and — streets?"

"Not quite so far as that."

"Between — and — ?"

"Yes."

"That will be in number —," says the scribe, hastily turning over the leaves of a dog-eared voters' list. "What is your name, please?"

The name is given, and the elector is informed that he is on the list, and that his polling place will be on the corner of — and — streets.

On polling day he goes to the corner indicated, and finds a number of men and boys collected around the door; the former distributing candidates' cards and the latter collecting them. He takes a card from the nearest man, and is immediately importuned by a small boy to surrender it up—or rather down. "Naw, give it to me, mister; won't you, mister? see all he has already," says another, standing squarely in his way, and stretching up his hand for the coveted prize. He pushes the small boys out of his way, thrusts the card in his pocket and enters. After answering a few questions from the deputy returning officer he secures his ballot, retires into the adjoining room or behind the suspended sheet, expresses his sovereign will regarding the destiny of the nation by marking his ballot in favour of the nominees of his party, and deposits the manipulator of the human race in a tin box. Towards

evening he walks down to where the crowds are yelling in front of the newspaper offices, finds out the general result of the election, and then divorces politics from his mind for an indefinite period.

This experience must be familiar to all, but to those who are accustomed to seek the cause of various phenomena, a brief description of the controlling organizations may be of interest.

Each party has its Dominion organization, its Provincial organization, a separate association for each electoral riding, and, in Toronto, thirteen ward organizations. There is so much difference between the method of conducting a campaign in a rural constituency, where every man knows his neighbours, and in a city of perpetual strangers like Toronto, that a separate description of the two would be essential to a complete understanding of the work of a general election. But the limits of this article confine it to city operations and methods.

The first event of interest to the general public is the selection of candidates by the party conventions. These bodies are composed of delegates selected at previous meetings of the ward associations. Although a large number are chosen, they generally represent the will of two or three active workers. So many members dread the sound of their own voices in public meetings that it is easy for a few talkative ones to arrange the convention to suit themselves. This prevails to such an extent that the convention frequently confirms, without debate or division, the nominations that have been decided on at a secret caucus of four or five members.

In an election, as in every other undertaking, the first essential is to raise the funds. The candidates are usually assessed heavily to defray the expenses, but, in addition to that, it is always necessary to pass the hat among the members of the city associations. Many of the active politicians (and it may be added with truth—all who are not active politicians) have no regard for the sacredness of the duties devolving on them under a representative form of government. Yet the former

long to win elections, and experience the same delight in victory at the polls as at a game of cards or chess. Hence they always subscribe liberally to the party funds, and enter into a contest with vigour and enthusiasm. Supplies of campaign literature, consisting of pamphlets dealing with various questions according to the position assumed for the elections, speeches of members, extracts from speeches of opponents, with now and then a doggerel rhyme, are prepared, months in advance, at the expense of the Dominion or Provincial associations. The first active work of city organization consists in copying the entire voters' list into small books for the use of canvassers. It is done by men who, although supporters of the party for which they work, are employed on strictly business principles. There being always, in a city like Toronto, a number of clerks and bookkeepers out of employment, no difficulty is experienced in obtaining a sufficient number of hands at a low rate of wages.

In the voters' lists printed by authority of the city, the names in each polling sub-division (consisting from three or four to twenty streets or parts of streets) are arranged alphabetically. These must be copied according to location—the name on each street being arranged in the canvassers' books according to the street number. By this means the canvassers experience little difficulty in going from house to house.

As soon as the lists are copied, the ward associations are expected to be ready to open their respective committee rooms; and also to raise, by subscription, sufficient funds to defray all expenses connected with them. The latter rule is not always observed, as the central committee sometimes furnishes all funds. The work of canvassing now commences in earnest, and volunteers for the work are eagerly sought after. A house-to-house canvass is the most disagreeable work in connection with an election campaign, and much difficulty is always experienced in obtaining volunteers. So reluctant are men to undertake the work, that it is generally found necessary to break the law and hire a few men to can-

vass the neglected sub-divisions—necessity knowing no law in elections as elsewhere.

Canvassers are expected to report to the committee every night, but as a rule they are very irregular. It is not uncommon for them to intrust their books to others, and to return them a few days before the election, with the information that they have been disappointed by their friends and consequently their sub-divisions have not been canvassed. Those who report give glowing accounts of their work, leading the uninitiated to feel confident of a grand victory. These favourable reports spring from a variety of causes. The worker's greater number of acquaintances among the adherents of his own party, the tendency of electors to say "yes" to every one who solicits their votes, and the natural desire of each canvasser to make a good report, all tend to make such returns unreliable as far as the chances of the contest are concerned. They are, in fact, only valuable according as they present a correct list of those who have died since the last revision, those who will be absent from the city on the day of election, those who vote in some other ward or sub-division, and those who are disqualified on account of non-residence or occupation. In addition to the canvass it is customary to search the death record in the Registration Department, in order that the information may be as complete as possible.

Each party claims that these precautions are necessary in order to prevent their opponents from voting on false names, and there is little reason to doubt the truth of the assertion from either side.

Except in rare cases, the leading men of all parties try to discountenance impersonation and other corrupt practices. But on the day of election they find themselves, to a great extent, the creatures of circumstances, obliged to wink at much that they would gladly frown down. They find many active workers, who seem to be entirely void of moral sense in relation to elections, who appear to have no energy except in illicit work, and who are willing to expend more time and

labour in the impersonation of one absentee than in the bringing of three or four careless voters to the poll. Although more than suspecting the nature of the work that these men engage in, the leaders try to avoid any positive knowledge on the subject.

A list is kept of the favourable voters in each ward who wish to be driven to the polling booths, and the time that would best suit the convenience of each. The names must be divided among the drivers of the conveyances, so that each may have his route arranged advantageously.

The appointment of scrutineers is one of the most important duties of a ward committee. The voters' lists, being compiled from the assessment rolls, contain the names of many absentees, duplicates, and men who have died since the last revision. And if a single polling place is left without a scrutineer on behalf of any candidate, his opponents may deposit ballots for every false name on the list. It is desirable that every scrutineer should know his sub-division thoroughly. But as there is no certainty that such men can be obtained, it is necessary to make out, in duplicate, a complete list of the voters for each sub-division, with explicit instructions as to who is to be challenged, who has died, who has left the city, etc.

It is not uncommon for conscienceless followers of a party to go to the committee rooms of their opponents and volunteer to act as scrutineers during the election. Such dishonest efforts are seldom successful, as a man must be well known before he will be entrusted with so important a commission. When such an appointment is secured, however, it generally results in the polling of twenty or thirty bogus votes by the friends of the unfaithful agent.

The failure of canvassers to complete their lists, together with the necessity of hiring and arranging for conveyances, compel the members of the committee to crowd a great deal of work into the two or three days preceding the election. Then it is—when they are up to their eyes in work—that the old veteran wants to relate his experience in the party during

the past thirty or forty years, the talkative elector wants an explanation regarding the omission of his name from the voters' list, and the men who have done nothing want to complain about many things that have been neglected.

The public meetings require very little attention, hiring of halls and advertising being the chief work in connection with them. The ablest speakers, as a rule, remain in the city, and their names, in the excited state of the public mind, are sufficient to draw large audiences. Many young ambitious law students and newspaper reporters are sent, by the party managers, to "stump" in the rural constituencies, their expenses being defrayed by the associations of the ridings in which their philippics are delivered.

The law expressly prohibits the hiring of conveyances to drive electors to the polls. But it is one of those laws up to which the moral sense of the people has not yet been educated, and it is therefore broken with impunity. No one seems to feel that wrong is being done—neither the owner of the rig, the agent who hires it, nor the elector who reclines on a comfortable cushion as he is whirled along to the polling booth.

On the morning of election every one appears to be in haste. The "rigs" must all be despatched to bring up the early voters. Several who have volunteered to do important work do not arrive, and their places must be filled. Notes of apology arrive from scrutineers, regretting their inability to attend, and substitutes must be found immediately. Many other unforeseen necessities arise, and, for about two hours, the committee-room is a scene of bewildering rush and hurry. This is the golden opportunity for the "hanger-on," who is, in most cases, a man of considerable wealth—never a poor man. He whispers in the ear of some busy committee-man that he will perform some service he knows to be necessary, provided that he is paid for his time. He is, in most instances, assured that it will be "all right," and he performs the work allotted to him faithfully and well. Like the distribution of official patronage, this does not contain as large an element of bribery

as might at first sight appear. The men employed have been for years faithful adherents of the party hiring them. As a rule they have been enthusiastic partizans before any thought of patronage entered their heads. And now that they have become, in their own estimation, more knowing, they regard the occasional favours as part of the universal earthly reward of virtue and intelligence, in which they have implicit faith.

As the excitement in the committee-room subsides, let us take a glance at a polling-booth. Around the door, before the hour for opening, is a group of men who apparently have nothing to do, save while away their time in the most leisurely manner conceivable. Should the scrutineers arrive early, with their large card-board lists of instructions, these men will suddenly become alert and energetic, and betake themselves hastily to some other polling-booth. They are looking for delinquent scrutineers. In their pockets are lists of the absentees and "deads" on the official rolls for the several subdivisions, and, should a scrutineer be a few minutes late, the chances are that five or six bogus votes will be polled against his candidates. During the day, notwithstanding the occasional unpleasantnesses arising through attempts at impersonation, the opposing scrutineers grow quite friendly, chatting and telling funny stories as good naturedly as their great leaders would under similar circumstances. Their proneness to human frailty is sometimes made manifest by the hasty arrival of a messenger at a committee-room, bearing the news that some one is "filling up" the scrutineer in No. —, and that he will soon be too "full" to attend to his business. In such an emergency he is relieved of his duties by some one of a less convivial temperament.

Between the closing of the polls and the arrival of the returns there ensues a period of suppressed excitement. The most talkative canvasser becomes silent, and a quiet calm seems to fall on every one. Should the first returns prove unfavourable the spell remains unbroken, but as soon as a favourable vote is announced, a many-toned cheer bursts



forth, and the excitement is renewed with redoubled strength. It is soon carried from the committee-rooms to the streets adjoining the offices of the leading party organs, and the cheering is continued till the full result of the election is ascertained.

And now a word about that much abused individual, the politician. He is a man in whose character the sporting element predominates. He plays at politics as he does at athletics—by proxy. He does not throw the ball, but he takes stock in the league. He does not pull the oar, but he liberally assists the "champion." He does not canvass or copy voters' lists, but he subscribes freely to the campaign funds. He rejoices in a victory and keenly feels a defeat. Men with legislative principles and theories are to him at once an enigma and bugbear. He wants "a fair field and no favour," according to the recognized rules of the game. He regards the casting of false ballots as he does the stealing of a base or the numerous sharp practices that serve as the spice of athletic contests. And, measured according to popular standards, he is not a bad sort of fellow after all.

In addition to men of this class, there are active workers in every campaign who devote much time and thought to the study of political science and the application of its truths to the legislative questions of the day. They regard the campaign as a necessary evil, and yet, as the only means whereby a small germ of wisdom may be infused into the electorate. On the other hand there are many who seem to regard the public purse as a legitimate object of plunder, and the politicians and legislators as thieves whom it is no sin to rob.

In casting about for remedies for the many abuses of our electoral system, one is impressed with the truth of the old adage that it is easier to find than to mend a fault. The evils connected with canvassing and the hiring of conveyances will disappear as the electors become more sensible of the duties devolving on them under representative institutions. While men are willing to concede that all material things that are

good and useful can only be obtained by hard and diligent labour, they seem to expect that good government—the most difficult to produce of all things—will be thrust upon them, while they not only stand idly by, but heap abuse and ridicule on those who are working, as best they may, for the great desideratum. "If my vote is not worth asking for it's not worth giving," is the expression of another sentiment that leads to much abuse. Men enjoy the sense of importance that comes with being solicited, and thus the party that does not canvass thoroughly and furnish a plentiful supply of conveyances is placed at great disadvantage. The evils of impersonation might be mitigated, to a slight extent, by the adoption of a modified form of the American system of registration. But the writer is no believer in the reformatory power of systems. An honest electorate will be honest under any system, and *vice versa*.

There is, however, a splendid field for the press, the platform and the pulpit in disabusing the public mind of many of the fallacies that lead to political evils. The people should be taught that the term "Government" is now misused. That it merely implies that part of the necessary labour of society, that can be better attended to by the community as a whole, acting through representatives, than by individuals. They will then gradually cease to applaud the men who have merely secured power, and learn to bestow honours only on those who have used it wisely. The people should hear no more about the right to vote—that is established. They should be taught the duty of voting and the dishonesty of remaining ignorant on political questions.

The Constitution of the United States—which is, in practice, no more democratic than our own—was drafted when her population consisted of the best men that could be picked from the different classes of society in the Mother Country. And just as surely as the people of the slave States left a terrible problem for the present generation to solve, by importing negroes to do their work, are we creating a problem for

ourselves and our children, by indiscriminately importing the worst classes of Europe, on account of the cheap rate at which their labour can be purchased. Political circles in the United States have felt the influence of this immigration for some time and it is now noticable in Toronto, portending a condition that thoughtful men are contemplating with alarm.

When we consider the influence of this foreign element, together with the apathy of our most capable citizens and the varied interests affected by the result of each election contest, we are lead to wonder, not that corrupt practices are indulged in, but that they do not prevail to a far greater extent.

S. T. WOOD.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON TENNYSON.<sup>1</sup>

"CERTAINLY the career of Tennyson is an ideal poetic career," wrote one of his ablest critics, some fifteen years ago; and no one, I think, will dispute the truth of the statement. From the time the nursling *Athenæum* hailed his prize poem of 1829 as one "which would have done honour to any man who ever wrote," to "his publishing, in his seventy-first year, the most richly various volume of English verse that has appeared in his own century," he has gone from strength to strength, and from one artistic triumph to another. The author of the only national epic, the only great poem, universally read since *Paradise Lost*, he has written the tenderest lyrics in the language, and created a new poetic form, the English idyll. Unlike Wordsworth and de Musset, he did not write himself out between twenty and thirty; he has gained steadily in power and depth as he has grown older. Between sixty and seventy he turned to a new field, and, to the surprise of the world, made English literature richer by three great historical dramas; even when past the limit of three-score years and ten, he gave us *Rispañ*, a poem thrilling with passion and pathos, "such a poem as words are powerless to praise." Few veteran poets have shown such reserve of strength and brought forth such fruit in old age. But at eighty his career is ended, he knows it, and he has bidden us farewell. Nothing could be nobler, or more befitting his great career, than the sweet swan song, with which he has taken leave of it. *Crossing the Bar* tells us that we are to have no more songs from the master singer, for he is "meditating a

<sup>1</sup>*The Poetry of Tennyson*; by Henry Van Dyke; N.Y., 1889. *In Tennyson Land*; by John Cuming Walters; London, 1890. *Prolegomena to "In Memoriam"*; by Thomas Davidson; Boston and N.Y., 1889.

long silence." With his heart filled with the Christian's hope, he awaits the turning of that noiseless tide which is to bear him from our sight. The attitude is sublime. This century has seen three great poets of three great nations, who have kept their natural force unabated to gray hairs, Goethe, Hugo, Tennyson; they are all noble, but the Englishman, as he is the simplest, is the grandest figure of the three. His influence is world-wide; the old king of letters has ruled us long with unquestioned sway, and, like the sovereign whose praise lives in his verse, he has seen "fifty years of ever-widening empire."

In view of such a long and distinguished career, it is only natural that every fact or circumstance that will help us to understand it should be sought out and put in order. For a poet's activity is a problem, which it is the business, as it is the delight of the student of literature, to solve. Among the factors in the problem are the poet's environment, early impressions, education and first efforts. True, when all this is known, the poet remains unaccountable, as all human beings are more or less mysteries to all around them. Still, such knowledge has its uses. What a new light is thrown on *Paradise Lost* when we know that it was planned in Milton's commonplace book twenty years before he dictated the first line of it; on *Faust*, when we know that Goethe delighted in the puppet play, as a child, and made the first cast of the poem when a student. The imagination turns from the crowned victor to the unaccredited hero; to the child Napoleon, potentially the conqueror of Austerlitz, to the boy Shakespeare, potentially the author of *Tempest*. It is not, then, a matter for surprise that the first volumes of Tennysonian verse have received a good deal of the critics' attention. The only wonder is, that more has not been done, especially with the first publication of all, *Poems by Two Brothers*. It was Mr. Shepherd, in his *Tennysonianiana*, a manual every lover of the poet should possess, who first gave any full account of this interesting and seldom-seen book, and pointed out the

analogies between these first ventures and the more mature productions of the poet. Many of the critics mention them or refer to them, but few show any knowledge of them, first-hand. Mr. Brimley had never seen the book, and Mr. Steadman thinks it has no "place in Tennyson's lyrical rise and progress." Last year Mr. Van Dyke contributed a fluent, chatty little essay to *Scribner's*<sup>1</sup> in which he takes much the same view, while he furnishes us with more and more detailed information regarding the book than had heretofore been made public. He estimates correctly the value of the evidence it brings forward regarding the home life in which the poets grew up and the wide reading of the *Two Brothers*. He is right when he thinks that they have no absolute value as literature; but neither he nor Mr. Steadman seems to be aware of their importance as a point of departure in "the poet's lyrical rise and progress." Students of literature may congratulate themselves on their good fortune that these earliest poems are published, notes, preface, mottoes and all, by Harpers,<sup>2</sup> just as they appeared in Messrs. Jackson's shop in Louth in 1827. They are exactly of the same value as the first editions of *Maud*, *the Princess*, and the volumes of 1830 and 1832 compared with the edition of 1842. We see that stanzas, words, phrases, ideas have been rejected, modified and transferred; sometimes the entire poem re-cast. We are allowed glimpses into the poet's laboratory: we learn the poetic how and why, we see the poet's mind growing and his art perfecting itself before our eyes. This it is that makes the book important—not for exciting idle curiosity, but for the purposes of earnest study. For before he has reached his eighteenth year, nearly all the characteristics of his peculiar style are already quite distinct, and clearly marked.

Admirers of Tennyson are much indebted to Mrs. Ritchie (Miss Thackeray) for an authentic account of the poet's life. In a charming and often quoted article she tells several

<sup>1</sup> August, 1889, p. 242 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, p. 359 ff.

legends of the child poet,<sup>1</sup> which are suggestive as well as pretty. One is of the first verse he ever composed, "I hear a voice that's speaking in the wind;" spoken, as, five-year-old Alfred was rushing about the garden walks of Somersby, in an autumn twilight. The temptation to enlarge on this is almost too much. It would be easy to show what an important part the wind plays in a long series of poems from *Oriana* to *Rizpah*. Two lines give the key-notes to both: "When Norland winds pipe down the sea;" and "Willy's voice in the wind, oh mother, come out to me." The other tale is of Charles setting his younger brother to write verses on his slate about the flowers in the garden where the two were playing. The stories indicate two significant peculiarities of temperament. The impressive heart of the child is wrought upon by the power and mystery of the unseen wind; and he turns to the loveliness that he sees around him for his first theme. An instinctive sympathy with the great forces of nature is plainly shown, and inborn love of natural beauty. What is near at hand interests him; this first effort was a success, it gained the approval of Charles, for the elder brother read the verses and handed them back with the criticism, "Yes, you can write." Every one knows how fully these tendencies are developed in Tennyson's later work; and even in *Poems By Two Brothers*, they are strongly marked.

At the very outset of the investigation a difficulty confronts us. How are we to tell which are from the pen of Charles, and which from Alfred's? The preface tells us that the poems were written "not conjointly but individually; which may account for the difference in style and matter." We know that there is a copy of the book extant with each poem marked C. or A. But it has not been published. No one has examined the poems in order to make a thorough separation of the authors' joint work. The critics are agreed that several are proved to be the Laureate's, by the transplantation of ideas and phrases from them to later acknowledged works. Let us

<sup>1</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1883.



take one which both Mr. Van Dyke and Mr. Shepherd assign to the Laureate rather than to his brother Charles—*Midnight*. A typical line is:

“A wan, dull, leng<sup>h</sup>en'd sheet of swimming light  
Lies the broad lake——”

We must remember that this is the work of a boy in his teens in the third decade of this century, before we can appreciate the wonderful freshness and breadth of the description. The same conception of the lake is found in his later work again and again; it is noticeable in *Morte D'Arthur* to mention a single instance. The word *wan* by itself is sufficient to establish the authorship; for instance, “only the *wan* wave, Brake in among dead faces.” For in 1827 “wan water” had not become an earmark of style. The whole poem shows a painter's eye for colour and effective details. The sketch is careful and true; not a detail but helps us to see the mere at midnight as the boy poet saw it. It deals wholly in externals; nothing is said of the spectator's feelings; there are no subjective epithets. The diction shows the striving to put into fresh, simple, unconventional English just what came before the writer's own eye. These are the chief criteria I would use in selecting Alfred Tennyson's work from the rest. There are others; such as his obligations to Byron, under whose influence he was at this time; and his borrowings from himself. The use of a single word, usually of colour, is sufficient, at times, to show the prentice hand of one who will be master. Beside this stream of tendency I find another, totally distinct; a tendency to moralize, to look on the serious side of life, to give everything an edifying turn, such as we might naturally expect of a thoughtful boy who becomes a clergyman, as a matter of course. A difference in diction is no less strongly marked. These serious views of life are couched in the vague, general, stilted phraseology of the Eighteenth Century, and show the influence of Campbell and Moore.

I cannot pass by these interesting *juvenilia* without noticing two other features, to which other critics have also called atten-

tion. A learned Grecian was heard to wonder what books Sappho read at fourteen. No future admirer of Tennyson need be ignorant of the character of the poet's reading at this most impressive period of his life, for this earliest publication supplies us with very interesting evidence on the point. A motto is set at the head of each poem, indicating the theme. These quotations are drawn from all sources and are as varied as the subjects, which range from Homer to Phrenology. The classics predominate; there are sixteen mottoes from Horace, nine from Virgil, fewer from Cicero, Juvenal, Claudian, Ovid, Terence, Lucretius, Sallust, and one from Gray's *Poemata*. The brothers must have some French as well, for we find apt quotations from Racine, Berquin and Rousseau. Withal they had not neglected the literature of their own country. Addison, Clare, Moore, Beattie, Milton, Cowper, Burke, Young, Hume, Scott, Mrs. Radcliffe, have all been laid under contribution. Like the rest of Europe, they had been drawn into the net of Ossian; and many direct imitations testify to the fascination of Byron's rapid verse. A fair inference as to amount of their reading may also be drawn from the foot-notes sprinkled through the book; among the works there cited are Milloa's *Voyages*, Xenophon, Savary's *Letters*, Tacitus, Suetonius, Aelius Lampridius, Gibbon and Sale's *Koran*. With these facts before us, we begin to understand how Tennyson is a scholar as well as a poet, and can account for the air of learned refinement which prevades all his work. The second prominent feature is the extraordinary variety of metre. The popular styles are all echoed, Moore's, Campbell's and Byron's most frequently. There are no less than four imitations of the *Destruction of Sennacherib*. Now and then we have an attempt at something new. The verses *On the Death of Lord Byron*, which I think are undoubtedly from the pen of Alfred, are cast in the form that has made the *Two Voices* famous. For instance:

"The hero and the bard is gone!  
His bright career on earth is done,  
Where with a comet's blaze he shone."

Imitations outnumber original essays ; but a young artist cannot do better, at first, than follow good models ; and the imitations are by no means unskilful. The whole book, is in fact, counter-proof to Coleridge's dogmatic statement, so often repeated, that Tennyson began to write verse without understanding what metre was ; a judgment, it seems to me, resulting from the natural inability of an old man to do justice to a young man's work.

Such data as the foregoing are all the more welcome as we know so very little of the poet's life ; and it is very unlikely that we shall ever learn much more than has already been made public. We need not hope that somewhere in the library at Aldworth another *Aus Meinem Leben* is stowed away, or a second *Practerita*. Tennyson's opinions on this subject coincide with Browning's as expressed in *House*. Both friends think that the poet's is a private life, not like a statesman's or a king's. Shakespeare is less Shakespeare for unlocking his heart with a sonnet-key ; and Shakespeare's curse is to fall on the knave and clown who will not let the ashes of the dead poet rest. This feeling is easy to understand, but mankind has a legitimate interest in its great representatives, which is as far from vulgar curiosity as the poles are asunder. In the case of the Laureate this interest has been meagrely fed. Mr. Shepherd gives us carefully assorted facts ; and Mrs. Ritchie, from the inner circle of the poet's friends, delightful glimpses of his home life ; but both facts and glimpses are all too few. The single attempt at a biography<sup>1</sup> is not satisfactory ; all that is valuable in it is taken from the two writers named above, and the rest is mere padding. Naturally, we are on the alert for anything that promises to increase our scanty stock of knowledge. And a book with the attractive title *In Tennyson Land*, which purports to be "a brief account of the home and early surroundings of the poet laureate," and attempts "to identify the scenes and trace the influence of

<sup>1</sup>"Lord Tennyson." A Biographical Sketch by Henry J. Jennings, Chatto and Windus, London, 1884.

Lincolnshire in his works," would seem to be a welcome addition to our small store of information. However, the very reason for its existence has been questioned. The 'smart paragraphist ridicules the idea that the poet had an actual mill in his mind's eye when writing the *Miller's Daughter*, and waxes facetious over the supposed absurdity; while Tennyson himself, in a long letter, printed in Mr. Dawson's second edition of *The Princess, A Study*, has explicitly told us how actual occurrences have given him time and again his most striking phrases and most beautiful images. Now, this is rank literary heresy. Goethe lived in vain if he did not teach us that only those poems that have a real occasion have any power to stir the human heart. His autobiography proves this. It is only because we do not know Tennyson's life so well that we cannot see, in every instance, how it has re-acted on his poetry. It need cause no surprise that he seems to write so seldom in his own character. A sentence of Kingsley's will make it clear. "The most intense lovers and the greatest poets have generally, I think, written very little personal love-poetry, while they have shown in fictitious characters a *knowledge of the passion too painfully intimate to be spoken of in the first person.*"<sup>1</sup> It shows ignorance of modern art to think that the poetry of feigned passion or feigned enthusiasm could survive in our age, whatever its chances might have been in the last century. Mr. Walters would have rendered no small service to all admirers of the poet if his plan had been executed with any ability. But the book is extremely disappointing. The binding, the typography, the paper are unexceptionable; the printer's part of it is without reproach. It is only the matter that is naught. The style is a patchwork of lines from Tennyson and scraps of pretentious nonsense, intended for appreciative criticism. One of the most unpleasant things a reader can encounter is the rhythm of poetry in prose. The introduction of this jarring effect is one of Mr. Walter's avowed principles of competition. The following is a specimen:

<sup>1</sup> *Alton Locke*. Chap. VIII.

"Then the Summer, 'crisp with shining woods,' when the greenery of the trees is 'new from its silken sheath,' and clouds are racing above and winds and lights and shadows cannot be still; when 'some bearded meteor-trailing light' moves through the purple night, 'below the starry clusters bright.'" p. 5<sup>f</sup>.

Not content with mangling a fine verse, he turns it into a limping doggerel by jingling the three rhyme-words together. Usually he makes matters even worse by putting in the quotations without quotation marks. It is hard to understand passages like the following:

"It was a bright rosy noon in early autumn when I entered the straggling ancient city of Lincoln. The rays of the setting sun fell redly upon the triple-towered cathedral," etc. p. 8.

Now, very peculiar things do happen in the shires, but a sunset at noon must be a strange sight even in the fen country. What are we to make of such affectations as "the thin, subtle lotos-music of the songs," "the scenery is unveiled while a symphony of rhymes flows on," "royal signet of his muse"? And what shall we say about the good taste, not to mention common sense, displayed in this remark on one of the poet's brothers? "Of Edward there is no record, but there is a rumour which I hesitate to repeat."

*In Tennyson Land* purports to be, in part, an account of a vacation ramble about Somersby. If Mr. Walters had tried to tell us in a plain, straightforward way just what he saw and heard, and reserved his attempts at criticism for another place, he would have won the regard of Tennyson lovers, particularly on this side of the Atlantic. Instead, he has simply bored them with a dreary, imitating book. Nothing is said about the influence of the fen scenery on Tennyson's writing that has not been said before and better said. The many pages that deal with that subject are not worth a single paragraph in Kingsley's admiring review of forty years ago. The one redeeming feature of the book is the number and

quality of the wood-cuts. The views of Somersby Church, Stockworth Mill and Langton Hall are especially valuable and interesting. The "Moated Grange" of the frontispiece gives a new meaning to *Mariana*. We understand how the poem came to be when we know that this gloomy, seventeenth-century farm-house stands close by the rectory, only separated from its grounds by a row of trees.

It is a relief to turn from Mr. Walters' "fine writing" to Mr. Van Dyke's more solid and, in the main, more sensible book. The most important paper in it is the essay on the *Idylls of the King*. The relation which he tries to establish between this collection of poems and the great musical dramas of Wagner and the novels of Victor Hugo does not concern us. The connection is of the slightest. It is much more to the purpose when he proves the essential unity of the eleven *Idylls*; a fact which the critic and the general reader is slow to accept in spite of the almost point-blank statement of their author. The history of this national epic is curious. Tennyson delighted in Malory's book when a child, and as early as 1832, in his college days, he had turned to the Arthurian cycle of legends for subjects; for, in his volume for this year, the first version of the *Elaine* story appears as *The Lady of Shalott*. After ten years' silence Arthurian themes reappear, again handled lyrically, in *Sir Galahad*, and *Sir Lancelot and Queen Guinevere*. In this edition of 1842, we also find *Morte D'Arthur*, the first cast of the eleventh or final member of the series. In 1859, *Enid*, *Vivien*, *Elaine* and *Guinevere*, the third, fifth, sixth and tenth poems were published in one volume, the first to bear the title *The Idylls of the King*. In 1870, *The Coming of Arthur*, *The Holy Grail*, *Pelleas and Ettarre*, and *The Passing of Arthur* appeared; that is, the first, the seventh, the eighth and the eleventh (second cast) of the collection. Two years later the second and ninth were published, *Gareth and Lynette*, and *The Last Tournament*; and finally in 1885, *Terisias* contained the fourth *idyll*, the introduction to *Vivien*, *Balin and Balan*.

Forty-three years elapsed between the first appearance of any part of this great poem and its completion. The public was not forewarned; no prospectus of an Arthurian poem in eleven books was issued; the order in which the separate parts appeared was most irregular; so it is no wonder that the public was loth to accept the *dissecta membra* as an organic whole. A great critic has stultified himself by calling the *Idylls* cabinet pictures suitable for the drawing-room of a ladies' school; he represents no large portion of the reading world in his wish to disparage the poet's work, but his dictum reflects the widespread opinion that there is no intimate relation between the separate poems. But the very form of the title should teach us that this opinion is unsound. First, the term *Idyll*, which has a history of its own. It originated with Theocritus, who is little more than a name attached to certain short poems, produced in Alexandria in the third century.<sup>1</sup> These short poems were called *εἰδύλλια*, "little pictures" of life, such life as was led by the fishers and herdsmen of the poet's native Sicily. They are remarkable for their simple beauty of phrase and situation, and the influence they have wielded from Virgil to the present time. Mr. Stedman has proved conclusively,<sup>2</sup> I think, that Tennyson's style has been formed upon Theocritus. The first poems which show this are those published in 1842, which are called *English Idylls*; that is to say, little pictures of English life in the manner of Theocritus. Mr. Stedman's proof rests mainly on internal resemblances in structure, and on inferences from Tennyson's life-long love of the classics. A famous edition of Theocritus was brought out at Cambridge while the poet was there as an undergraduate; and such an important literary event would fully account for his special interest in this particular author. Mr. R. H. Hulton has called the title "over-modest," and thinks it unfitted to the poems. Mr. Van Dyke defends the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Alexandria and her Schools*. C. Kingsley. Vol. XVII. Macmillan. 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Victorian Poets*, p. 201 ff. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.



poet's use of the term on etymological grounds, and endeavours to prove that each separate poem is denominated by a single idea. There is a certain amount of truth in this ; but another explanation lies nearer at hand. Tennyson's first success, in the popular sense, was his *English Idylls*. In these short, highly-wrought poems, just as in Theocritus, friends walk and talk, lunch together on the green grass, or sing alternate songs. *Audley Court*, *Walking to the Mail*, *Edwin Morris*, and *The Golden Year* are good examples of the *Idyll*. But even in this volume there is a tendency to make of the idyll a complete story. The single situation is prominent, but we are told what has gone before and what comes after. In *The Gardener's Daughter* the idyllic part is the two friends finding Rose in the arbour ; how the painter's interest was awakened in her, and how his love grew and ended in a tale in verse. On the other hand, *Audley Court* is an example of the unmixed idyll. The narrative element once introduced, the further change is easy. In the inventor's mind, the term took on a wider meaning and gradually became applicable to a longer tale. Again, they are the idylls of *the King*, because Arthur is the one grand central figure around which all the other characters move.<sup>1</sup>

We sympathize with Mr. Van Dyke in his effort to make Tennyson's own way of regarding this poem better known. It might be supposed that the author knew his own intention better than the critic ; but in spite of Tennyson's explicit statement, all interpretations of the *Idylls* have been offered, except the true one. In his dedication "To the Queen," he begs her to

" . . . accept this old imperfect tale,  
New-old, and shadowing sense at war with soul,  
Rather than that gray king, whose name, a ghost,  
Streams like a cloud, man-shaped, from mountain-peak,  
And cleaves to cairn and cromlech still ;

<sup>1</sup>For the complete argument, see Mr. Henry Elsdale's clever *Studies in the Idylls*. H. King & Co. London. 1878.

Of Geoffrey's book or Mallor's one on him,  
Touched by the adulterous finger of a time  
That hover'd between war and wantonness,  
And crownings and dethronements."

That is to say, Tennyson does not attempt to revive the Arthur of the Welsh and Breton sagas, nor the chivalry of the middle ages as found in Malory; he does not aim at writing a series of metrical romances, but a poem which is to interest us by the sight of real men and women at war with the powers of good and evil; and he has taken the characters and events of the Arthurian legends because the material is heroic and national. The interest is human, not historical. Still the poem is not an allegory, although there are many purely allegorical figures in it: such as the Lady of the Lake and the Three Queens. Mr. Van Dyke makes a clear distinction between allegory and parable. Arthur is not the Conscience, Guinevere the Flesh and Merlin the Intellect. "The King and his people" are "actual men and women"; and the story ". . . 'throws beside' itself an image, a reflection of something spiritual, just as a man walking in the sunlight is followed by his shadow. It is a tale of human life, and therefore, being told with a purpose, it

'Shadows Sense at war with Soul.'"

We cannot follow Mr. Van Dyke in his examination of each poem, to prove his point, but I think he makes his contention good. The war of sense with soul continues throughout, and at last it would seem that the evil principle triumphs. The king's dream of a perfect knight-hood passes away; his queen is false, and his friend a traitor; on his last battlefield, he is defeated and grievously wounded. His life seems an utter failure. The story which began so brightly, grows more and more gloomy as it goes on, till it ends in darkness—darkness, but with the promise of dawn. For

"the new sun rose bringing the new year."

One thing, for which Tennyson has been often censured, has seemed to me a special excellence, namely, for making the knights and dames of Arthur's court think and feel like refined ladies and gentlemen of the nineteenth century. Every age has done the same; Chaucer's Palamon and Arcite are mediæval knights; Corneille's Greeks and Romans are grands seigneurs in the court of Louis XIV. It is much better for literature that poets should not attempt the undesirable and impossible feat of reproducing a vanished past. It is enough for them to reflect the thought and feeling of their own age, though it is always allowable to make use of what an elder age has bequeathed us. In the case of the *Idylls*, the old tales have been given new contents in a most admirable way. The new wine has been poured into the old bottles and both have been preserved.

Another timely essay is the one which deals with the plays. Little is said of *The Promise of May*, *The Cup*, and *The Falcon*; but the defence of the three great historical plays, *Harold*, *Becket*, and *Queen Mary*, is in every way strong and admirable. I cannot do better than give part of it in the critic's own words:

"These tragedies are not to be dismissed as the mistakes and follies of an over-confident and fatally fluent genius. A poet like Tennyson does not make three such mistakes in succession. They are not the idle recreations of one who has finished his life-work and retired. They are not the feeble and mechanical productions of a man in his dotage. On the contrary, they are full of fire and force, and if they err at all it is on the side of exuberance. Their intensity of passion and overflow of feeling make them sometimes turbulent and harsh and incoherent. They would do more if they attempted less. And yet in spite of their occasional over-loading and confusion, they have a clear and strong purpose, which makes them worthy of careful study." Page 203.

No one, who remembers the reception accorded the plays, will think these words unnecessary; and no one who has read

them, unswayed by prejudice and unblinded by critical dust thrown in his eyes, will think they go too far. Tennyson's dramas are just beginning to win their way against the indifference and hostility of the critics; and no word that will help us to appreciate them is spoken into the air. No one needs to be told that there is many a line of pure poetry scattered through them; otherwise they could not be Tennyson's. I do not know a more touching passage in even Tennyson than Bagenhalt's description of the execution of Lady Jane Grey: *Queen Mary*, III. 1. But their chief excellence is in their grand outlines, not in highly wrought details. It is not men that are struggling on the stage but nations, and great causes at death grips. The duel between Harold and William results in a united England; in *Becket*, the war between the king and the archbishop ends in a victory for the Church and the people; and out of the storms of Queen Mary's reign emerges Protestant England. The characters are strongly drawn; Rosamond, Henry Walter Map, Queen Mary, and Gardiner, live again for us in these pages. The difficulties which cluster round the puzzling character of Becket may be considered settled by Tennyson's delineation of the martyred prelate. The late J. R. Green said that "all his researches into the annals of the twelfth century had not given him so vivid a conception of the character of Henry II. and his court as was embodied in Tennyson's *Becket*." All these plays abound in strong situations and scenes: such as the outburst of the storm in the fifth act of *Becket*, where Eleanor stings Henry into a fury of jealousy, and we feel that now nothing can save his former friend, and the murder of the Archbishop in his own cathedral, where the old churchman, who can not forget that he was once a knight, faces his slayers with the resignation of a martyr and the courage of a Paladin. Who, after reading, can forget the "room in the palace" where the heart-broken woman, finding herself deserted by her husband, hated by her subjects, and bereft of her last hope, crouches on the floor, in silence, half mad,

staring with the set eyes of the dead, while her women whisper apart? This very scene illustrates the peculiar division of our sympathy all through these plays. We hate the queen whose bigotry has almost ruined England, but we pity the loveless, dying woman. Harold repels us as a breaker of oaths, but attracts us as the last great Englishman. William is unscrupulous, but he is a strong, wise, merciful ruler. Henry is right in thinking that no scoundrel should not cheat the gallows because he wears a monk's frock; and Becket is not wrong in maintaining the rights of the Church, and endeavouring to save Rosamond. In other words, the characters are human beings, not abstract qualities, nor demigods, nor devils.

Another admirable feature of this book is the "chronology," which is a combined bibliography and life of the poet. The date of every publication is given, the exact title, and, in the same paragraph, the chief reviews, and a judicious remark or two. I commend this appendix to the student, if not to the general reader, for I do not share the horror of books of criticism and bibliographies which some worthy people seem to feel. The student lives a lonely life; he needs suggestion and stimulus; and, if he cannot get this from living men and women the next best thing is to get it from books. When you open a book on Tennyson you are simply comparing notes with some one who has thought on the same subjects as yourself; whether you may agree or disagree with the author, you get food for thought, which is the great matter. Mr. Van Dyke's "Chronology" leaves little to be desired as far as it goes, but it does not pretend to be complete. In several respects Mr. Shepherd's, although published twelve years ago, is fuller. A bibliography which will combine the best features of both is still a desideratum.

There is one danger which the writer of such a book runs, and Van Dyke has not escaped it. That is, in the absence of any fixed standard, without any reference to recognized principles of art, his criticism becomes merely the utterance of

personal opinion, without the saving clause, "I think so." A painful example of this purely subjective criticism is the chapter on *Maud* and *The Princess*. With his remarks on *The Princess*, I have nothing to do. Years ago Mr. Stedman took up an impregnable position when he wrote of this poem, "The poet, in his prelude, anticipates every stricture, and to me the anachronisms and impossibilities of the story seem not only lawful, but attractive. Like those of Shakespeare's comedies, they invite the reader off-hand to a purely ideal world."<sup>1</sup> And Mr. Dawson in his clever *Study* has fortified this Quebec and supplied it with a Point Levi. Mr. Van Dyke mentions both these authors in his article, but if he had read them, would he not know that all his objections had been met, and would he ignore their arguments altogether, and not even try to answer them?

The passage which deals with *Maud* begins as follows:

"Maud is altogether lyrical. And herein lies its weakness. It is an attempt to make a whole drama out of songs; in other words, to perform the impossible."

What would Mr. Van Dyke say if another subjective critic should come along and argue in this fashion? "You admit in the very next sentence that 'a single mood, a single passion, may be expressed in this form; even a character may be lyrically embodied.'" If a single mood or passion may be expressed in a song, why may not a series of moods and passions be expressed in a series of songs? And why may not this song series tell a story, just as the journal of a man who, at the supreme moments of his life, has found relief for pent-up feelings in committing them to paper? And if the story is vividly told and tragic, why may it not be properly styled a mono-drama?" Arguments like this may be brought forward in defence of *Maud*, but if the one critic did not convert the other, who is to decide between them? But this subjective criticism has betrayed Mr. Van Dyke into down-

<sup>1</sup>*Victorian Poets*, 16th ed., p. 165.

right demonstrable errors. Take page 123 for instance : It is very hard to believe that the writer expects his readers to take it literally. It sounds altogether too much like Coplestone's famous review of L'Allegro in his *Advice to a Young Reviewer*, which he winds up by saying that "With the help of Cocker and common industry, he (Mr. Milton) may become a respectable scrivener ; but it is not all the Zephyrs, and Auroras, and Conydous, and Thyrsises, aye, nor his junketing Queen Mab and drudging goblins, that will even make him a poet." This is fine irony, but Mr. Van Dyke seems to be serious when he writes as follows. The italics are mine :—

"Not even the love passages are free from exaggeration and over-strain. Why should the lover say that Maud has

'Feet like sunny gems on an English green'?

*The foot is far too large to be compared to a gem, and unless a person happens to be barefoot it does not look in the least sunny, but rather black. Or, again, why should he call her 'beautiful creature?' The phrase is hackneyed. And why should he go on like this :*

'But if I be dear to some one else,  
Then I should be to myself more dear.  
Shall I not take care of all I think,  
Yea, ev'n of wretched meat and drink,  
If I be dear,  
If I be dear to some one else.'

*If his meat and drink were wretched, there was no reason for his taking care of them."*

This is the sort of criticism that takes one's breath away. We can only stare and gasp. That a dainty foot, only seen by flashes under a swaying robe, should be compared to a gem or jewel, to something fine and cunningly wrought, seems no compliment to Mr. Van Dyke. What would he say to

"Many a light foot shone like a jewel set  
In the dark crag — ?"



Or,

“ Her feet beneath her petticoat  
Like little mice stole in and out ? ”

To the latter, probably, that unless the lady was barefoot and the mice, white mice, the simile would not hold. The comment on the second passage involves too serious a misconception to be dismissed as simply ridiculous. How any one pretending to admire good literature could miss the beautiful meaning of these lines passes my comprehension. A more unfortunate selection for adverse criticism could hardly have been made. In the first place, so far from being egotistic, the passage is exquisitely humble. The lover says to himself, “ I know that I am nothing ; but the bare possibility that this queenly girl may come to love me, gives my life a new value. I will strive to make the thing I call myself less unworthy of her regard. I will guard my thoughts, I will consecrate the commonest things of life to her service.” Then he lingers fondly over the delicious dream that *may* come true. What if he should awake and find it a reality ? It is almost too much to hope. In the second place, Mr. Van Dyke has failed, as every intelligent reader will see at a glance, to grasp the meaning of “ wretched,” on which the whole force of the line depends ; and he has not improved the stanza by the omission of the mark of interrogation at the end.

After verbal criticism of this kind, the conception Mr. Van Dyke forms of the hero's character will surprise no one. On p. 129, he speaks of the lover's “ intense egotism, his affectations, his misanthropy, his alternations from fierce raving to foolish gushing,” and calls him “ this lean, sallow, atrabilious, hypochondriacal personage.” Where the artist found the original for this pleasant picture, I do not pretend to say ; but it certainly was not in Tennyson's poem. We wonder what the poor fellow has done to Mr. Van Dyke that he should call him all these hard names. “ Morbid, sentimental, spasmodic,” are other terms he flings at him. Now, if our critic were alone in his opinion I should say nothing : his error would remain

with himself; or if he had said, "This is my view after a careful study of the poem," it might be passed over in silence. But this conception of *Maud* crops up again and again; and this particular essay shows that the writer is blind to the real meaning and significance of the poem.

In the first place, he has not studied *Maud* or he would see that Tennyson has carefully anticipated every objection that could be raised; to use a sporting term, he has "hedged." Like nearly every critic, Mr. Van Dyke has not taken account of the exceptional circumstances of the protagonist's life. He is the only son of a ruined gambler and suicide. Of a fine-strung, sensitive nature, he has grown up alone, where everything he sees reminds him of his father's tragical end. He is a student and has never mixed with the world. What wonder that the sweet bells are jangled? Nearly forty years ago one of Tennyson's ablest critics pertinently said, "To strong men the world is not made better by a father's ruin and suicide, by the prevalence of meanness and cruelty, by contemptuous neglect and general absence of sympathy."<sup>1</sup> Besides, the hero is conscious of his own failings, just as Hamlet is, and longs for betterment. "Oh for a man to arise in me!" he cries. He is on the verge of madness or self-destruction when Maud crosses his path. At once the real strength of his character comes to the front; he shows that he has an infinite capacity for loving, and each lyrical outburst reveals depth upon depth of pure, tender passionate devotion. No wonder Maud loved a man capable of homage so perfect and sincere as that which breathes in "Come into the Garden" and "I have led her home." All goes well for a time: he passes from doubt to assured and happy love, and then, in a moment, the desire of his eyes is taken from him, and by his own fault. No wonder his brain almost turned. From this point of view, the story is perfectly constructed, and each part of it is consistent with every other part. Maud's lover is very like Romeo. The latter, also, is "easily moved to hatred, despair, ecstasy,

<sup>1</sup> George Brimley: Cambridge Essays, 1855.

jealousy, rage and madness;" and yet he seemed to Shakespeare a suitable person to take the chief part in his drama and awaken love in the breast of the peerless Juliet, when the perfect Paris had failed to do so. As far as I know, Mr. W. H. Mallock is the only critic who has perceived the real significance of *Maud*, to which Mr. Van Dyke, in his furious tilt at hysterics is utterly blind. This much abused age of ours, this imitative, so-called faithless, groping age, has one excellence no other age possessed. *Maud* is a revelation of how a mere modern can love; it is the revelation of a purer, more beautiful, more tender, more strong, and more consuming passion than any former time dreamed of. The reverence for the beloved woman is holier than ever before. And *Maud* illustrates this, for whatever may be said of the lover's character, nothing can be brought against the character of his love: not the shadow of an impure thought crosses his mind. The presence of such a love in a diseased nature, is only an accident; it is only stronger in a sturdy nature, such as that of the gallant young Highlander in *Macleod of Dare*. Why the utterances of Maud's lover should be called sentimental I do not understand, unless it is because all lovers are sentimental. The use of "babyisms and dear diminutives" does not prove a man weak. No one would call Dean Swift hysterical or sentimental, at least not to his face. And yet look at the baby talk of the *Journal of Stella* "the purr of the tiger," as Mr. Gosse calls it.

The slap at the Tory politics of the poem is pardonable. An American could hardly be expected to sympathize with England in the part she played in the Crimean War. But her action is not so unjustifiable as our critic seems to imagine. Protection to the Danubian provinces was Russia's side of the "question at issue," the other side was whether Slav barbarism should make a fresh inroad upon Western civilization. To Ruskin, for instance, the Crimea was another Thermopylæ; the fallen will be remembered as "those who held the breach and kept the gate of Europe against the North,

as the Spartans did against the East." And he is far from being alone in his opinion. Again, I cannot think that the paragraph about shattered reputations would have been penned if Mr. Van Dyke had remembered what characters the dangers and hardships of that campaign helped to form; for such men as Sir Henry Havelock and "Chinese" Gordon were in the trenches around Sebastopol. This entire essay is so different from the rest that it might be from another hand; and perhaps Mr. Van Dyke is not to be held responsible for the absurdities contained in it. In any case, for the sake of the writer's own reputation, it should be quietly omitted from future editions. It is a very serious defect in an otherwise sound and helpful book.

Not the least suggestive chapter in it is the ingenious parallel drawn between Tennyson and Milton. The many resemblances in the lives of the two poets; in their tastes, habits and temperaments, are well brought out. The essay is particularly happy in comparing the great change wrought in Milton's life by the outbreak of the civil war and the transformation of the Victorian poet by the loss of his friend Arthur Hallam. The result was the same in each case: the art of the poet was made perfect through suffering. The celebrated friendship of Tennyson and Hallam, with its sad ending, is usually touched upon when it is necessary to consider *In Memoriam*: then we are told, that the poem is an elegy on a college friend who died suddenly. But we shall never understand the secret of Hallam's influence, or the *inevitableness* of the great threnody if we approach the story in this fashion. We must begin at the beginning.

In 1828, two students met at Cambridge for the first time in their lives. The one is a dark-eyed, strong-featured young giant from a country parsonage; the other, a tall, handsome Eton boy, who has travelled and is familiar with polished London society. The first has undoubted gifts, but he is silent and his expression is slightly sarcastic. The second is a fluent, brilliant talker, with a keen, speculative mind. Both

are fond of literature, and both write verses. A friendship springs up almost at once. They walk and talk together; are quite inseparable. They are friendly rivals for a college prize. The elder friend wins it by a remarkable poem, called *Timbuctoo*. In the long vacations they go off tramping on the Continent or read in the country. They are drawn closer still when the Eton boy falls in love with his friend's sister, and the young people engage themselves to be married. These are happy days; with lessons in Italian, long rambles about the fen country, and verse-making; moonlight nights are too short for the delicious talks and discussions. The two friends have their literary projects; they are about to bring out a volume of their verses but only those of one appear; they are called *Poems, chiefly Lyrical*, and are much talked about.

And so life goes on, till the crash comes. The gifted, the brilliant young lover, is cut off in an instant. No wonder that for the surviving friend life is never the same again; no wonder that he sinks into a ten-years' silence, and when he speaks again his tone is deeper, sadder, more strong. No wonder that he embalms the memory of his beloved Dead in a matchless elegy.

It is strange to think how lasting and all-pervading Arthur Hallam's influence is. That Tennyson had received some powerful stimulus at Cambridge is evident from the great strides he makes in his art. Compare the prize poem with those of two years back. Undoubtedly a great part of this stimulus came from the single intimate friend, who was considered the most talented of an unusually brilliant group of young men. Indeed, *In Memoriam* gladly confesses the poet's indebtedness to Hallam's fine critical abilities. The severing of this friendship was the means of ennobling Tennyson's character and perfecting his art. The *English Idylls* not only show an immense advance over the volumes of 1830 and '32, but they set Tennyson's peculiar style. After 1842, certain excellences and certain mannerisms are always present in his work. One can fancy, too, the sad pleasure the Laureate took

in weaving his great epic around the name of Arthur and in transferring not a few of his lost friend's best traits to the "blameless king." In these latest years, unnoticed minor poems, like the sonnet on the Rev. W. H. Brookfield, and *In the Garden at Swainston* show how lasting this deep affection is. The dead friend is not forgotten. It must have been no ordinary nature that could win so great and so faithful a mourner.

*In Memoriam* seems to need elucidation, if one is to judge from the number of "hand-books," "keys," and "companions" to it which are continually issuing from the press. These are not without their use. To many, *In Memoriam* is only a long poem and a sad one. Therefore, any book that shows that it is more than this, and induces people to read the poem for themselves, is to be commended. So much has been already written that there hardly seems to be room for another book on the subject. Mr. Robertson's<sup>1</sup> clear summary (now in its twelfth edition) is the best for the general reader. Each separate poem is condensed into a line or two, rarely more; and yet the connection is clear throughout. Dean Gatty<sup>2</sup> considers the poem from the mourner's point of view, and treats it more in detail. The interpretation is very orthodox, and a little feeble at times, but the book is valuable for its fine portrait of Hallam and the many notes, which deal with matters which can only be explained by a native-born Englishman. For the student, Mr. Geming's book<sup>3</sup> is perhaps the best, in spite of its awkward style. It contains much that will help anyone who wishes to get all that is possible out of the poem, such as an account of its setting in time, its place in the poet's development, and a suggestive comparison of it with *Lycidas*, *Adonais* and the sonnets of Shakespeare. The best part is

<sup>1</sup> *Analysis of Mr. Tennyson's "In Memoriam."* By the Rev. F. W. Robertson. London, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *A Key to Lord Tennyson's "In Memoriam."* By Alfred Gatty, D.D. London, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> *Tennyson's "In Memoriam: Its Purposes and Structure."* By John K. Geming, Boston, 1888.

the careful examination of the structure and the demonstration of its unity. He divides the poem into four parts: an "introductory stage" (i.-xxvii.), and three cycles, which begin with Christmas-tide (xxviii.-lxxvii., lxxviii.-ciii., civ.-cxxxix.). His proof is interesting and conclusive, but it is too long to be given here. In view of what we have, Mr. Davidson's book needs an apology for its existence. He ignores Mr. Geming's results, and interprets the poem in the old way, bit by bit; but he says nothing that has not been said, in substance, more than once already. The introduction on the "decay and restoration of faith" would make a good article by itself, but it is not a justification for an entire book. His only excuse is his desire to prove that *In Memoriam* is a "world-poem," fit to rank with the *Divina Commedia*. He endeavours to show that it lies "in chief current of the world's thought" by a goodly array of parallel passages. Much learning is displayed. The "parallel passages" are nearly all new and illustrate the poem. They are taken from the most remote sources: *S. Bonaventura*, *The Edda*, *Omar Khayyain* meet the eye on turning a few pages at random. But such an effort, however satisfactory it may have been to the author, can hardly raise the poet higher in the estimation of his faithful friends.

One cheering inference can be drawn from this production of explanatory and critical works on Tennyson: his works are being more widely read and more thoroughly studied. The age can have no more hopeful sign.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN.



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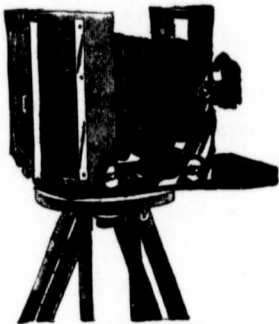
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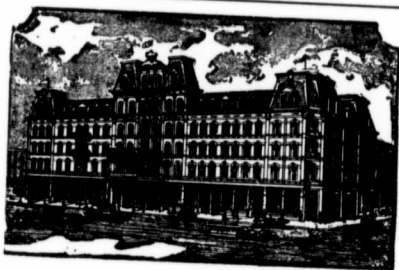
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