



THE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE

VOLUME VII, 1908.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA

THE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE is issued in February, April, October, and December, by a committee for McGill University, Montreal; University of Toronto; and Dalhousie College.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE :—W. PETERSON, M.A., C.M.G., LL.D., Principal; F. P. WALTON, LL.D., Dean, Faculty of Law, McGill University; W. J. ALEXANDER, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of English; PELHAM EDGAR, Ph.D., Professor of French; J. MAVOR, Professor of Political Economy, University of Toronto. ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of English, Dalhousie College, Halifax.

Editor: ANDREW MACPHAIL, 216 Peel Street, Montreal.

The purpose of the University Magazine is to express an educated opinion upon questions immediately concerning Canada; and to treat freely in a literary way all matters which have to do with politics, industry, philosophy, science, and art.

The Editorial management is gratuitous, and the proceeds of the publication are applied to the payment of contributors.

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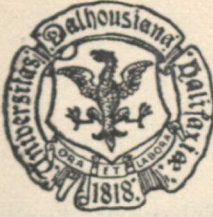
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PUBLISHED: FEBRUARY, APRIL, OCTOBER, DECEMBER,
IN MONTREAL.

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THE UNIFICATION OF CANADA

TO ONE glancing over the external features of the Dominion, the geographical conditions must appear unfavourable to the growth of national unity. There are serious barriers which separate section from section. North of New Brunswick are stretches of forest dividing the Maritime Provinces from Quebec. West of Quebec, and between Ontario and Manitoba, lie large regions of uninviting country. Not until Winnipeg is reached, half way across the continent, do we enter the borders of what bids fair to become one of the thickly settled parts of the Dominion. Then, as one threads one's way in and out, hour after hour, through the passes of the mountains, one realizes how the western sea-province, without artificial means of communication, would be cut off from the plains of central Canada. The Dominion has length but not great habitable breadth.

Nor does the initial situation with regard to race and language seem to be much more favourable. Quebec stands between the English-speaking Maritime Provinces and Ontario. In the newer western provinces, though the predominant population is drawn from the older provinces and from Britain, there are large settlements of people whose ideals differ widely from the prevalent customs and thought of their neighbours. In fact, the situation of the Dominion racially and geographically as it is to-day must to the outside observer present almost insuperable obstacles to a permanent national sentiment. Manifest destiny fifty years ago would not have pointed in the direction of a line of provinces welded into a unity across the continent.

But, as so often, the unexpected has happened, and to-day Canada is unified by a strong national spirit. Travel

from Halifax to Winnipeg, and then to Vancouver, and one finds similar social, political, religious, and even linguistic conditions. Men look at life from much the same point of view in the older and in the newer provinces. Naturally this is so, because the controlling element of the newer provinces has so far come from the older provinces or from Britain, the home of the majority of the settlers of Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. On the other hand, the contrasts between Canadian and American cities are very great, as is evident by comparing Toronto with Boston, Winnipeg with St. Paul and Minneapolis, and Vancouver with Seattle; and it seems to be quite arguable that the differences between the Canadian cities of the East and West are less pronounced than those between similarly situated cities in the United States. All this justifies the hopes of Confederation, and proves that ideas prevail over geographical barriers.

Of the causes which have produced this result the most powerful has been, of course, the character of the population. Older Canada sent out her sons to possess the new lands, and these first settlers belonging to the strong races from which the older portions of Canada were colonized established the type of the new life. Older political, social, and religious ideals are so essentially inherent in the character, that, like hardy seeds wafted by ocean currents to distant shores, they reproduce in the new environment fruit similar in quality to that which was found in their former home. This persistency of type is favoured both by generally similar physical conditions, and by the large incoming population which has been drawn from Britain. In many respects the Canadian problem is easier than that of the United States; for though we have a variously assorted immigration, we have not such an influx of different nationalities as pours into the cities of the United States on the Atlantic sea-board. The rigour of the northern climate has been, and will continue to be, a deterrent for the peoples of Southern Europe; and it seems probable that the proportion of peoples coming from Northern and Central Europe relative

to the constant stream of our own people moving from the older provinces to the West, will not for some time, if ever indeed, be so great as to check the growing Canadian sentiment. The movement from the United States into Canada introduces, it is true, a new factor into the situation, which would have to be carefully considered in any forecast of what the future may be.

The manner in which the constitution of the Dominion has been working out during the last forty years has also been effective towards unification. With us the rights of the provinces have been pretty carefully defined, whilst the Government at Ottawa has an almost unlimited field in which to initiate new and large national policies. It is true that the duties of the provincial legislatures come very close to the interests of the citizens, as also in some respects municipal measures touch us even more immediately; but the policies that issue from Ottawa appeal to the imagination of the people and form their political ideals. Ottawa is becoming more and more a national centre from which powerful influences radiate. These mould thought in every part of the Dominion. The Dominion members form the links between Ottawa and the constituencies. While parliament is in session its measures afford the staple for discussion in almost every newspaper of the country, and in them there will always be an element of novelty and therefore of interest, because the rights of the local legislatures being defined, the emerging questions of the growing national life are likely to be first discussed in the Capital of the Dominion.

In this respect Canada differs from the United States where the powers of the government of Washington have been defined by the Constitution, and the individual states are always jealous of their rights. This difference is more far-reaching in its effects than may be obvious at first. Ottawa is becoming relatively more influential every year, and from corner to corner of the Dominion the people are growing accustomed to consider as primary what concerns the nation as a whole. This gives great potential educative

value to our political campaigns. Despite the disorganization of business which they cause, and the partizan spirit in which they are conducted, the country is being instructed in the idea of civic duty and has its attention directed to issues that concern the people as a whole. It is, therefore, of immense importance that the policies which issue from Ottawa should be broad and illustrative of the highest national aspirations, that the leaders should set them forth so as to appeal to the worthiest instincts of the people, and that the candidates in constituencies should recognize that they have a responsibility to the whole body politic, as well as to their party, for the way in which they place their issues before those whose votes they solicit.

Statesmanship consists in the ability to discover some broad national principle running through the details that affect the life of the multitude of citizens. An engineer studies the configuration of a country, its elevation, the direction of its rivers, and the character of the soil, in order that he may learn how to place his line of railway to do most service at least cost to the largest number of people. No less eagerly does the statesman consider the conditions of the national life in order that the greatest good may be done to the greatest number. Merely local desires are not allowed to prevail over the interests of the whole. Canada with its commingled races, its differing creeds, and its widely scattered peoples offers an excellent field for statesmanship of the highest order, and the predominant position of Ottawa provides a centre from which its policy may be directed.

Hardly second to the political influence of Ottawa in unifying the national spirit of the Dominion is the work of the different churches. These are all active in the older provinces, and they are using their utmost endeavours to occupy the ground in the newer provinces. Though their primary object is undoubtedly to provide for the religious necessities of the incoming population, a patriotic aim is consciously present in these efforts of the churches. They believe that the moral and religious beliefs for which they

stand make for the brotherhood of the peoples and therefore promote a high national ideal. In the annual gatherings representatives from every section of the Dominion assemble together in council; the local necessities of remote parts are discussed before what is really a national gathering; policies are initiated touching the interests of the whole country. Further, the denominational publications are now assuming large proportions. They circulate far and wide. Matters affecting the denomination at large are discussed in the pages of the weekly and monthly papers, and the religious news of the Dominion is brought to the attention of a large number of readers.

It is also an interesting fact that the affiliations of most of the religious bodies are with the parent churches in Britain, rather than with the United States. Their publications give news of the Old Country. Some British newspapers also have a not inconsiderable number of readers in Canada. Between England and Canada there are interchanges of delegates at the annual meetings, and the educational institutions follow the models of the motherland.

In the English-speaking provinces of the Dominion the increasing approximation of educational ideals also is serving to unify the national sentiment. The West has for years been drawing to its schools many of the best teachers of the eastern provinces, whose influence cannot fail to make for a perpetuation of the standards on which the older eastern intellectual life has been developed. An additional influence of the same order has been the large number of graduates from Canadian and English colleges who have made their home in the West and are using their influence for the establishment of new universities, offering them excellent and sympathetic constituencies. It is to be hoped that strong colleges and universities will soon be found in all our provinces, maintaining high standards and ever reaching out towards higher attainment, and that these universities will be drawn together in the common effort to inspire the student community of the Dominion with a conception of the dignity of learning, the necessity

of utter sincerity in the pursuit of knowledge, and the duty of the educated man to bring his trained mind to bear upon the urgent problems of this new land. Multitudes are coming in from older countries, restive under traditional oppression, in the hope that here at last they are to discover freedom. They bring disintegrating ideas, and "ideas are the real agitators." Many fear the demagogue. He is likely to be superficial. The dangerous man is the thinker who in sullen discontent has brooded over the wrongs of his class, and persistently instills his powerful ideas into the minds of his neighbours. These ideas work with astonishing energy. At once we ask ourselves, is there to be a repetition here of the European conditions; or, are we able to counteract in any way through our universities and other agencies those conditions and ideas which are sources for much potential mischief?

Some contribution, I believe, may be made towards the understanding of the problem of assimilating the alien elements in our population by the universities and colleges investigating their local conditions and publishing their results, or communicating them to students of social science throughout the Dominion. Most of our problems of this order are manifestly very wide in their range and engage the attention of Europe as well as America; but there may be local varieties, and in any case a concentration of our Canadian students upon our own conditions will enable us to do original work of the highest value.

The national idea will be furthered also by the establishment of post-graduate departments in the larger universities. At present there is an annual exodus from almost every college of the Dominion chiefly to the United States. It is well known that these students are among our best, and that many of them settle permanently there, because at present so many more opportunities in the teaching profession are open to them there than in our country. But this will gradually change, and, moreover, post-graduate work is not confined to preparation for a purely academic career. If we can

divert some of this stream of college graduates to our own universities we shall save many of them for the Dominion, and at the same time bring together from widely separated provinces those who will be leaders in the life of the nation. Possibly there might also be instituted a series of scholarships to enable undergraduate students to spend a year at some other university than that in which they are registered and from which they intend to graduate, for the purpose of taking advantage of professors or laboratory equipment in their special line of study.

Strong as are the forces which are uniting the Dominion, and effective as they have already been, there is need of increasing to the utmost their number and their power. Our national life is so complicated that it will be increasingly difficult to understand, unless the intelligence and sympathy of the various classes of the community are directed towards the emerging problems of the state. They must be faced by patient and enlightened resoluteness if we are to avoid the danger of being stampeded by local, racial, or social prejudices.

R. A. FALCONER

THE DOMINION AND THE SPIRIT

Let us begin with the sufficiently general statement that we live in Canada, some of us since yesterday, some of us for six generations. To say that we are Canadians might involve us in controversy; and one would be simple-minded indeed, who should attempt to set forth within the compass of a small paper what the term Canadian does exactly signify.

Yet it is worth correcting the impression which was prevalent, at least up to a few years ago, that a Canadian is a kind of Yankee, or an Indian, or even necessarily a person living in America who speaks French. There is nothing very profound in this observation, but it is as well that the fact should be established.

The world has heard much and is likely to hear more of Canada and its affairs. These affairs are the growing of wheat, the catching of fish, the breeding of cattle, the mining of metals, the conversion of trees into timber, and all the by-products which accompany or flow from these operations. I am not insensible to the splendour of these achievements, though it is not the present intention to write of them. That may well be done by persons who are fully informed and vitally concerned about these operations. The present proposal is to speak of something different and yet not quite different—namely, the spirit which should actuate us in the doing of these things.

It is of some importance that we should make wheat to grow. The thing which is of more importance is that we should have a right reason for undertaking that labour, and a right spirit in the doing of it. The man who makes two blades of wheat to grow where only one grew before, for the mere

purpose of providing unnecessary food, is working with the spirit and motive of a servant—of a slave even. The slave works because he is compelled to; the artist because he loves to; the fool does unnecessary work because he is a fool. Each one of us is part slave, part artist, and part fool. The wise man is he who strives to be all three in due proportion, and succeeds in being not too much of any one. But the tragedy of our life lies in this: that the man who was designed for an artist is by compulsion so often a slave. It is merely pathetic to see the fool engaged in his useless task, and comic to see a millionaire continuing to work at his queer trade.

Work, then, in itself is neither good nor bad. A man who works to keep himself out of mischief is only a little less vicious than the idler. This "work for work's sake" is entirely modern; and our present civilization is the only one which has ever been established upon that principle. To the Greek mind it was incredible that a free man should labour, even for his own support. That was the business of the slave. The citizen had other occupation in considering how he could make the best of his life. His business was to think how he should govern himself, how he might attain to a fulness of life.

It is not the modern view, that a man should occupy himself with his life. With all our talk about freedom we have only succeeded in enslaving ourselves. We have created for ourselves a huge treadmill; and, if we do not keep pace, we fall beneath its wheels. Our inventions have only added to the perplexities of life. We have created artificial necessities and consume our lives in ministering to them.

We work only because we think we must. We have all seen the clerk in the office dawdling over his balances and his bills, watching the clock until the hour strikes when he is free—to do what? To escape to his little workshop or garden. The thing which keeps us in heart at our tasks during the long winter—if one may be permitted to affirm that the Canadian winter is long—is the hope that we may at some time escape to our little farms, our woods, and streams, forgetful that it is within our reach to spend the whole year in doing

the things which we love to do. There is but one free man in the world—he who creates out of the earth. If workers work for the love of the thing, then is constituted the class of artists—whether they work in the earth, in stone, in wood, with colours, with sounds, or with words.

There is yet another class; and of it I propose to speak at some length, because the voice of it is the dominant one in Canada and in all parts of the Empire to which we belong. This is the class which I call traders, in contradistinction to those who work for the love of creating, whether it be composed of tradesmen exchanging their time, merchants trading their wares, or professors trading their knowledge—for money.

What man engages in this commerce for love of the thing itself? Who flies to it as to a refuge from his care or his sorrow? Of all human activities, which are not exactly criminal, this alone has for its ethic the love of money, which is the root of all evil. Yet this is the ideal which is held up persistently before us, for our guidance in life and for the adjustment of our political relations.

If I were to demonstrate that following the guidance of this pernicious principle has led to the corruption of public life and to personal misery, to the political lobby and the social slum, that would be to relate the history of modern civilization. I shall endeavour instead to indicate its effect when it is adopted as the guiding principle of statesmen.

If any man is qualified to express this modern view, I think that man is Mr. Chamberlain. In a speech which he delivered, June 10th, 1896, he made the portentous statement, "Empire is Commerce." A reading of history does not convince one that this definition is correct, and numberless illustrations leap to the mind in refutation of such doctrine. The nations which have left their impress upon humanity had quite other views.

The Hebrews who inhabited the barren hill-sides of Palestine proclaimed that Empire lay in righteousness; and her prophets were never done crying aloud their warnings against the fate which overtook the commercial cities of

Nineveh and Tyre. The Greeks lived alone for beauty of conduct, for enrichment of character. The Romans upbuided their empire for the sake of law and order. Holland attained to greatness through struggle against the invader; and England through her undying resolution that she would be free.

In refutation of this fallacy, that Commerce is Empire, we may cite the case of Holland. When William III., after incredible labour, accomplished the great Protestant Union against Louis XIV., and annexed the Royal Crown of England, her influence was at its height. Then began her commerce. Riches flowed in upon her from every sea. Her greatness lasted scarce twenty years.

But the history of our own country serves amply for illustration. Those are traducers of England, who say that her Empire has covered the earth at the demands of commerce. Trade has not followed the flag, as the saying is. Between 1883 and 1897 the Empire increased in population 128 millions. The boundaries were enlarged to the extent of four million square miles by the inclusion of Egypt, the coast and hinter-land of Nigeria, Somaliland, East and Central Africa, and the Soudan. Yet during that period the exports fell from £6.17s. per head of population to £5.17s.; and the total exports fell from 305 millions to 294 million pounds. More recently, South Africa has been included; 500 million pounds would not pay the cost, and yet in all these regions the German bagman moves about as freely as if he had borne his share. That is sufficient refutation of the fallacy that Commerce and Empire are synonymous terms.

But we may find a better illustration of what commerce will do for a nation, because it is going on under our very eyes. Forty years ago it was to Germany we went in search of a love for the ideal, for a reverence of fact, for a high, and austere, and disinterested view of life. To inculcate the value of these things was Germany's work in the world, wrought out by her unworldly professors, her authors dazzling with the brilliancy of their ideas, her scientists consumed with the pure love of knowledge, and her philosophers whose thought

ranged over the whole of human life and aspired upward towards a knowledge of God. Shorn of her spiritual strength, Germany sits a blind giant, toiling in the mill for the benefit of any Philistine who requires meanness and cheapness. Prosperity in trade has wrought this change in character, and it has all come about in one generation. Forty years of commercial education has made of the Germans the tinkers of Europe, the bagmen of the world, the supple traders who do not disdain the language of the Hottentot, if only a bill of goods may be sold thereby. To-day, German science and learning have surrendered themselves to the vindication of brute force over moral ideals.

And this is the advice, the new remedy, which every quack has to offer to us and to England. The charge which they bring against us is that the education which we give to our children makes of them merely educated men, and not men of business. It is the "business man" who understands education. The boy must be illiterate empirical, disdainful of all knowledge which is not the result of personal experience. The New Education is the thing, and Germany is the place where it is made.

We in Canada have the opportunity of making a new experiment. We have not entirely abandoned ourselves to the dominion of work and the desire for money. There are those who tell us that this is our destiny—to work and grow rich. They are not disinterested. They desire, rather, that we should work that they may grow rich.

For thirty years we have resolutely turned away our faces from an agricultural and pastoral life, from the simple joys which go with these occupations. We have become infected with the desire to imitate peoples whose environment is different from ours. We have not been living our own life. "Crowding the cities in a blacker incessanter line," we shall soon be asking with Matthew Arnold, "Who can see the green earth any more? When shall we drink of the feeling of quiet again." The factory and the slum are twin sisters. If these continue to be our ideal of achievement, then, having

achieved nothing but slum and factory, no one will ask who or what we have been—

“More than he asks what waves
Of the midmost ocean have swell'd,
Foam'd for a moment, and gone.”

We in Canada have now attained to that condition against which woe is proclaimed. “Woe unto you when all men speak well of you,” contains a penetrating truth. The vastness of our country and the wealth of our resources is our song in a chorus of wonder. Yet we might well remember that the bulk of Asia was not proof against the spirit of Greece. There are things which we must do for the care of our soul; there are things which we must not do, if we would save our soul alive, if we are to have any meaning in history.

Here we are outstretched three thousand miles between two oceans, squeezed in between the frozen North and a nation from which we must differentiate ourselves, unless we are content merely to cast our lives into that welter of humanity. We are an aggregation of elements sufficiently diverse, separated from each other by mountains and wilderness, by language, and theological dogma. But the difficulties are not insurmountable if we address ourselves to them with honesty and sweetness of temper. It will take a long time—if we measure time by the life of a man—to compose our differences and grow together; a short time if we measure time by the life of a nation.

England has been at the task a thousand years, and we have heard that Ireland is not yet entirely satisfied. Therefore we need not be discouraged by what we have accomplished in thirty years. England is so far away and—one may add—so small, that we are disposed to think that her political action arises out of a unanimity of opinion. Looked at more nearly, controversy and dissension are as obvious as amongst ourselves. Struggle and compromise has always been her portion. By this method she has attained to political wisdom. Holding a middle course between extremes, she has gone

safely. That has been the history of England in her internal affairs, and it must be ours too.

There have always been two Englands, an East and a West, or rather a South-East and a North-West. The rivalry between them was at first military, then political, now commercial. For a thousand years the rich eastern meadows of the Thames and Trent attracted invaders—Romans, Danes, Saxons, Normans. For a like period the West, with its mountains, bogs, marshes, forests and sands, was a refuge for outlaws and for the conquered Gaels, Picts, and Welsh. Political power lay in the East defended by royalty, lords, commons, church, court, industry, and wealth. This was "Merrie England," green England, with its grassy plains, ancestral homes, cities, villages and farms, cathedrals, churches, and universities. Between the two lay a frontier fortified since the time of the Romans. It is yet marked with the names of their camps and with the Norman castles of Warwick, Kenilworth, and Dudley. This black England gave birth to the Puritan Spirit, to a reflecting, calculating mind, from which modern business England has grown.

In the West there has always been a chaos of revolutionary tendencies. Out of it arose the demand for reform of the House of Commons, to ensure adequate representation of all classes, to exercise due influence over parliamentary elections, and to alleviate national distress. The West imposed upon the East the Reform Bill of 1832, and it was only at that recent date that a considerable portion of England was freed from an oppression much worse than anything which we in Quebec have had to endure at the hands of Ontario.

There is much evidence that the process of organization will not be so slow in Canada as it was in England. The gulf between the rich and the poor is not impassable. To us birth is not a warrant entitling to position, nor is it a bar to a career. There is an absence of that sense of traditional wrong which various sections of older communities have inherited. We have no political grievances. Our public life is simple, and

it is automatically purifying itself. Our newspapers are not entirely conscienceless. There are many influences making for organic unity. Distance is losing its repelling force. We see more of each other. We meet together in the universities. Education is becoming organized. Even our school-books are beginning to be written from a Canadian, instead of from a narrow, provincial, or seditious standpoint. Except in the province of Quebec, our schools are free from the taint of sectarianism, either Catholic or Protestant. Theological dogmas are freeing themselves from the spirit of hatred, and the churches are learning that religion is peace—peace within the soul, peace and goodwill to all men.

No longer do we live in isolated communities. With larger opportunity our young men are not forsaking their own country to lose their identity amongst people with other aims. Rather, they are coming back and bringing men of our own breed with them. These newcomers find our institutions more comfortable than their own, because our political system has been created out of our life, not imported and imposed upon us from without. That is why the West will be saved to Canada, why Canada will always be saved to the Empire, and the Empire to us.

It is only when a nation is dead that discussion ends. They are yet discussing things in England, and in pretty plain terms too. After a thousand years of controversy they have evils which are yet unremedied. In this country, too, there is discussion, and there are persons who profess to be dissatisfied about the relations which exist between this country and the other parts of the Empire.

Insofar as I have been able to inform myself, their grievances are that a man in Canada, who loses a lawsuit has the right of appeal to a body of the most eminent jurists in the world; that a treaty may be made settling the frontiers of India for example, without seeking our advice; that England may engage in a war of which she is ready to bear the cost on her own initiative.

I am not sure that any advice which we might offer would be very useful, yet I suspect that there are persons in Canada

who could tell us, if they were free to speak, that such advice is sought habitually. True, we writers and talkers may not be consulted, but let us remember that our premiers, and our cabinets, and the representatives of our King, may have better information than we possess. We are comparatively new to this business of Empire-management. It is a little different from farming, or trading, or sawing timber; and these are the occupations with which we are more familiar, in which we excel. I can quite readily surmise that in the making of a treaty with Russia, or an alliance with Japan, or an *entente* with France, problems might arise which would be new to us. I question if even Mr. Lemieux has more definite information upon the boundaries of Thibet than Mr. Oswald had upon the bearing of a line "due west from the Lake of the Woods," or more specific knowledge of the hinter-land of Nigeria than Lord Ashburton possessed about the water-shed between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy. Treaties are made, alliances are negotiated, and war is declared without the knowledge of the British House of Commons. We are so accustomed to conducting our public business from the house-tops, and so little comes of our business, that we have not learned the necessity of caution, reticence, delicacy.

There are also persons in Canada who, under the guise of historical research, are resolute to put England in the wrong. They pitch upon isolated incidents and assemble them to produce an effect. Because England made a certain peace with thirteen revolted colonies they cry out that Canada was betrayed, forgetting that Canada at the time had no existence. As well might they blame England for losing the battle of Hastings, a thousand years ago. It was our fathers who did it, and we all—we in Canada and we in England—are equally sharers in the results. It ill becomes a Canadian to complain, whose family lived in England when these things were done. All, save the French-Canadians and those who are called Loyalists, are debarred from entering a protest, and it is not from them the complaint comes.

Nor should we allow seditious demagogues to import into this country their traditional wrongs. We in Scotland suffered

the last things at the hand of England in 1745. The heads of our houses were slain. Our chosen King was hunted into exile. Our national life was broken up and many of our bravest were transported into virtual slavery. We have forgotten all these incidents of the national growth, just as England has forgotten the event at Bannockburn; or, if we remember them, it is but to yield to each other an increased respect. We know that a majority of the people in Ireland are not entirely satisfied with the relation which exists between them and England. We have imported that grievance into Canada. It is a local affair. Let it be settled upon the other side of the Atlantic. We have heard that the people of British Columbia, on the one hand and the people of Prince Edward Island, on the other, have some grievance against the Dominion as a whole. We shall adjust the matter between ourselves. We shall not trouble the people of England to take upon themselves the burden of this difficulty. In justice to Canada and in decency to England let us allow to Ireland and her neighbours the same privilege. Any person who lands upon these shores with the avowed purpose of asking us to interfere as between New Zealand and Australia, as between the Transvaal and Cape Colony, as between Ireland and England, should be treated as one who stirs up strife.

But the man to be most suspicious of is he who has a political formula, a doctrine, a device. There are plenty of these persons in Canada. They tell us with all the assurance of a soothsayer what the destiny of this country is to be. For forty years they deafened us with their cry of annexation. But happily our ears were deaf and their crying has ceased. Now, they are upon a new scent, but I do not think that many are following them or much concerned about where it leads.

The life of a nation is too vast, too complex, too much a thing of the future to be governed by a document drawn up in advance of events. We all know what happened to the Constitution of the United States or even to the terms which were drawn up by the Fathers of our own Confederation. It

was far from the mind of Alexander Hamilton that the United States should, within a century and a half, be ruled by an elected king, who has more power for good and also for evil than any sovereign of Europe. It was far from the mind of the Fathers of Confederation that the Dominion which they created should so entirely dominate the Provinces of which it was composed.

The true principle of governing is to govern according to the genius of the race. Even if we in Canada would, we cannot depart from that principle. We can do no otherwise than as we are doing. The genius of the race to which we belong is to do nothing in advance of necessity. The people of the United States adopted a different principle. They imposed upon themselves a set of doctrines from which they have been striving ever since to free themselves. For good or bad the British Empire exists because it has been established day by day upon the experience of uncounted yesterdays; and so has been created a Constitution not on paper but sacrosanct in our hearts.

Even before the English landed in England that was their practice, to deal with events as they arose. They never strove for a theory of government, they were content if they governed well. Their philosophers might discuss the basis of kingship for the enlightenment of other peoples. They were content if their King governed well. If he did not govern well they cut off his head, or sent to Holland or Hanover for another. "Who ha'e ye got for King now?"—in that enquiry lies the whole practice of English government.

From time to time portions of the race migrated out of the Island. They proceeded at once to do what they did at home—to govern themselves. That is what they did in the United States. The rebellion of the thirteen colonies was the most natural thing in the world. It came about because Lord North was wrong. It was entirely in the spirit of Englishmen; for Englishmen always rebel against injustice, and they decide for themselves when they have endured enough, when the moment has come, as John Winthrop, the first

Governor of Massachusetts, said when he and his fellow-Puritans chose to go out into the wilderness in search of the privilege of governing themselves as seemed best to them.

It is fixed in the English mind that any given community has a natural right to govern itself as it sees fit; that no community of white men can long be governed by any other, that self-government is best. That is why Canada has been handed over to the Canadians, Australia to the Australians, South Africa to the South Africans. That has been the principle which has always guided England in her relations with her offspring, not to interfere in the internal affairs of another community, and Lord Salisbury was the greatest exponent of this principle.

But there has always been this reservation. A community, native or foreign, must not deny to an Englishman the fundamental rights which he enjoys at home. The Turks may murder their Bulgarian fellow subjects. The Abyssinians may harry their hinter-land. The Egyptians may wallow in corruption. The Boers may purchase armaments. But they must not destroy an Englishman without due process of law. The Magna Charta is the charter of an Englishman's liberties, and it runs wherever an Englishman may be found.

This conduct on the part of England involves the assumption, an entirely justifiable one as I think, that her children are sons and not prodigals; that they will not be eager to spend their substance living riotously in a far country, or content to fatten swine in their fields. When our fathers went out into the wilderness they made a covenant for themselves and their posterity. Under this covenant they relieved themselves from one set of obligations and incurred another. They were released from the burden of Empire as a whole. They assumed the burden of a part, and at times the part is greater than the whole. We in Canada have "made good," as the saying is. We have proved ourselves worthy to be called sons. We think that the time has come for a "show-down," as they used to say in the West, for the making of a new covenant in which we shall be enabled

to renew our vows, by which we shall again be adopted into the number, privileged again to share and bear the burden of Empire as a whole, and be made partakers in the heritage, and of all the responsibilities and benefits, spiritual as much as material, which accompany or flow from such adoption.

If we in Canada were to become afflicted with a madness, and take it into our heads to establish an anarchy or other outland form of government, I do not think that England would do anything more than recall to our minds the fable of the silly beasts who would have a log or a stork for king, or that other, of the frog who would be an ox.

We are governed in our conduct by conventions. There is a convention of the home, of the club, of the dinner, of the church. These conventions are based upon "the law of kindness," as the Proverbialist defines it, upon affection. They make for good manners and amenity of life. There should also be a convention of kindness in our larger relations, under which we would refrain from irritating one another. Under the influence of this spirit of kindness we shall abstain from giving offence to Catholic or Protestant, to English or French, to rich or to poor.

The leader of those who call themselves Liberals and the leader of those who call themselves Conservatives possess this spirit; and when they succeed in instilling it into their followers, it will pervade public life to the ends of the Dominion. Then we shall see the finish of that hateful spirit, under the influence of which a minister of the Crown permits himself to bring a railing accusation against his opponents, and a member of Parliament to liken a minister to a "whipped spaniel." These things are hateful and do not occur in private life. They are hateful in public life as well. Actuated by the spirit of this law of kindness, we should make of Canada a refuge for all within the Empire who are in distress, for the unemployed, for the discouraged. England has done much for us, nourished us, defended us, and defends us yet. Let us do this in return, not in a spirit of bargaining, but with the desire to bear more than our part of the burden of

Empire. With an organization easily contrived we could to our mutual benefit relieve that part of England which lies beyond the sea of one in ten of its surplus people. We could give to the willing ones a little farm, a little house, instruction in self support. To those who will not work we could teach the lesson, that they shall not eat, and that would be the greatest kindness of all. So shall we purify and enrich the race. There is a regulation that a man shall be kept out of Canada if he has not a certain amount of money. Let us, on the contrary, make his poverty a reason for taking him in.

We have wrought hard these two centuries past. Now we have some leisure for enjoyment. Rural life is a cheerless thing so long as it is lived in the shadow of poverty. But, happily, that shadow has passed away; and, lest it may be thought that I have entirely forgotten my subject, I shall say that this additional grain of wheat of which I was speaking is only of value if we get enjoyment out of it. Our life in Canada will always be rural. Wherefore let us aspire after rural joys. Let those who have the love of money engage in Commerce if they choose, and create an Empire out of it if they can. Let the millionaire continue to work at his queer trade. They cannot hurt us if we keep our spirit right. Their glamour will not allure us. They will lose interest in it themselves, when they see that we are disinterested.

Chief amongst these rural joys to which we should aspire is the visitation of our friends, as they do in the country. "I was born back East in Brandon," said a homely farmer on the western plains; for Brandon, is no longer West. We have cleared our farms. We have lifted the mortgage from them. We have built schools and churches, and made good roads. This is mere machinery. It is not life. National life is merely the sum of family life. Wherefore, it is important to cherish our family life, to preserve intact, to strengthen those ties of affection which bind us together.

Canada is the elder brother of all who have emerged from the loins of England. Too long we have been indifferent to the welfare of each other. We have allowed our hearts to be

hardened, and that is the worst evil which can fall upon a man or a nation. Therefore, we should go amongst our people and enquire if it be well with them.

We can tell them much from our experience, and we can learn of them. Especially should we be solicitous for South Africa, the youngest born, and even for those alien breeds which we have incorporated into the family. For the enrichment of our own spirit we should go occasionally to our old homes, wherever they may be, and also for the comfort of those of the family who yet inhabit them. The gain will be more to us by the visitation of our friends; for we in America are living in the eighteenth century, an anachronism in the civilized world, insofar as ideas are concerned.

The development of this family affection is, I venture to think, the true solution of the many problems which face the Empire. This tie will bind us forever: "for many waters"—the waters of the Seven Seas—"cannot quench love; neither can the floods drown it." So shall we hand down to our children, not impaired but enriched, this heritage which has been entrusted unto us; and so shall we fulfil our duty to ourselves and to our posterity.

ANDREW MACPHAIL.

A LESSON IN IMMIGRATION

General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, London, 1842.

The same for 1843, London, 1843.

MS. Correspondence of Sir Charles Bagot with Lord Stanley, 1842-43, Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

THE Annual Report of the Chief Agent of Emigration for 1842, referred to in the above Reports, and by Sir Charles Bagot in his despatch of January 26th, 1843, No. 16, transmitting it to Lord Stanley, is, unfortunately, not available for reference in Canada, as the Dominion Archives contain no copy of it. The General Reports of the Land and Emigration Commissioners for 1842 and 1843, however, make frequent allusion to it, and Sir Charles Bagot, in the despatch in question, furnishes various important details, relative chiefly, as he says, to the financial branch of the subject.

The total emigration to Canada from the United Kingdom amounted, in this year, according to the figures on page 26 of the Report for 1843, to 44,374, to which are to be added some 6,000 immigrants from the United States, making 50,000 in all.

"Of these, however," the Report continues, "not more than a seventh appear to have settled in Canada East, the remainder in Canada West." We learn, further, that, "of this vast number of persons there is reason to believe that 2,529 only were assisted to emigrate, while the rest proceeded on their own means. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the number who arrived in a state of destitution was very large. In the official reports the importance of the emigrants having some means at their disposal on arrival is strongly dwelt upon; £12,388 was spent in the Province in various ways for the benefit of the immigrants during the past year; of which sum £7,700 was derived from the emigrant tax". [5s. a head].

These figures refer, of course, only to the United Province of Canada, those for New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, derived from the same Report, amounted, in 1843, to 12,258.

Turning now to Sir Charles Bagot's despatch of January 26th, 1843, we find that the total cost to the Home Government for the 44,374 emigrants to Canada (Ontario and Quebec) was £6,500, in two grants of £5,000 and £1,500—the latter being for agency; or, as Sir Charles Bagot says, at a rate of less than 3s. a head. There was also a grant from the Canadian Legislature of a further £1,500; the expense for 1842, including agency, but not including quarantine, being given by the Chief Agent of Emigration as about £13,000. [£12,388, as above; Report, 1843, page 27.]

There were, it appears, two main agencies; one at Quebec, the port of landing, where there was also a quarantine and a chief medical officer, and one for the region then known as Western Canada. A sum of £1 was required of each emigrant as landing money, towards defraying the cost of his journey to his destination. This amount was, according to Sir Charles Bagot, "barely adequate, in ordinary cases, to carry the parties as far as Kingston." He adds that, "consequently, they are obliged, unless they have other means, to depend upon relief even to enable them to reach the places where they may hope to find employment."

The problem, therefore, of a large, and, to a great extent, destitute immigration, large, that is, in the circumstances of existing conditions, and in comparison with the then resident population, was one which the United Province of Upper and Lower Canada was called on to deal with in 1842. It is obvious, however, that official control of emigration, both in the United Kingdom and in the Province, could be the more effectually exercised in that each Government contributed, directly, towards the cost.

How seriously this problem engaged the attention of the British Land and Emigration Commissioners and of Sir Charles Bagot, may be gathered from their reports, and is

shewn in a later despatch, that, namely, of February 22nd, 1843. The Canada Company, as owners of large tracts of land in the Province, had, it appears, proposed that, "Her Majesty's Government should employ an active agent at New York, for the purpose of inducing British subjects arriving at that port from the United Kingdom, or returning thither from the United States, to settle in British North America."

Sir Charles Bagot, after referring to "the main objection to this proposal," and to "the extent to which facilities may properly be given to British subjects at New York by affording them the best accessible information as to the opening for advantageous settlement in Canada;" goes on to say that as similar opinions, "in favour of stimulating, by artificial means, an emigration of destitute labourers to these provinces have been expressed in various quarters, and have even led to active measures for that purpose, I have deemed it right, after a full consideration of the subject with my Council, to lay before Your Lordship my opinion upon this subject, with the view of shewing the extent to which it appears that the immigration of a labouring population into Canada may be prudently encouraged, and of endeavouring to avert the inconvenience and suffering which must arise from an excessive supply of destitute labourers."

It is, of course, hardly necessary to say that it is this very labouring class, including the agricultural, which, according to the returns issued by the emigration authorities, forms, at the present day, the majority of the immigrants arriving in Canada. Sir Charles Bagot's despatch is, therefore, as apt and timely on this point, in 1908, as it was in 1843, so that no apology need be offered for the numerous and lengthy quotations from it which follow. Indeed, its publication, *in extenso*, with certain brief explanatory notes, would, unquestionably, be of great value in this connexion, seeing how little, if any, change the problem has undergone in the course of sixty-five years.

“One of the chief arguments,” the despatch proceeds, “in favour of using active means to induce labourers to emigrate to Canada, is founded upon the prospect of employment upon the Public Works,” such as the Beauharnois Canal, and others of a similar nature. One of the immediate and crying needs of Canada, with the Transcontinental Railway and the Georgian Bay Canal waiting, as one may say, to be built, is for just such labourers, and in very large numbers, a need which the much discussed Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu immigration on the Pacific coast is supposed to meet. Is such a supply of labour to be obtained by “artificial means,” as Sir Charles Bagot calls them, by direct inducements, and, if so, what are the consequences of such “active measures” likely to be, once the public works in question shall have been completed, as, within no very long time, they must inevitably be? “The class of immigrants,” Sir Charles Bagot writes, “who are represented to have returned to Great Britain because they could not find employment, are precisely those who, not having the means or inclination to settle upon land, would look to Public Works as the principal source of employment and support, if they were to come to Canada.” He adds the further statement, which still, apparently, holds good, namely, that “a large portion—probably the largest—of emigrants from the Mother Country to the United States has, for some years past, consisted of this class, of persons unwilling or unable to engage in any permanent occupation, and wandering from place to place as labour has happened to be in request.”

That Canada has received no small share of this class of immigration the records of the various labour and relief agencies in all the larger cities go to shew only too plainly, and is evidenced by the annual rush to the harvest fields of the West, and to the lumber camps. It is a question to be considered whether, for the sake of the rapid completion of the Transcontinental Railway and the Georgian Bay Canal—with all the advantages to be derived from them—it would be well to increase this class indefinitely. The very

rapidity with which the works in question will, necessarily, be completed, since they are indispensable to the prosperity of the country, must, moreover, bring Canada by so much the more speedily face to face with the problem of the subsequent condition of those who are, practically, unfit for any other kind of labour, a problem which, at the date of Sir Charles Bagot's despatch, was a sufficiently grave one, and has since become complicated by the further problem of a Trades Unionism governed and controlled by foreign, and by no means friendly labour "bosses."

"Those who were accustomed to be employed upon such public works," he writes, "and who were a constantly accumulating number, have poured into Canada in greater numbers than could be received on the Works." The needs of the Transcontinental Railway, and of the Georgian Bay Canal, in this respect, are, it might seem, practically limitless; yet, precisely for this reason, the lessons and experience of 1842 should be borne in mind. The greater and more urgent the need of labour, the greater, necessarily, will be the rush of labourers to meet it, and, consequently, the greater will be the risk of an excess of supply over demand. How such an excess resulted in 1842, we learn from Sir Charles Bagot. "They have contended fiercely amongst themselves for employment," he continues, "been subject to great distress, and have materially disturbed the peace of the sections of country in the neighbourhood of the Public Works, having, in several instances, rendered the presence of a Military Force necessary to prevent disorder and outrage."

Nor were these disadvantages, in Sir Charles Bagot's opinion, offset by any material gain to the labourers themselves, or to the country, from works executed under such conditions. "Little good," he says plainly, "has arisen from giving employment upon the Public Works, to the labourers or to the Country...beyond the construction of the Works, and the supply of the immediate necessities of the labourers." He states, as a reason for this apparently unsatisfactory result, a fact which, in the urgency of public

undertakings, is very apt to be lost sight of, the class characteristics, namely, as they may be called, of this floating labour population. "The persons employed," he proceeds, "being generally committed to an unsettled and wandering life...and not having improved their circumstances by saving, have remained as labourers, dependent for subsistence upon one source of employment, and liable to utter destitution upon its failure." And since, at the present time, there is a pressing and immediate need of just such labourers, not in hundreds merely, but in thousands, it becomes a question, *pace* the Asiatic Exclusion leaguers, *et al.*, whether it would not be a safer and more advantageous policy to import Hindus, Japanese and Chinese, for a limited and definite period, and for such work only, rather than to increase so largely—as must, ultimately, be the case—the unemployed, or casually employed populations of our great cities.

It is in marked contrast to this discouraging report that the despatch in question goes on to deal with those who may be called, more strictly, British immigrants, as distinguished from those who are described as "indifferent as to whether they remained in the United States or in Canada. On the other hand," Sir Charles Bagot continues, "the labouring emigration coming directly from the British Isles have generally been employed in agriculture, or have settled in towns; or, when they originally possessed means, or have afterwards acquired them, they have settled upon land." If, moreover, it was found, sixty years ago, that the resource of agricultural labour "has, hitherto, happily increased with the requirements upon it, so that, notwithstanding the great increase in Immigration (from 28,086 in 1841 to 44,374 in 1842, according to the Report quoted, to which must be added 6,000 from the United States, or 50,000 in all), employment has generally been found on diffusing the Immigration through the Country;" it is obvious that with vastly increased resources and facilities, it is to agricultural immigration, chiefly, that the Dominion should look for its future population, and consequent prosperity, rather than to an influx of

labourers "dependent on one source of employment, and liable to utter destitution upon its failure," or even its completion.

As to the best method of attracting such immigration, and the duty of the Government, Sir Charles Bagot expresses opinions not less deserving of careful attention at the present day than when first expressed. "The conclusion, therefore, from past experience, is," he writes, "that a voluntary and unsolicited increase of even a labouring immigration may safely be permitted. But the Government cannot begin a course of solicitation, or take other means of artificially inducing immigration, without pledging itself to provide for the increasing population, or without furnishing artificial means for that purpose." Government activity—mediate or immediate—therefore, in the matter of immigration, involves, in Sir Charles Bagot's opinion, a tacit pledge to provide the immigrant with the means of subsistence; a heavy responsibility, in all conscience. It is a responsibility, indeed, to be weighed against any real or seeming advantages to be derived from a rapid increase of immigrant population, such as that, for instance, of the last ten years. And, further, it is a question as to whether free grants of land, or even long-continued employment upon public works, may be taken as a fulfilment of the responsibility so assumed.

In contradistinction, moreover, to Government solicitation, Government activity, or even Government—or other—assistance, Sir Charles points out clearly, in his despatch, the class of immigrants which it is Canada's interest to prefer, and which has most to gain in and for Canada, as well as for themselves. "Canada," he writes, "offers certain advantages to Immigrants who bring with them sufficient money to enable them to become settlers upon land, and the numbers of this class may be increased with advantage to any possible extent. It may be said, also, that the sum required would, in each instance, be small." Free grants of land did not, it appears, meet with his approval, for various reasons, some of which are given in a later despatch (No. 30, dated Feb.

23rd, 1843), to be hereafter referred to. Such grants, it may be said here, he considered as involving the obligation of furnishing the settlers "with provisions and other necessaries" until crops can be raised; settlers, that is, who shall have come into the country in response to Government solicitation. Nor, again, is he in favour of assistance from public funds, since the settlement of 100,000 immigrants, under such conditions, "would, probably, not be effected for a Million of pounds sterling, a sum which," as he justly remarks, "would be more than sufficient, if owned by the settlers themselves, and laid out with the economy attending private expenditure." Nor, he adds, would this sum "be an extraordinary amount to be supposed to be in the possession of such a number of Immigrants, none of whom were actually destitute."

Not only, however, do these conditions as to private enterprise, and private capital, even to the small sum of £10 per immigrant, hold as good to-day as when the despatch was written, but his conclusion is of equal, or even greater force. "If the immigrants," he writes, "can bring such an amount with them, the country can receive them, and they can become prosperous without difficulty."

Sir Charles Bagot touches, incidentally, at this point, on the intrinsic and permanent difference between emigration to Canada and emigration to Australia. In the latter case, an accession of population can, as he says, "only be gained by direct emigration from the Mother Country," and all the conditions tend to favour emigration at public expense. "But in this Province," he continues, "the only certain, and by far the cheapest method of procuring labourers, is by competing with the United States in the rate of wages. If labour were in demand in that country, it would be scarce and dear in the Province; and now that the United States labour is not in demand, there are plenty of labourers in Canada, and there is no possibility of preventing the ingress or exit of persons having no ties of property in either country." That this question of wages has been one cause, among many,

probably the chief cause, of the yearly exodus of enterprising young Canadians to the United States, cannot be doubted. The remedy must be sought, to a large extent, if not wholly, in successful competition with the United States, not in this respect merely, but in all that rightly and legitimately causes the settler to prefer one country to another.

Inducements, as such, find, indeed, no more favour with Sir Charles Bagot than do Government solicitation and assistance. "Those who possess means of settlement within themselves," he writes, "require no care on the part of the Government, or of private associations. Inducements to prefer one country to another, held out under such circumstances, are invariably set down as arising from interested motives," especially, it may be said, when the offerer is known to have a pecuniary profit in the matter. "They expose the persons offering them," he proceeds, "to reproach in all cases of disappointment, whether of reasonable or absurd expectation, and to such reproach, and the claims accompanying it, the Provincial Government should on no account render itself liable."

But, if strongly opposed to fostering immigration by "artificial means," such as those referred to, Sir Charles Bagot is as strongly in favour of "quiet and natural" ones. "It appears," he says, "from the Report of the Emigration Agent, and from other sources, that the ease with which so large an immigration as that of last year (44,374) was provided for, arose very much from the fact that, in numerous instances, persons already settled in the country wrote to induce friends to come and join them. . . . This quiet and natural course of procuring immigration," a course, it may be said, which practically insures that each immigrant is of the class most desired. "is one from which the Province will gain very great and yearly increasing advantage." The contented and prosperous settler, indeed, is, obviously, the best and most efficient immigration agent, the only one, moreover, who can be employed—if such a word be applicable—with entire confidence as to results, since he has no

selfish interests to serve. Sir Charles Bagot, however, shews that this advantage depends on adherence to the only method whereby it may be obtained, and gives utterance to a warning no less needed now than in his day, if not, as many may be disposed to think, much more seriously needed. "Provided," he continues, "no distress shall happen to be created by other Emigration Movements, made for the purpose of getting rid of surplus and destitute population, either for the advantage of the Mother Country, or for the pecuniary profit of parties embarking their capital in the speculation, without care of what may afterwards become of the emigrant." If to the Mother Country we add Southern and Central Europe, to say nothing of Russia, and to the land speculator the immigration agency paid so much per head, it will not be difficult to decide whether the distress referred to is, or is not, likely to result.

The question of the land on which, it is to be hoped, the emigrant will settle, is, obviously, inseparable from that of emigration. Sir Charles Bagot, as has been shewn, was, for many reasons, averse to the system of free grants of land, preferring a class of emigrants able to pay their own expenses, including that of Crown land at one or even two dollars an acre. In his later despatch of February 23rd, No. 30, he turns his attention to this point. The despatch, indeed, relates more particularly to the free grants awarded to military and naval settlers, officers chiefly, and to certain new regulations contained in the Provincial Act, 4 and 5 Victoria, cap. 100, in regard to the same. It is with the principle, however, that we are mainly concerned, and with his views as to the granting of large areas of land, whether to individuals or companies, since present conditions are in no way different from those of sixty-five years ago, except as being on a vastly more extended scale. The land available for immediate, easy, and profitable settlement by individuals of the class most necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the country, is just as truly limited in amount to-day—to whatever degree its apparent limits may have been

widened—as it was then. The reasons, therefore, against indiscriminate grants or sales of land are of no less force, at the present time, than they were when Sir Charles Bagot originally defined them.

“The policy of putting an end to free grants of land,” he writes, “except in particular cases.....is obvious to any person acquainted with the land granting system, and has had an opportunity of observing its effects on Canada. By way of rewarding services, and of promoting settlement in the country, vast quantities of land have been conceded[which] have remained uninhabited and unimproved, and form a great obstacle to the settlement of the lands remaining.” Should it be said that this is no longer the case, and the recent action of the Ontario Government tends to support the contention, there can be no doubt that his warning against the misuse of the scrip given in lieu of lands “for speculative purchases” stills holds good. The marked approval, moreover, wherewith the action of the Ontario Government, just referred to, was received, would seem to shew that a very different course of action, in such cases, is looked upon as by no means an impossible or improbable contingency, and that present conditions might, not inconceivably, become similar to those which the despatch proceeds to describe. “This wasteful system, pursued for many years,” Sir Charles continues, “has deprived the Government of lands in or near the actual settlements. The sale of all the Crown Reserves to the Canada Company,” he adds, “and the lavish and useless grants above alluded to, have left the Government destitute of land unless in remote positions where [settlers] would not reside.” How far the system here referred to has since been carried; to what extent, if any, it may be held responsible for the exodus of the agricultural population of Quebec to the New England factories, or may account for the desire to include the very “remote positions” of Ungava within the limits of the French Province; and what likelihood there may be of its recrudescence in the North-West, the present writer does not presume to decide.

The following, however, certainly seems to apply to conditions at present existing in most of the older Provinces. "The Government," the despatch proceeds, "has been for some time past endeavouring to place the back country in a condition for settlement. Its distance from the inhabited parts is the great difficulty. This is to be overcome at considerable expense in making, or, rather, opening roads [and] building bridges. . . . All this would have been unnecessary but for the improvidence of the early Government in divesting the Crown of lands not wanted for actual settlement." If this spendthrift policy, no less injurious to the vaster resources of the Dominion than to the more limited ones of the Province of Canada, has not already, as in the case of Ontario, been generally succeeded by one of thrift and good management, it is time, surely, that the change were made. It is, at least, evident that Canadians of the present day have much which they might learn to advantage, in respect of immigration and land settlement, from these despatches of a governor who so ably controlled the destinies of the country at one of the most difficult periods of its history. The Dominion Archivist, therefore, in making these despatches—and, if possible, the various documents to which they refer—easily accessible and widely known, will be rendering Canada a service the value and importance of which it is not easy to estimate.

FRANCIS W. GREY

PARTY GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

SOME years ago Mr. Asquith, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, taking issue with critics who were moralizing over what they conceived to be the decadence of the English Party System of Government, declared it to be the most fruitful and efficient instrument of human progress that had been devised by the wit of man. The question is not dead. Mr. Goldwin Smith from time to time returns to it. To him the system is anathema, whether as it is carried on in the Old Country, supported by traditions that are hourly losing their influence, or in the commercialized and sinister political atmosphere of younger nations. A great Russian has described Parliamentary institutions as "one of the greatest illustrations of human error," and as "the supreme political lie that dominates our age." As a form of government, he would argue, it is more selfish than an autocracy and infinitely more corrupt. The machinery and outward forms by which it is carried on in theory are contrived to give effect to the popular will and to make the whole body of the people the source and depositaries of power and the supreme organ of government. In experience, the Party is proved to be a narrow, self-centered and despotic group, vicious and intolerant, demoralizing and unscrupulous in its methods, heedless and defiant of criticism when securely entrenched in power, conscious of no will and studious of no interest but its own, the law of its life its own preservation.

The Party System of Government in the form with which we are familiar grew out of the English constitutional struggle. Popular discontent ranged itself on one side; the forces of conservatism found union in the other. There were privilege and monopoly to be maintained; there were privilege and monopoly to be overthrown. There was oppression from above; there was growing intelligence and quickening sense

of wrong beneath. There were bounds to be set to the prerogatives of the throne; there were doctrines and practices of feudal times to destroy; there were hundreds of thousands of men outside the pale of the constitution to be enfranchised; there was enduring effort to be made until the freedom of Englishmen was complete.

In 1885, said the late Lord Salisbury, this ceaseless struggle came to an end with the passage of the franchise law of that year. Thereafter there could be, he declared, no great cause of reform to fight for, and no innovation to be made in Parliamentary institutions. Whatever differences thereafter would remain between the Liberal and Conservative parties of Great Britain, they could thenceforth be no longer divided by the great historical causes which had separated them in their century-old duel. Mr. Asquith says, No. To him Liberalism and Conservatism represent inherent and abiding tendencies in the English race that are just as paramount and imperious in their claims to-day as at any time in English history. While political and civil liberty may have been won, social liberty is still to be achieved. Men have not equal opportunity; there is land hunger where there should be land plenty; there are ills without number to be corrected before the regeneration of England shall be accomplished. To take up this work he believes is the mission of the Liberal Party; to oppose it he believes is the destiny of Conservatism. The one party now as ever stands for the creed of progress; the other marshalls inevitably and instinctively on its side the forces of resistance. There is that in the radical mind which aspires for justice; there is no less surely in the minds of others a rooted dislike to all change. Here, he believes, is the justification of the Party system in a day which no longer witnesses the tumult for franchise reform.

Here is where he finds meaning for the struggle that goes on at the polls, though the combatants may in the confusion of the battle that sways between them but dimly perceive the ends for which they strive, and be but little aware that out of it, is slowly emerging the perfect state. Mr. Goldwin Smith

with less of the statesman's breadth of vision can find in the struggle of parties no other significance than a struggle for office. Power being in the hands of the masses he can discern none of the division which Mr. Asquith claims fundamentally separates men. Conservatives are as friendly to social redress as are Liberals. If in England there is a class which would be opposed to predatory legislation, it is to be found represented in the Liberal Party as well as among the Tories. While the Liberals last session passed a measure putting labour unions in a favoured place, the Conservative party brought in the Workmen's Compensation Act. Neither party hereafter can exist for a day without the support of workingmen. It is merely rhetoric therefore to set up that one party is friendly to their interests and that the attitude of the other is one of incurable hostility. Principle no longer exists to divide the parties and the battle is one, disguise it as we like, for power and patronage. In England the patronage may take the form of titles and dignities and social preferment; in Canada it may be something more sinister.

In Canada there seems superficially to be less of justification for the party system than in England. The Old Country has a number of political anomalies still to free itself from. The House of Lords is a survival from mediæval times, that ill-accords with representative government. The Liberal party has asked that it shall abate some of its pretensions so as to secure the supremacy of the Lower House within the limits of a single Parliament. There are fierce spirits within the party who wish a greater measure of revolution; who think that nothing less than the ending of the Upper Chamber should be the party's battle cry. An old institution like the House of Lords cannot be attacked without rallying to its side all who cling to the old order. A struggle of this kind does divide men by their temperament as well as by their interests. The Conservative party cannot fail to represent the conservative elements of the nation just as the Liberal party will appeal to the democratic instincts of the people. The separation of church and state is a question that will not

forever be deferred. The division of the land into small holdings is even now being sought. Socialism is becoming aggressive, and though Liberal leaders as well as Conservatives join in denouncing it, one can see that a surge of unrest is pressing it upon men's minds. Whichever side champions the new political problems that are coming on, a line of cleavage of deep and passionate meaning will exist to separate it from its opponents.

The Party system will be seen to be based upon ideas, and the struggle for power to be of slender account. Any question of principle that hitherto may have divided political parties in Canada cannot at present be invoked to explain their existence. Canadians have inherited from the past no hoary abuses that one section of the people is interested in preserving, and that the remainder are bent on overthrowing. Whatever political ideas are current to-day seem to be held in common by both parties, and no agitation is necessary to secure for them popular approval. Canadian people, at present at least, cannot be divided into classes with conflicting political beliefs. The National Protective Policy of 1878 may be said to have been class legislation. It was not so presented to the public. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, a body which carries on a lobby for increased protection, advocates its views from the broad ground of national interest. A tariff reformer clamoring for lower duties, is careful to avoid a sectarian appeal. It is appreciated by both parties that the people of Canada have common political interests, and that with respect to well-nigh any present political question there is not much scope for variety of opinion in the public mind. The condition is considered not to be favourable to a wholesome application of the party system. For if men cannot be divided by conviction on the legislative programme of a party, their party sympathies, it is held, must rest on habit, or be inspired by self-interest.

The critics of the party system do not, of course, assert that under it there is poverty of political ideas or stagnation in legislative action. A survey of the statute books of Canada

shows that Parliament has enacted in the past several years measures of the highest usefulness and importance. These measures have been in principle of a non-contentious nature. There has been controversy over details. There has not been denial of their essential soundness in policy and of their general utility. When they had become crystalized in legislation, agitation upon them ceased, and while the Government responsible for their enactment claimed credit for them, the Opposition made little or no allusion to them for the purpose of detracting from their merit.

The Liberal Government has held office for eleven years. These have been years of profound change and enormous expansion for the country, bringing to the front questions of prime importance, and calling for a high order of statesmanship in a dozen different spheres of action. The years have been fruitful in legislation, much of it as weighty as any the country has known. It is considered that, if parties were divided on principle, much of this legislation would not have been passed without the most bitter opposition in the House, and the country would have been invited by the Conservative party to empower them to repeal or modify it. It is a circumstance that does not escape the attention of critics of the party system in Canada that the opposition at the end of eleven years' possession of power by its opponents is making no such appeal; that the differences between the two parties in matters of policy are not susceptible of definition. Legislation favouring particular interests may be possible in Canada, just as legislation for the overthrow of privilege is still needed in England. It is unlikely to be attempted by either party, for no interest stands out with such conspicuous influence as to make it worth the while of either party to court its favour at the expense of a loss of prestige in every other quarter.

Prohibition of the use of alcohol would probably create burning controversy and shrivel up every other consideration for the electorate. Neither party is willing to put its fate to the touch upon it. A religious question has before now plunged the country into the throes of a heated discussion,

and brought crushing defeat upon the party responsible for raising it. It was an experience that neither party will hereafter voluntarily embark upon. Eleven years of Liberal rule have revealed that the field of Canadian politics is almost entirely occupied by questions of national development and administration upon which there can be little division of opinion. In the domain of social legislation the room for controversy is thought to be of the narrowest proportions. It is not possible for it in present conditions in Canada to partake of the character of class legislation. Whatever legislation may to-day, or in the near future, be passed for the amelioration of Canadian social ills, can only be at the instance of general public opinion. Until there exists a body of Socialists detached from the mass of the people and strong enough to capture the programme of one of the parties there would seem to be little fear that social legislation of a class nature will be undertaken. In Great Britain, if the labour unions embrace Socialism, they will probably be able to bend the Liberal party to their ends. In such event many Liberal leaders, like Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane, though radical in their sympathies, would make common cause with the Conservative party against them. One cannot at present foresee the population of Canada dividing itself into classes in the same way. If Canadians are to have Socialism they will probably all take the leap together, just as they all seem to have agreement upon about every subject of legislation Parliament has dealt with.

In a young country, political ideas that have vitality have a spontaneous origin; they grow out of the necessities of an occasion and are in harmony with the prevailing sentiment of their time. In an old land they are generally the product of slowly-evolved conditions, and force their way to recognition through centuries of hardened custom and rooted prejudice. In the one case, if they are to succeed, there is general acceptance of them from the first; in the other, they can only survive under the shelter of a great party, and after profoundly dividing public opinion. While it would be the extreme of folly to assert that in Canada no question can be conceived

of as likely to arise that will serve to distinguish in principle the two political parties, it is difficult to believe there can be an abiding distinction between them such as Mr. Asquith thinks exists between the Liberal and Conservative parties of Great Britain.

The value of fixed convictions in the working of the party system cannot be minimised. If they are based upon permanent and controlling tendencies of national thought there is little danger that the contradictions, insincerities, and accommodations which academic critics of partyism from Pascal to Goldwin Smith taunt it with, will be numerous enough to bring the system into disrepute. Inconsistency in a public man amid such conditions is a reproach, because it seems to involve a repudiation of so much that he has professed, and not merely the recantation of a single and isolated item of belief. Our attitude to parties in Canada has been wholly influenced by our study of the working of the party system in Great Britain. Because it is based, or at least has been, upon what we have almost regarded as detached and disembodied conviction, so ideal have we deemed it to be, we have been engaged in setting up like standards in Canada. The task is an impossible and fanciful one. Parties in this country cannot be shut up in water-tight compartments, and there can be no rigidity in our outlook upon public questions. Parties in Canada exist to organise public opinion, to translate it into action, to serve the exigencies of each day, acting as much as possible with large views and keeping in mind national well-being. The final justification for us of the party system is that no alternative scheme of popular government is as good for securing the free play of criticism, the diffusion of a sense of responsibility, and for making public opinion effective.

It is not conceivable that representative government could be carried on without the party system. Municipal government in Canada and in Great Britain, though there are notable exceptions, such as the London County Council, is not an instance of it. A small community does not find it necessary to divide the membership of its civic government

in order to stimulate its reforming energies or to obtain needful criticism of its measures. In a large city, on the other hand, it is found impossible to focus public opinion on municipal questions or to secure intelligent interest and co-operation in its affairs without the zeal and propaganda of party organization. It is true that a municipal government does not exercise legislative functions. It does not follow that its problems are not debatable, or that the struggle of civic parties has its exclusive interest in the municipality's patronage. Nothing could be more controversial than the subject of municipal ownership of public utilities, or the questions which divide Progressives and Moderates in the London County Council elections. The opinion of a small community is generally all one way with respect to its civic affairs, or is so pronounced that the board of aldermen has little difficulty in interpreting it. The mind of a great city is not so compact and is not readily made known. Interests are diverse; the opinion of leading citizens is not allowed to dominate the general opinion, as in the case of small communities, and the matters dealt with do not have equal effect upon all classes. Parties arise based upon interest or conviction in matters of policy, and struggle for supremacy at the polls. No other conclusive way is open by which the mind of the community can declare itself. There can not be popular government if no vehicle exists by which dissent can make itself known. A set of conditions in national government cannot be imagined where there will be not a division of opinion. It is not to the point that political experience in Canada shows almost unbroken concord between the two parties in the sphere of legislation. Many subjects that have been dealt with admitted of conflicting views. Without an opposition the attitude of the public towards them could not have been made known. The governing body might fancy that in what it did it was obedient to public opinion, and be wrong. Its course in any event, whatever its motive, would be self-willed and therefore autocratic.

Popular government can not exist without accountability, and that can not be secured if punishment by dismissal from office cannot be inflicted. Bagehot, in his recommendation of the party system as applied in England, points out that not the least of its advantages is that it offers to the country an alternative Government. An alternative Government in Canada may not administer affairs in a way different from that of its predecessor. Its legislative programme may be identical with that of the party it succeeds. Years may even pass before it is called to power. It does not by these things forfeit its place in the constitution. It persuades and enables public opinion to express itself, to approve or disapprove of the administration; it keeps the government of the country in the hands of the people.

I am not unmindful of grave defects in the party system; defects which, I fear, are more in evidence in Canada than in England, and which at times seem to vitiate greatly the working of the system. Much of party struggle checks and tends to stifle public opinion. Bribery—whatever may be the extent to which it is practised and whatever may be the form which it takes—is a frustration of the public will. The party in power wields through its patronage bureau an incalculable subverting influence, while the party in opposition exerts an almost equal influence over those who hope to receive its favours. Yet, despite these drawbacks, parties do displace each other, and the popular judgement does somehow prevail. Nor is it clear that partizanship is an unmixed evil. A party can not exist as an abstraction, incarnate merely in its ideas, though *doctrinaires* seem to think that it should. It must have managers and workers, its life-long devotés, and its enthusiastic recruits, if it is to have continuity of organization and be an efficient instrument of government, whether in power or in opposition. By the zeal and effort of its supporters, insensible and indifferent though they may be to its faults, is discussion stimulated and public opinion kept alive and vigilant. Public opinion so moulded has a vitality sufficient for the working of a free state.

WALTER H. TRUEMAN

PETER OTTAWA

He was a mighty rover in his prime,
And still, though bearded white as Father Time,
Content and restless, strong and curious, he
Roams over Canada from sea to sea,

To gaze on all his native love possest—
That impulse urged, for years, his wandering quest;
To achieve some truthful vision of the whole
From Welland's orchards to the circumpole;
To know all tribes and races of the land,
Such was the joy his youthful ardor planned,
And still the yearning holds him, while he smiles
To think of how the Impossible beguiles.

* * * *

That pseudonym he took in youth, they deem
Perchance in pride to boast his native stream,
Or p'raps to signify, so some declare,
Himself too nativist to wish to wear
His patronymic of one Old-World race,
Since he four glorious ancestries can trace.

"I roam by right of Scottish blood," he'll say,
"My father's grandsire roved till his last day,—
Roderick the Red, who strode with kilted thighs,
The highland light of battle in his eyes,
Where many a stream of spirting life was spilt
Before, with Wolfe, a claymore's basket hilt
Gript in his iron fist, he climbed with frown
More dour than high Quebec could darkle down."

“ Roving is in my blood from Gerald Foy
 Who charged the English line at Fontenoy
 With wild-heart memories of the home he fled;
 Tradition tells that while he thrust and bled
 My visioning Irish ancestor could see
 His emerald hills, his boyhood’s ‘ fairy tree,’
 His native glen, with family roofs aglow,
 His stacks red-lit, his mother’s wailing woe,
 His children staring vengeful on the groups
 Of half-ashamed, half-stolid English troops,
 Whose ranks of oak ne’er learned a foe to rue
 Till Ireland’s banished bayonets charged them through.”

“ And yet, praise God, the English heart I share,
 The steadfast blood that held the steely square
 That broke the cuirassiers at Waterloo,
 Firm, for the Iron Duke, as at review;
 The blood that bided cool that dread advance—
 The veteran, Old, immortal Guard of France
 Who charged, yet knowing well they charged in vain—
 If vain be death—contemptuous Glory’s gain—
 Charged to end there th’ emblazoned valour scroll
 That Fame can never utterly uproll;—
 Or so my Grandsire, Pierre Deschamps, would say,
 Old Pierre, who charged at Hougomont with Ney”.

In filial love he boasts his Gallic part,
 His half-French mother gave him half his heart;
 But Pierre of Waterloo is less his pride
 Than Pierre’s Canadian grandsire, Jean, who died
 In seventeen-sixty, hard by Fort Levis,
 Where Pouchot’s braves renewed Thermopylae.

* * * *

French, English, Irish, Scotch he reconciles,
 Boasts them alike, and with his boasting smiles;—
 “ That’s me—that’s Canada—a fourfold flame
 Of mighty origins surrounds the name.—
 Lives there a man in all the land to-day
 Can wish one pioneering race away?

His heart's an immigrant.—I say no more;
 We chide no stranger entering at our door,
 But bid him welcome, bid him share the meal,—
 His children yet the native sense shall feel;
 And what care we if twenty races blend
 In blood that flows Canadian at the end?"

Our painted Autumn sets him roaming wide,
 As if his lifelong yearning could not bide
 To watch his own Laurentian mapled range
 From pomp to pomp magnificently change.
 But he must up and forth with every dawn,
 Through aisles of glamorous colour following on,
 Mid golden-showering leaves, a viewless trail,
 Through rustling corridors a voiceless hail,
 Over what vista-mirroring lakes a guide
 Whose beckonings misty distance scarce can hide,
 Beyond yet one more rapid's murmurous song
 The enchanting call of *follow, follow long*,
 Which ever sang, and ever sped before,
 And ever led his Fathers one day more,
 Until at last, beyond the enormous plain,
 And past the eternal snow-peaks' ranging chain,
 The imperious western surges ordered STAND,
 And turned them back to claim the traversed land.

And turned them back to ax, and scythe, and plow,
 Toil, thrift, long patience, and the thoughtful brow
 Inspired to rear on Earth what He commands—
 The House that is not builded up of Hands.

"Which is," says Peter, "ancient England's dream,
 Though oft she be distracted from the theme
 By Viking children, and by threatening voice;
 'Tis still the dream in which she doth rejoice,
 (Even as any whirling human soul
 Is glad when toiling toward the heaven-goal),
 She doth rejoice to rear for Man's behoof,

Her hospitable, many-mansioned roof,
 Wherein, the immemorial Laborer yet
 Freely shall eat the bread of his own sweat.
 Its when we muse on English greathearts' aim,
 And muse how true our laws pursue the same,
 Then, then we exult about our Mother's throne,
 And love her ideal Empire as our own."

Dreaming a better Britain rising here
 Mid winter forests lovely and austere,
 His creaking snowshoes track what vaulted miles
 Where towering pines uprange converging aisles,
 When neither shrub nor shadow checks the gaze,
 But one white undulation floors the maze
 Of colonnades so tall they seem to lean
 Inward before they branch the roof of green
 Whose rifts, at times asway, disclose the blue,
 At times let aimless snowflakes wander through
 To waver down, as if they hesitate
 Lest merest motion be to desecrate
 That subtle stillness, where the high-head grouse
 Treads three-toed, wondering, and the forest mouse
 Meandering timid, dots a tiny track
 Whose every swerve denotes a fear Attack
 Were hovering in the Mystery all around—
 So much more threatening Silence is than Sound.

* * * *

Give them but land and air, then not the best
 Of all the broods that flew the ancient nest.
 More pleased the Allfather by their works and ways
 Than His adventurers of the latter days.

In treble ribbons see the prairie run
 Black from their plowshares in the westering sun,
 Whose shine the yearning sod-hut settler sees
 Gild children's wealthy roofs through future trees,
 And, patient joyful, deems the vision fair,
 Which his own eyes may never witness there.

Behold rude hamlets, every one with School,
 With Church, with Council-hall for lawful rule,
 The wind-bronzed, hard-hand Fathers giving free
 Their little leisure, that the New Land be
 So set for Order in its early years
 That Time's long talk shall bless the pioneers.

Or, clearly vision some September plain
 Where one sole Reaper shrills in harvest grain
 Before the whirring grouse takes morning flight
 Till the long gloaming deepens into night
 That lets the Stalwart, freed from labour's dues,
 Plod backward, blessing God that sleep renews
 His power to lift the morrow's heavy gage,
 And day by day the lonely battle wage,
 Until at last, with all his wheat well saved,
 A haggard victor from the strife he braved,
 He eyes the stacks that prove his manhood sound
 For her who shall emparadise his ground,
 And sternly knows, within his secret heart,
 That never Warrior acted higher part.

* * * *

Easy in dogma, Peter holds all creeds
 Sufficient unto true religion's needs;—
 "Do unto others as you would they should
 To you," he says, "sets out the whole of good.

* * * *

For worship Peter's never in the lurch
 In any place, or any kind of church,
 Cathedral glorious built, or chapel rude,
 He finds in each his spiritual food;
 Ever he enters reverent, with one prayer;—
 "Oh! Father, grant thy wandering child to share
 The blessing sought by them who built this shrine—
 A sense of nearness to the Soul divine";—
 And from no congregation could he part
 Without a benediction in his heart.

* * * *

As Scots hold Scottish customs unco sound,
 As Erin is by Erin's sons renowned,
 As France's children celebrate her praise,
 As English folk are staunch for English ways,
 So Peter guides him by his native light;—
 "Whatever is Canadian, that is right!
 And if we change it of our own free will,
 Its right again, because Canadian still!
 By this great dogma, and by this alone
 Can native-born Canadians hold their own
 Against the meddling, not ill-meaning crew
 Of immigrant advisers What to do;
 By this alone the sound Canadian stands,
 Like all his forbears in their native lands."

Squared to this dogma he'll philosophize
 Smilingly contra to the imported Wise,
 Or Wiseacres, who rail at Separate Schools,
 Two tongues official, all the liberal rules
 Our Fathers made, by compromise benign,
 To ease the creeds, the races, and incline
 All native hearts one patriot sense to share
 That here mankind is freer than elsewhere.

"Homo-gen-e-ity," he drawls, "Absurd
 To make a fetich of the long-tailed word!
 Homo-gen-e-ity! And why should we
 Ignore the blessings of Diversity?"

"Give me to live where public matters wait
 The careful issue of the long debate,
 Where steady champions of divergent creeds
 And differing races urge their various needs,
 Where naught of serious consequence is done
 Unless approved as fraught with wrong to none,
 Where every honest man of every kind
 (Though momentary party passion blind)
 Shall know full well, within his secret heart,

The adopted course is common-sense's part,
Expedient in its time, and therefore sound
For all alike within the Nation's bound."

"In such a land, though many a year we go
So patient-cautious, neighbours call us slow,
We shun the abyss, we move by Reason's light,
We march as brothers, and we climb the height
Where yet our flag shall gently be unfurled
Symbolic of a federated World,
Whose problem do we daily solve while we
Climb upward, peaceful in Diversity."

So Peter Ottawa lives, full well content
To bide the lot he deems as Heaven-sent;
Keeping his glorious ancestries in mind,
To all traditions piously inclined;
He'll plod, and laugh, and hope, and boast, and roam
About the enormous tracts he calls his Home,
And thank the Lord that things are as they are,
And glad his soul with dreams of futures far,—
Whereby, perchance, full many a time he stands
Within The House not builded up of Hands.

E. W. THOMSON

ALFRED TENNYSON, ARTIST

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TO US who were born and bred on this, the hither side, of the Atlantic, the poetry of Tennyson is, and must needs be, exotic. As time goes on and the two great branches of the English-speaking race, the insular and the continental, grow further and further apart in their separate development of national and social ideals, the more strange and foreign will his work appear to all who are not British born. The conditions of time and place that made, or modified his verse are passing, if they have not actually passed away. It is quite improbable that they will ever be renewed. To his own England, Tennyson is already the voice of a by-gone age. To us of Canada, he sings of a world almost as remote and incredible as Fairyland. This region of romance is the England of the early nineteenth century, the first part of the Victorian era. His life, his surroundings, the institutions that went to form the man and his art are so different from our own, that part of his meaning and many of his subtleties escape us. Because he writes our mother tongue, we flatter ourselves that we understand him. In a measure, we may catch the air, but we miss the overtones.

For Tennyson is an ultra English type. He is an exponent of the national shyness and love of privacy. We live a public or communistic life, herding in flats, in hotels, in boarding-houses, conditions which make home in the old sense an impossibility. Throughout Tennyson's long life, his house was his castle. From birth to death, the poet was a recluse, as a child in a country rectory, as a student in an English college, as a country gentleman in haunts of ancient peace.

When Farringford became infested with tourists, he built himself the more inaccessible fastness of Aldworth. He attended an obsolete kind of college, in which the main interests of the students were literature, philosophy, politics and art, and not athletics. He grew up amid the rolling echoes of England's long, fierce, life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. His early manhood was passed in the era of those great political and social changes that made a new England. Throughout those changes, he remained a steadfast though moderate conservative. His religion and philosophy were profoundly affected by the new scientific conceptions associated chiefly with the name of Darwin. He was a life-long admirer of the great state church into which he had been born. With it, he accepted, while he criticized, the social fabric as he found it. He was always a member of a society aristocratic in the literal sense, a society distinguished by true refinement, intellectual culture, lofty ethical standards. The organization of the church, the system of education which he knew, cannot, without special study, be understood by Canadians. The very landscape he describes, the very fauna and flora of his verse are strange and foreign to us. Indeed the literature of the daisy, the primrose, the daffodil, the cowslip, the violet must always remain but half comprehended by all who have not known those flowers from childhood. For us these common English wild-flowers, almost weeds, are lovely exotics.

One example will do as well as a hundred. The appeal of such a verse as this falls absolutely dead on Canadian ears.

"The smell of violets, hidden in the green,
Pour'd back into my empty soul and frame
The times when I remember to have been
Joyful and free from blame."

In the first place we do not see the picture, "violets hidden in the green." Our native violets have colour, but no perfume. English violets fill English meadows. Here they are nursed tenderly in hot-houses. Few of us have been so

fortunate as to gather the shy blue blossoms in an English May from the grass they hide among, while the hot sun fills the whole air with their delicate, intoxicating odour. In the next place, our associations with these flowers, no matter how intimately we know them, must be different from those who have seen them come every spring since childhood. English violets suggest to us damp florists' shops, engagements, and pretty girls on Sunday parade. The very last thing they could suggest to us is the child's Eden, the time of our innocence. For Tennyson, as for many of his English readers, the chain of association between the two is indissoluble.

And the sense of the difference between Tennyson's world and our own grows stronger the more we study his work. We have no eyes for the English posies with which the English poets strew their pages. We cannot perceive the woodland and garden odours those pages exhale. We have no ears for the note of the cuckoo, the carol of the lark, the music of the nightingale that ring and thrill through a thousand English poems. To us the poetry of the village church, of the cathedral close, the hedgerow, the lane, the park, the cottage, the castle, the "great house," has one meaning, while for those whose lives have been spent with these things, it has another and quite different meaning. English readers bring to the interpretation of Tennyson a wealth of experience, association, affection we absolutely lack. We either miss that meaning altogether, or feel it vaguely, or translate it into terms of our own experience. Apart from their own value and significance, all these things are symbols of a life far separated from our own.

Of this local English life, Tennyson is the chief poet. There is a certain insularity in him. His sympathies are limited. Critics like Taine and Dowden remark the English narrowness of his outlook, and they are right. He cultivated his poetic garden behind stone walls. Perhaps his most characteristic lines are

"There is no land like England
Where'er the light of day be."

There his heart speaks. This is the first article of his practical working creed. Though he can find flaws in the social fabric, as in *Aylmer's Field* and *Locksley Hall*, he does not want it torn down, or a new-fangled one take its place. He could not live in any other. Browning, his brother Olympian, ranges Europe and European literatures for subjects. Tennyson is generally content to abide within the narrow seas and the marches of Scotland and Wales. He loves freedom, but it must be freedom of the English pattern. He is thoroughly English in his attitude towards foreigners, "the lesser breeds without the law." He is more English than even Wordsworth, who, though he began as a red Republican, ended as a Tory and a high Churchman. Still in his fervid youth, Wordsworth could dance around the table hand in hand with the Marseillaise delegates to the Convention for pure joy at the Revolution. In the "men of July," in the barricades of '48, Tennyson could see only "the red fool-fury of the Seine." In Scotland, Wordsworth is moved to song by the braes of Yarrow, the grave of Rob Roy and the very field where Burns plowed up the daisy. In Edinburgh, it is true, Tennyson writes of the daisy, but it is a withered flower in a book, which recalls not Burns or Scotland, but his own visit to Italy.

The friendliest critic must concede that Tennyson's sympathies are limited, that his outlook is rather narrow, that his thinking is somewhat restricted by English conventions, that his subjects are by preference English subjects and his landscapes are English landscapes. In a word, he is not a universal, but a local, poet, a singer of the land he was born into, of the one time he knew. This may be considered his weakness, but it is also his strength. This is a great excellence, to body forth the thoughts and aspirations, to interpret in song the life of a nation throughout one stage of its progress toward its unknown goal.

The charm of England for the American traveller is special and unique. Irving tried to express it in *The Sketch-book*, Hawthorne tried to express it in *Our Old Home*, Howells tried to express it in *English Films*. This charm is made up

of many parts, the soft, domestic landscape, the evidence on every hand of a rich, ordered, long established civilization, the historical and literary associations. What the well attuned observer feels from without, Tennyson, the son of the soil, feels from within. His poetry is steeped in it, and moves in a pure, fine atmosphere of beauty, of dignity, of elevated thought, of noble emotion. So thorough an Englishwoman as Thackeray's daughter wrote: "One must be English born, I think, to know how English is the spell which this great enchanter casts over us; the very spirit of the land descends upon us, as the visions he evokes come closing round." England cannot possibly be as beautiful as Tennysonland, for over that broods the consecration and the poet's dream. Still it is a fair land, rich in natural beauty, rich in memories of great deeds, rich in great men, a mother of nations. How far soever the various branches of our race may diverge, our common literature must remain a great bond, a force making for unity. So the poetry of Tennyson will long continue to the new nations the symbol of what was noblest in the life of the home island, a rallying-point for those souls that are touched to the finest issues. The wise Goethe declares that whoever wishes to understand a poet must journey to the poet's land. It is also true that the poetry arouses interest in the poet's land and leads us to think well of the people he represents. So may a study of verse lead to a mutual knowledge in nations, that more and more perfect understanding which makes for the harmony of the world and was Tennyson's own dream.

II.

Tennyson has been greatly praised as a moralist, a philosopher and a religious teacher. He is not without significance under every one of these aspects, but under none of them did he first come before the world. He was first, last, and always an artist, an artist born, an artist by training, an artist to the tips of his fingers and to the marrow of his bones. He belongs to that small band of illuminated spirits

to whom the universe reveals itself chiefly as wonder and beauty. They live in the *credo* of Fra Lippo Lippi,

"If yot get simple beauty and naught else
You get about the best thing God invents."

They can never rest until they have embodied their visions in outward form. Haunted by both the rapture of achievement and the heavy consciousness of failure, they strive to interpret this basal principle of the universe into colour, or bronze, or marble, or tone, or sweet-flowing words. From youth to age, Tennyson is an artist whose chosen medium is language, a seer who renders into words the visions of beauty vouchsafed to his eyes; he is a singer, a poet.

Like Milton he dedicated his whole long life to his art. He held no office, he adopted no bread-winning profession. He never deviated into prose. His programme of self-culture was never interrupted by any Latin secretaryship, still less by two decades of noisy pamphleteering. Like Milton, he set out with a lofty conception of the poet's vocation. He, too, would first make himself a true poem if he would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things. He was not content to be the idle singer of an empty day, like Morris, though perhaps he did aspire on the other hand to be, like Shelley, one of the unacknowledged legislators of the world. He is himself the best example of his own description.

"The poet in a golden clime was born,
With golden stars above;
Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
The love of love."

The poet is a seer; he is an influence; through him truth is multiplied on truth until the world shows like one great garden: freedom which is wisdom arises and shakes the world with the poet's scroll. Few youthful poets have had a more beautiful dream of the poet's place and power. The golden clime he is born into is lighted by the same golden stars that shone upon Spenser's realm of faerie. To every

aura of beauty he is tremblingly alive. The alluring mysteries, the puzzling revelations of the loveliness of women, the form and colour of the visible world, dreams and flowers and the morning of the times—of these he is the youthful interpreter. His earliest poems dwell apart

“In regions mild of calm and serene air
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
That men call Earth.”

It seems as if nothing ever could perturb that ample, tranced, pellucid ether. He is himself an unwitting prisoner in his own Palace of Art, until the bolt that struck down the friend at his side shattered also the airy dome of that stately fabric and left him desolate to all the bleak winds of the world. But from the very dawn of consciousness till its eclipse in death, he followed hard after the Gleam.

The record shows him to have been an artist in all parts of his life. He thought of his work as a painter thinks of his, considering subjects, studying them, selecting some, rejecting others, making large plans, meditating form, outline, disposition of masses, detail, ornament, finish. He harvested his thoughts, he even garnered in his dreams. He made his *plein air* sketches which he afterwards worked up carefully in the studio. He was not perfect at first; he made errors, but he persisted and he attained to mastery. He lived for and in his art and at last his art enabled him to live. He had the artist's patience; he was, in his own phrase, a man of long-enduring hopes. He could be silent for ten years, the ten precious years between twenty and thirty when the work of most poets is done and over. He could build slowly through seventeen years the lofty rhyme of his elegies in memory of his friend enskied and sainted; and he could follow out the plan of his *Idylls* for forty. His poetic career is the career of a star, unhasting but unresting. He offers for our acceptance no fragments, only completed things. At the same time, he had the artist's fury, composing *Enoch Arden* in a fortnight or *The Revenge* in a few

days, after keeping the first line on his desk for years. He had his frequent hours of inspiration when he waited mystically for things to "come" to him. *Crossing the Bar* "came" thus. Another mark of the true artist was his insatiable hunger and thirst after perfection. Deep down in his nature burned an unquenchable contempt for weaklings who set the "how much before the how." In his ears sullen Lethe sounded perpetually, rolling doom on man and on all the work of his hands. His inmost conviction was that nothing could endure, and yet in his humility, he held nothing fit for the inevitable sacrifice but his very best.

How did Tennyson become an artist? Taught by Taine, we are now no longer content merely to accept the fact of genius, we must account for it; at least we must try to solve the problem. We feel that it is laid upon us to explain this revelation of the spirit that is in man. All methods must be used to discover the x , the unknown quantity. The favourite form of the equation is:

$$\text{original endowment} + \text{race} + \text{environment} = x.$$

In a Byron, the problem is simplicity itself. His father is a handsome rake, his mother is a fool, a fury, an aristocratic sympathizer with the Revolution; his nurse is a Scottish Presbyterian; he is brought up amid Highland scenery. Hence it follows that George Gordon will be a libertine, a poet of libertinism and liberty, a singer of revolt and protest, a lover of mountains, a timid sceptic. In a Ruskin, the problem presents few difficulties. His father is "an entirely honest merchant" who is able to take his young son to see all the best pictures and all the best scenery in Europe. His mother educates him in the noble English of King James's Bible. His childish delight is in studying the pattern of the dining-room carpet. Inevitably John Ruskin will grow into a supreme art-critic, with a style of unrivalled pliancy and beauty. But with Tennyson the method of Taine breaks down. There seems to be nothing in his early life or training to make him a poet. True, his brothers and sisters were "a

little clan of poets," and he himself lisp'd in numbers. But he lived until manhood nearly in a tiny retired hamlet, a perfect Robinson Crusoe's Island for seclusion, in a flat, uninteresting part of England, without the mental stimulus of travel or contact with the world. Arthur Hallam, the brilliant Etonian, spending his holidays on the Continent, meeting the most distinguished men and women of the time, in his own father's house is plainly in process of becoming a man of letters, while his predestined friend, reading, dreaming, making verses in the quiet of Somersby rectory, enjoys none of these advantages. "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof but canst *not* tell whither it cometh."

Still the boy Tennyson composed unweariedly in verse. At eighteen, he published with his brother a volume of juvenilia, which are plainly imitative and derivative. It fell dead from the press. At twenty-one, he published a volume of poems, which dates the beginning of a new chapter in the long, majestic chronicle of English literature. What made the difference? What changed the literary mocking-bird into the new poet? My answer is, Cambridge. The most momentous act in Tennyson's whole life was going up to the university in 1828. No later experience, not grief for Hallam's death, not the discipline of his ten silent years, not the reward of wedded life after long waiting, not the laureateship and his many other honours, not the birth and death of his sons could mould his life and genius, as did that scant three years' residence at Cambridge. But for Cambridge and Trinity College, he could never have made his life-long friends, Hallam, Spedding, Brookfield, the "Apostles;" and Tennyson's friendships had no small or trivial influence on his life. At that time, he was not conscious of his debt, and wrote a sonnet prophesying dire things for his university when the day-beam should sport o'er Albion, because "you," (the authorities)

"teach us nothing, feeding not the heart."

This is as it should be. Youthful genius should disparage university systems; they are calculated for the average,

not for the exceptional, academic person. But Tennyson could not escape the influence of Cambridge; it was much greater than he knew. Cambridge colours much of his poetry; for example, the architecture in *The Princess* and *The Palace of Art* is the English collegiate order glorified. He has left us no second *Prelude*, or growth of a poet's mind, to guide investigation. *The Memoir* itself does not convey as much information as can be gathered from the poet's own hints and reminiscences in *In Memoriam*. The intercourse with equal minds for the first time in his life, during his most plastic years counted for most; but even the despised university system itself was not without its formative power. The Cambridge undergraduate who had written *Poems chiefly Lyrical* by twenty-one, was very different from the boy of eighteen who collaborated in *Poems by Two Brothers*. Cambridge and Cambridge men made the difference, or nothing did. His college days were the budding-time of Tennyson's genius.

As Birrell has pointed out with so much humour, Cambridge and not Oxford is the mother of most English poets, who are also university men. The university of Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron was also Tennyson's. He is in the direct line of a great tradition. When he came up, he seems to have become at once a member of a brilliant group of young men, by some sort of undisputed right, and the most brilliant member of that group became his most intimate friend. Since the days of David and Jonathan, no friendship has been more deep and tender, or embalmed in nobler poetry. The two were in physique a complete contrast, the contrast of the oak and the birch tree. Both were six feet in height, but Tennyson was massive in build, broad-shouldered and notably strong-looking, while Hallam was slight and gracefully slim. Tennyson was dark brown in hair, eyes and complexion, "Indian-looking," "like an Italian," as he has been described. Hallam was the familiar blonde Saxon type, with fair hair, blue eyes and regular features. Both had the distinction of great personal beauty. Lawrence's portrait shows the poet in his youth

looking as a young poet should look, "a sort of Hyperion," FitzGerald called him; and Chantrey's bust of Hallam portrays the finest type of English gentleman. Two more noticeable youths never wore cap and gown in Cambridge, or paced together "that long walk of limes." Their unlikeness in manner and mental gifts was equally marked. Tennyson was the country boy, shy, reserved, a trifle awkward, Hallam was already the easy, polished man of the world. Tennyson was silent, a quiet figure in a corner of a noisy room: Hallam was fluent, and shone in conversation and discussion. Tennyson's was the slower, stronger, deeper nature; Hallam's the more brilliant and attractive personality. Tennyson was more of the artist; Hallam was more of the philosopher. Hallam was the acknowledged leader, the young man, who, everyone was certain, would go far. Tennyson was the poet, admired and honoured greatly by these fortunate undergraduates who first listened to the bard chant his own poems *Oriana* or *The Hesperides*, mouthing his hollow oes and aes. Their friendship was the attraction of opposites, mutual, intimate, untroubled. The seal was set upon the bond by Hallam's betrothal to the sister of his friend.

It seems probable that Hallam did for Tennyson at Cambridge what Coleridge did for Wordsworth at Nether Stowey. The keen intellectual interests stirring in that remarkable little coterie must in themselves have worked powerfully upon his mind and formed a congenial atmosphere in which his genius might blossom. But Hallam's affection, sympathy, admiration seem to have done even more for him; and his acute, alert, philosophic intelligence in free interplay with Tennyson's more vague and dreamy thought seems to have released and stimulated the powers of the poet's mind. No record remains of the discussions of the "youthful band" so lovingly sketched in *In Memoriam*. In his friendship with Hallam seems to lie the secret of Tennyson's rapid early development.

Cambridge completed the education which had been carried on at home under his father's direction, a singularly

old-fashioned scholarly training, classical in a narrow sense. Tennyson was not, like Shelley, a rebel against routine; nor, like Byron, a restless seeker of adventures; nor, like Scott, a sportsman, a lover of dogs and horses. He did not, like Browning, educate himself. Books were his world. His love for the classics was deep and real, as his exquisite tribute to Virgil proves, and their influence is unmistakable everywhere throughout his work. From his classical training he gained his unerring sense for the values of words, his love of just proportion, his literary "temperance," his restraint in all effects, emotional and picturesque. "Nothing too much" was a principle he followed throughout his poetic career. From classical example he learned the labour of the file, a labour he never stinted. He practised the Horatian maxim about suppressing until the ninth year. He knew well how to prize the creation that comes swift and perfect in a happy hour; he knew well the danger of changing and altering many times,

"Till all be ripe and rotten,"

but he had a great patience in finish, "the damascening on the blade of the scimitar" as one critic calls it. Finish, rightly understood, is but an untiring quest of truth. The pursuit of the *mot juste*, the matching of the colours of words, the exactness in the shading of phrases are no more than stages in a process of setting forth the poet's conception with simple truth. To rest content with a form of words which merely approximates to the expression of the idea is, to a mind of Tennyson's temper, to be guilty of falsity.

In his choice of themes, as well as in his manner, Tennyson's love of the classics is made manifest. He prefers romantic themes, notably the Arthurian sagas, but his devotion to the myths of Hellas is life-long. *Cenone* is one of the chief beauties of the volume of 1832. *The Death of Cenone*, a continuation of the same tale, gives the title to his very last. It is only necessary to mention *Ulysses*, *Tithonus*, *Lucretius*, *Tiresias*. While at Cambridge, he came under the influence of Theocritus, as Stedman has shown; and the Sicilian muse

inspired his *English Idylls*, the poems of 1842, which established his rank as a poet. Tennyson's classicism is very different from the classicism of Pope on the one hand, and the classicism of Keats, Morris and Swinburne on the other. Pope and his school had zeal without knowledge; they had the misfortune to live before Winckelmann. Keats by instinct and sympathy, Morris and Swinburne through study and sympathy, attain to an understanding of Hellenic literature and life. Tennyson's sympathy is founded on scholarship, but he is not content merely to reproduce Hellenic forms, as Swinburne does in *Atalanta in Calydon*, or merely to interpret in re-telling, an old-world wonder-tale, as Keats does in *Hyperion*, or as Morris does in *Atalanta's Race*. His practice is to take the mould of the old mythus and fill it with new metal of his own fusing. If Keats or Swinburne had written *Ænone*, they would have given more "Judgment of Paris" pictures, glowing with splendid colour. Tennyson does not deny us beauty, or harmony, or form, or vivid hue, but his *Ænone* is in its last significance "a criticism of life." It exists, one might almost say, for the sake of the ideal formulated by Pallas—

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

This modernity is, I believe, the distinctive note of all his classical poetry.

Cambridge and the classics seem to be the chief influences in developing Tennyson's genius, in bringing out the artist that was in him. A third influence was his extraordinary habit of self-criticism, a bent of mind rarely found united with the artistic temperament. The personality of Tennyson is a curious union of diverse qualities. A mystic, a dreamer, who could, by repeating his own name as a sort of incantation, put himself into the ecstatic state, he had a large fund of English common sense, driving shrewd bargains with his book-sellers and thriftily gaining houses and lands. He was both a critic and a creator, and his critical faculty,

strong as it was, never overcame or crippled his creative power. In regard to his own work, he was both markedly sensitive and pre-eminently sane. Black-blooded, as he said himself, like all the Tennysons, he never forgot or forgave an adverse criticism; but he had humour and a power of detachment. He was too wise to think that he could ever have done with learning, and he was willing to learn even from unfriendly critics. When "Scorpion" Lockhart stung him to the quick in the *Quarterly*, or "musty Christopher" bludgeoned him in *Blackwood's*, he could not help feeling hurt, but neither could he help seeing whatever justice was mingled with the abuse. In subsequent editions, he suppressed poems that they hit hardest, and removed or modified phrases that they ridiculed. Among poets, Tennyson stands alone in this peculiar deference to the opinions of others, and this habit of profiting by criticism, while resenting it. Most poets take Pilate's attitude, "What I have written, I have written."

But Tennyson was his own best critic. He had keener eyes for flaws in his work than the Lockharts and the Wilsons, and a deeper interest in removing them. Unweariedly he labours onwards to the goal he has set before himself,—perfection. He suppresses whole poems, parts of poems, or lines, or stanzas. At need he enlarges a poem. Constantly he modifies words and phrases. It would be difficult to point to a single poem that has not undergone correction since its first publication. The *Memoir* showed how much good verse he never published, consistently with his praise of the poet,

"The worst he kept, the best he gave."

And Tennyson's "worst" is enough to make the reputation of a respectable minor poet. One of his firmest poetic principles was a horror of "long-backed" poems, against which he warned his friend Browning in vain. With Poe, he would almost consider "long poem," a contradiction in terms; and with classic Gray, he is capable of sacrificing excellent verses for no other reason than that they would draw out the

linked sweetness beyond appointed bounds. He held that a small vessel, built on fine lines, is likely to float farther down the stream of time than a big raft. The student of Tennyson's art will be rewarded by comparing the volumes of 1830 and 1832 with the first volume of 1842. The first two were carefully winnowed for the best; and these were in some cases practically rewritten to form volume one of *English Idylls*. The second contained only new poems. These poems established his reputation; and FitzGerald maintained to the end, that they were never surpassed by any later masterpieces.

From the opposite practice he was not averse, when it was necessary in the interests of truth and of completeness. *Maud*, for instance, was increased by the addition of two poems, sections XIX and XXV, or one hundred and twelve lines altogether. The gain in clearness is most marked. Again, the amplification of the *Idylls of the King*, notably of *Geraint and Enid* into two parts, and of the original *Morte d'Arthur* into *The Passing of Arthur*, to form a pendant for *The Coming of Arthur* rounds out the epic and assists the allegory.

It was in verbal changes, however, that his critical faculty was chiefly exerted. As a boy, Horace was in his own phrase "thoroughly drummed" into him, and, though he did not attain early to a full appreciation of the Augustan's peculiar excellences, such training could hardly fail to react upon his own style, and direct his attention to the importance of nicety of phrase and melody of verse. In "our harsh, grunting, Northern guttural," he had much more stubborn material to work upon than the sonorous Latin; but he triumphed. He revealed latent beauties in our tongue, unknown and unsuspected. One principle was what he called "kicking the geese out of the boat," getting rid of the sibilants. He would ridicule the first line of *The Rape of the Lock* for its cumulation of hissing sounds. To make his English sweet upon the tongue was one of his first concerns. He succeeded, and he showed our language to be a richer, sweeter instrument of expression, with greater compass than had been thought pos-

sible before he revealed his mastery over it. In all his processes of correcting, polishing, emending expression, his one aim is the attainment of greater accuracy, in one word, truth. A characteristic anecdote is recorded in the *Memoir*. "My father was vexed that he had written, 'two and thirty years ago,' in his 'All along the Valley,' instead of, 'one and thirty years ago,' and as late as 1892 wished to alter it since he hated inaccuracy. I persuaded him to let his first reading stand, for the public had learnt to love the poem in its present form; and besides 'two and thirty' was more melodious." Polish for the sake of mere smoothness was repellent to his large, sincere nature; and he understood the art of concealing his art. Before him, only Wordsworth had treated his printed works in so rude a fashion; but Wordsworth changes sometimes for the worse. It is hardly too much to say that Tennyson's changes are invariably improvements.

It seems then permissible to refer the peculiar development of Tennyson's genius to three causes; first, his education in the classics at home, at college, and throughout his after life as a means of self-culture; second, the strong stimulus to mind and spirit afforded by the life and the companionships of the university; and third, the habit of self-criticism, which made the poet the most severe judge of his own work.

III.

The popularity of an author is of course no criterion of merit. Matthew Arnold was unpopular, while forty editions of Martin Farquhar Tupper were eagerly devoured by an admiring public. Popularity may be the stamp of inferiority. Every generation has its widely read, immortal novelist, who is speedily forgotten by the next. Mr. Hall Caine and Miss Marie Corelli command audiences to-day which are denied to Meredith and Hardy. It may be doubted whether the masterpieces of Hawthorne ever were able to compete in point of sales with the novels of "a person named Roe." Popularity may be immediate and well deserved, as in the case of Scott,

Byron and Dickens, because there is in them an appeal to those passions that are universal in all men; or it may be slow and gradual, as in the case of Wordsworth and Tennyson. Few will quarrel with Ruskin's account of how reputation comes to all that is highest in art and literature. "It is an insult to what is really great in either to suppose that it in any way addresses itself to mean or uncultivated faculties." The question what is really high in art is not decided *by* the multitude, but *for* the multitude,—“decided at first by a few; by fewer as the merits of a work are of a higher order. From these few the decision is communicated to the number next below them in rank of mind, and by these again to a wider and lower circle; each rank being so far cognizant of the superiority of that above it, as to receive its decision with respect; until, in process of time, the right and consistent opinion is communicated to all, and held by all as a matter of faith, the more positively in proportion as the grounds of it are less perceived.” This explanation certainly applies to Tennyson. At first he was discouraged by the unsympathetic reception of his works, the ridicule of the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood*, and “half resolved to live abroad in Jersey, in the south of France, or Italy. He was so far persuaded that the English people would never care for his poetry, that, had it not been for the intervention of his friends, he declared it not unlikely that, after the death of Hallam, he would not have continued to write.” He was, however, a man “of long enduring hopes;” he was able to wait, and fame came to him at last.

The undoubted fact of Tennyson's long continued popularity is rather strange. There are reasons why his poetry should *not* be popular. Scott and Byron were popular because they had a story to tell and told it with vigour and spirit: but Tennyson has little or no epic interest, especially in his earliest work: the interest is lyric and therefore less wide in its appeal. Again, he does not relate himself to common life as Wordsworth does; nor does he, like Shelley, espouse the people's cause. His attitude is that of the intellectual aristocrat, aloof, fastidious, dignified. He is

essentially a local and an English poet. Some of his most thoroughly characteristic lines are,

“The noblest men methinks are bred
Of ours the Saxo-Norman race.”

Germany, Italy, the United States do not exist in his verse. He evinces no sympathy with the great struggles of these nationalities towards the assertion of their natural rights, even for the right to exist. The Great Republic is rent asunder by four years of terrific conflict, and Tennyson has no word of cheer for either side. But democratic America welcomed and read his poems with as much enthusiasm as his own countrymen.

Why, in spite of these apparent drawbacks, Tennyson was and has remained, and, no doubt, will long remain, popular, is now to be considered. A definition of poetry that finds universal acceptance is still to seek. It may be “a criticism of life,” or, “the suggestion by the imagination of noble grounds for the noble emotions,” or any other one of the hundred that the wit of man has framed; but, whatever it includes or omits, poetry must possess two things—beauty and harmony. Beauty and harmony, harmony and beauty—these are the two principles without which poetry cannot exist; these are the pillars of the poets’ universe. Poetry, to be poetry, must possess harmony and beauty; and harmony and beauty inform the poetry of Tennyson and are the law of its being.

Literature and poetry, especially lyric poetry, have the most ancient associations with music; and the further poetry strays from music, the less poetic it becomes. Many poets have failed or come short because they failed to understand this basal principle, or else deliberately departed from it. Wordsworth was in feeling a rustic, near the ground, in close touch with husbandman and shepherd, but his verse is repressed and austere and his range is limited. He is not read by workmen as Burns is read. Carducci calls himself a plebeian, but he is an aristocrat when he writes *Odi Barbare*,

which only the few can understand and delight in. Whitman, who made democracy a religion, and proved his faith by his works in the Washington hospitals, chanted his swinging pæans of democracy for the benefit of a group of London decadents and scanty coteries of *illuminati* in Boston and New York. They failed, but Tennyson succeeded, because, following the bent of his genius, he set himself humbly to obey eternal and unchanging law, for the principle of beauty inheres as firmly in the universe as the law of gravitation. Nobility of thought, beauty of vision, harmony of word and phrase and stanza, just proportion in the whole,—at these Tennyson aims, and to these he succeeds in attaining. His first appeal is to the ear; his verse wins its way as music does, the most democratic of all the fine arts, and the most masterful in its power to stir the human heart. The poet's limitations, his narrow outlook, his imperfect sympathies matter not. Music speaks a universal language; and the poetry that comes nearest to music is surest to reach the widest audience. Ian Maclaren's story of the Scottish peasant who knew her *In Memoriam* by heart is no mere fancy. No more beautiful illustration of the power of literature to soothe and cheer is to be found anywhere than the anecdote Mrs. Gaskell tells in the first volume of that treasure-house of noble thoughts, the *Memoir*. "Samuel Bamford is a great, gaunt, stalwart Lancashire man, formerly hand-loom weaver, author of *Life of a Radical*, age nearly 70, and living in that state that is exactly decent poverty with his neat little apple-faced wife. They have lost their only child. Bamford is the most hearty (and it's saying a good deal) admirer of Tennyson I know. You know I dislike recitations exceedingly, but he repeats some of Tennyson's poems in so rapt and yet so simple a manner, utterly forgetting that anyone is by, in the delight of the music and the exquisite thoughts, that one can't help liking to hear him. He does not care one jot whether people like him or not in his own intense enjoyment. He says when he lies awake at night, as in his old age he often does, and gets sadly thinking of the days that are gone when his child was alive, he soothes himself by

repeating Tennyson's poems." It would seem that poetry can be an anodyne for old age, sad thoughts, bereavement. The childless father soothes himself by repeating Tennyson's poems. "He does not care whether people like him or not in his own intense enjoyment." Samuel Bamford, old hand-loom weaver, makes Plato's statement credible, that the rhapsodists reciting Homer fell down fainting in their ecstasies.

Though subject to certain inevitable fluctuations, Tennyson's fame was great and constant. He retained the praise of the judicious, while he won the suffrages of the multitude. The greatest and wisest and best of two generations came under his spell. Few poets have been more heartily acclaimed by fellow poets. Browning's dedication of his own selected poems is typical of the general esteem—

TO ALFRED TENNYSON,
IN POETRY, ILLUSTRIOUS AND CONSUMMATE,
IN FRIENDSHIP, NOBLE AND SINCERE.

In his majestic old age, he became an object of veneration, Merlin the seer. Tennyson was an imperialist, that is, an Englishman impressed with the value of the new nations, the dominions over seas, and the necessity of keeping the empire one. In the last year of his life, he came into touch with the imperialist poet of the new school. He praised, too, Mr. Rudyard Kipling's "English Flag," and Kipling's answer to his letter of commendation gave him pleasure: "When the private in the ranks is praised by the general, he cannot presume to thank him, but he fights the better the next day." A list of those who have praised his work would include the best minds on both sides of the Atlantic. Longfellow spoke for America in the Christmas sonnet, which he wrote and sent in 1877,

" in sign
Of homage to the mastery which is thine
In English song,—"

But Tennyson impressed the English-speaking world of his time not alone directly by the impact of his poetry on the

leaders of thought, he exerted a great secondary influence through his hosts of imitators. The parallel between Tennyson and Pope has been sometimes drawn, and not unwisely. Both set before them very definite ideals of technique. Pope's was "correctness;" Tennyson's was brevity, just proportion and finish. Their aims have very much in common. Each would understand the other when he spoke

"Of charm, and lucid order and the labour of the file."

Both became supreme verbal artists, and verbal artistry is no slight thing. To think of either Pope or Tennyson merely as artificers of word mosaics, as cunning jewellers of phrases is to wrong them. Their search for the exact word was really a search for the idea. Both are poets' poets, in the sense that their literary influence is supreme in their centuries. Both set the tune for their age. The manner of Pope prevailed in the eighteenth century and the manner of Tennyson prevailed in the nineteenth. Arnold, William Morris, Rossetti would have written in another way except for Tennyson. Swinburne, the greatest of them all, simply carries Tennyson's mastery of words one stage further, and represents, perhaps, the utmost possibilities in sweetening the English tongue. The recognition of Tennyson's influence upon the minor verse of the last half century has long been a commonplace of the reviewer.

It was by no condescension to the taste of the groundlings, that Tennyson won his popularity. He takes high ground, and he calls us up to it. Although first and foremost an artist, he did not rest in a worship of beauty. He would not agree with Keats that Beauty is Truth and Truth is Beauty, that this is all we know on earth and all we need to know. He left the maxim, "Art for Art's sake," to be invented by his followers. He knew, even as a youth at college, that the nature of man cannot wholly take refuge in Art. He knew that other things must have their share. His own avowed theory of his art is that

"Beauty, Good, and Knowledge are three sisters
That dote upon each other—
And never can be sunder'd without tears."

Tennyson's was essentially a reverent, a religious nature. His tendency to brood on the riddle of the painful earth is seen clearly even in his earliest poems, and is thoroughly in accord with the strong religious fibre of the English people. It was an English naturalist who, in the mid-nineteenth century, turned the current of the world's thought. Darwin and his theory of evolution gave a new impetus and direction to the conceptions of man, life, and the universe. One immediate result was the shattering of old beliefs. No one felt the conflict between the old faith and the new knowledge more keenly than Tennyson, and no one has represented that conflict more powerfully than he has in *In Memoriam*. Though often cast down in the struggle, faith emerges victorious. Along with Carlyle and Ruskin, Tennyson has helped to shape some sort of *via media* between science and religion. Tennyson is akin to the young Milton who sang the praise of purity in *Comus*, and the Spencer who intended by *The Fairy Queen* to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline.

"And your experience has made you sad," Rosalind might say to Tennyson as to the melancholy Jaques. He is often hastily described as a pessimist and he certainly chose a mournful muse. His great poem is an elegy, an inscription on a tomb, a resolute facing of the great issues raised by the death of his friend. Without being morbid, he is impressed with the tragedy of life and the fact of death. Even in the *Poems by Two Brothers* he is at times sad as night. *Oriana*, *The Lady of Shalott*, *Maud*, *Aylmer's Field*, *Enoch Arden*, *The Idylls of the King*, are all tragic. Disappointed love is the theme of *Locksley Hall*, the two *Marianas*, *Dora*, *Love and Duty*, to mention only a few of his earlier poems. The beauty of the form makes us forget the eternal note of sadness in them all. Tennyson's sadness is the melancholy of the North, which is quite compatible with a gift of humour. His humour is deep and rich, if rather quiet, as in the *Northern Farmers*, and is a development of later life. He speaks of his college days as those "dawn golden times," and his first two volumes

do reflect the splendour of the sunrise: but though afterwards he can write fanciful medley like *The Princess*, or the graceful fairy-tale like *The Day Dream*, the first vision has passed away for ever. To realize the general sadness of tone in Tennyson, a short dip into Browning is necessary, some brief contact with his spirits, his unbounded cheerfulness, his robust assertion that God's in His Heaven.

The nineteenth century is now definitely behind us, a closed chapter in the history of human progress. It is too soon to define it, as we can define the eighteenth century; for we feel ourselves part of it still. It was a practical, commercial, industrial age, and yet it was an age of poets. Never before did poets wield such an influence. Scott, Byron, Wordsworth did in a very real sense sway the hearts and minds of men. Byron's influence in particular extended far beyond his native land; his poetry was a genuine call to freedom, an inspiration to all noble conspirators all over Europe; and its power is by no means exhausted yet. The influence of Tennyson has been more restricted to that great section of the human race whose mother tongue is English. For two generations he was their favourite poet. He was undoubtedly the poet of his age, and the fact of his popularity is flattering to the age. Appreciation means sympathy. As Tennyson was widely read and enthusiastically admired by all classes of minds in his time, he is in a way the mirror of his century. Hence it is not an unfair inference that very many men and women, his contemporaries, were sensitive to beauty in all its forms, possessed broad culture and thorough refinement, lived on the moral uplands, and envisaged with earnestness the tremendous riddles of human life and destiny. For poetry is not an amusement, a recreation. It is truly a "criticism of life." We turn to our poets instinctively for guidance in matters of faith. Not in vain do we come to Tennyson. He may not offer a very certain hope, but he does

"Teach high faith and honourable words
And courtliness and the desire of fame
And love of truth—"

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

PLATO AND POETRY

THE tenth book of Plato's "Republic," or the first part of it, at least, is a Platonic "Bull" against poetry. And there is something of the "bull" about it, in more senses than one. Surely it is piquant in an unusual degree to find the great litterateur of Greek literature denouncing poetry, to find the great stylist of the philosophers of Greece denouncing style. It is pathetic, even more than piquant, to find the unsuccessful reformer of Syracuse, the academic adviser who proved too academic to advise Dionysius, the philosopher who had to return to his books and give up his dreams of administration, to find him in this book pleading so vehemently for action, for deeds, for life, protesting so eloquently against our writing history when we could be making it, holding up to our admiration not his own class and his own type, not Plato, not the writer, the dreamer, the speculatist, the ironical humorist, but the statesman, reformer, and man of action—all in fact that he himself, before or after this time, essayed in vain to be.

This book has the piquancy and the pathos of literature confessing her unworthiness; of style sitting in sackcloth and ashes; of speculation confessing that she is an unprofitable servant. It reads like the expression of the mood which comes and comes again to every student; wherein he feels the vanity of study; wherein he feels that he is giving up his life to words, words, words; that he is plucking from the tree of knowledge instead of from the tree of life. He wishes that he were a man of affairs instead. He does not know, poor innocent, that that, too, is vanity; and that, as Professor Clark Murray told us the other day, we are all, yes positively all of

us, spinning webs out of our brains, which we call facts—and, by no means least, those of us who are men of affairs, the bankers and stockbrokers at the present moment in the city of New York, as much, or more so, than the theologians and men of science.

Carlyle reproached himself that, whereas his father had made bridges, he only made books. Plato is in that Carlylean mood; and too absorbed in it to notice that some books sometimes are the best of bridges; and the only bridges whereby weak men can cross some of the deepest of rivers, as, for example, the sufficiently deep river of death; which many men have, in the ages since Plato, crossed by means of one of the very few books, perhaps the only book, better fitted than Plato to effect a crossing for them.

This indictment by Plato of poetry appears to fall into three chief counts. Poetry is imitation, not creation, not action. Etymologically and in Greek, poetry *is* creation, and the poet is *par excellence* the creator, and the creator the poet. But this is only the perversity of language. In fact poetry is the antithesis of action, and is imitation, says Plato. Here is a curious and ominous beginning. The word imitation has now become the orthodox definition of poetry; because it was caught up and repeated, but in a much broader sense, by Aristotle. It has come down through superstitious veneration for their usage to modern times. It is quoted, for example, in the last book on the subject, that by Mr. Courthope, till recently Professor of Poetry in Oxford.

But, inevitably, some reviewers of Mr. Courthope's book, more clearsighted in criticism than learned in literature, objected to the word. They protested that poetry is not imitation, but rather the deepest expression possible in words of the profoundest passion that words can express. Words, it is very likely, never express the profoundest passion, and the passion which they do express is less profound; but that does not alter the truth of the definition, "the deepest expression possible *in words* of the profoundest passion *words* can express."

Plato missed this word, "expression." There is no word for it in Greek, and he used instead this unhappy phrase *μμησις*. A word is a fatal thing and leads its user far afield. At the very outset Plato is pre-occupied, obsessed, by the implications and suggestions of this unfortunate word. It has caused him throughout to reduce poetry to the level of painting. He has been describing in earlier books the democratisation of Greek society, the spread of education to lower classes, and the consequent influx into the learned professions of men of humble origin, insufficient manners, and imperfect culture. Philosophy he likens racy to a maiden heiress whom her natural suitors, men of birth and breeding, have deserted for leadership in politics and social life; but in their place come little, bald-headed plumbers just out of prison, "their sentence quashed, their faces washed;" and they court her for her prestige and her "genteel" surroundings—a picture corresponding, as Nettleship drily observes, to the democratisation of the Church to-day. Well, Plato seems to find a parallel to these spurious philosophers or sophists in the poets. They too—he seems to say—are interlopers, imitators, reaping where they had not sown, gathering where they had not strawed. They have phrases and catch-words in abundance. Colours, scents, and echoes from real life hang about their verses; but it is all imposture. They do not know whereof they write. They only parrot and make believe. Plato will not even go as far as he goes in his "Ion," or in his "Apology," and concede that, if they do not know, they have at least an instinct, a tact, an unconscious prompting, an inspiration which takes the place of knowledge.

Rather, he brushes aside their work as wholly frivolous and artificial. It is pretty; it is musical and ingenious; but strip away the gimcrackery of art, the "sensual caterwauling" of music; the artful aid of alliteration, the combinations, as Robert Louis Stevenson said, of "p's," "v's," and "f's," or other mystic letters whose magic chemistry lies at the root of poetry, and explains the secret of the quickened heart-beats with which we hear it; tear away these things and nothing more is left;

the charm is gone, the illusion snapped; it fades away into the light of common day—yes, poetry is just trifling; just dabbling in sound and phrase; just a tickling of the ear; just sensuous artifice; it is not serious work, not even scientific work. And, besides, no literature, not even scientific work, is worthy to be compared with action. A *man* makes history; he does not write it. The use of knowledge—and the poet has not even knowledge—lies in action, not in itself. You notice how far Plato goes. We can hear from others than Plato that exact knowledge is fatal to ornamental gifts; that it is fatal to the journalist, the politician, the orator, the conversationalist; and we can all agree—to [avoid argument for the moment—to throw in the poet with journalists and conversationalists. We all know silent men of science, who are silent in half-a-dozen languages, and despise literature. It hardly invalidates the argument that some few poets themselves, like Browning, have shared this feeling and have begged that they be not mistaken for “damned literary men.”

But Plato goes further: he has little use here even for men of science. Knowledge is to lead to action, instead of being a very general bar thereto; and *men* are to make history, not write it. The man of action comes first and he is the only man whom Plato recognizes as a man of knowledge. The man of mere knowledge, if it be worth while distinguishing between nonentities, would no doubt come next; and the poet who has neither action nor exact knowledge comes last; but it is not worth while so to distinguish between two nonentities. Plato has met, one supposes, silent men of action—Lacônians, no doubt—conceivably, also in Italy, an unknown stranger or two from far-off Rome. He has marked their scorn for literature; and he has not also marked that, so far as knowledge goes, these men of action are as badly off as poets; and sometimes indeed are poets; and have borne the name of Solon or Aschylus. He has made two classes, men of active knowledge, and men of ignorant dilettanteism, where the rest of us see three classes, men of action, men of

thought, journalists and litterateurs, the poets being found, according to their style and quality, in all three classes. Poetry—Plato knows it well in other dialogues where he is not holding, as here, a brief against poetry—poetry is one of the voices of youth, with love and with religion; but as love has its counterfeits, calf-love, sensual love, animal appetite or Whitmania, ambition, self-love and the like; and as religion also has its hypocrisies and its idolatries, so poetry—in this book—is lost behind the swarm of inferior spirits who burlesque it.

(2) He goes on presently to his next count. These imitators imitate only the material and visible; the outward shows and semblances of things, rather than solid facts. Their method is a picturesque sensationalism, not a sober record of life. They are realists, as we perhaps should say, if a realist is one "who dabbles in the muddy shallows of life and fancies he is sounding its depths." Plato, no doubt, is thinking of Euripides; of an Athenian theatre given over to the drama of realism; to spectacular displays of poverty and life in the slums; to tales of mean streets; to problem plays; and to dirty, disagreeable doubtings: illicit love, like Phædra's, is the motif; or just poverty, hunger, and dirt like Telephus': these things find "the gods," and we are living in a sentimental and humanitarian age where the little finger of the man in the street is thicker than the loins of caste, and privilege, and culture, and the sheltered life.

So far, so good; and Plato is at least not flagrantly inconsistent yet with himself or with his gospel of work *versus* faith: of action *versus* thought. We may, perhaps, refute him with Browning

" But all the world's coarse thumb and finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account ;
All instincts immature, all purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount ;
Thoughts hardly to be packed into a narrow act ;
Fancies that broke thro' language and escaped ;
All I could never be, all, men ignored in me,
This I was worth to God whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

But, then, we might also refute Browning with Browning

“ And the fault I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin
Tho’ the deed be a sin, I say.”

(3) But, soon after, Plato introduces what purports to be a new objection to poetry, and one which surely contradicts his own previous argument. Poetry, he says, appeals to the emotions, and to reach the emotions it sets forth “actions and emotions, not character.” There was a hint of this in the last count. It portrays a man acting and feeling, not thinking and being: it portrays rage, despair, love, grief, murder, and suicide—though the two last are apt to be less obtrusive in a Greek play than in a modern—not character. But man at his best thinks and is: man at his best is not in love, nor in rage, nor in despair, still less does he weep and tear his hair; he is silent, self composed, austere; he is a stoic. The poet will not portray a stoic; indeed he cannot. A stoic on the stage would be a stick; so the poet portrays only the weaker brethren, or man in his weaker moods of action and feeling.

But where now is Plato’s glorification of action? Before it was action against literature, or mere thought. Now, the deepest and highest life appears to be, not in action, but in thought and being, not in what a man does but in what he is; not in his works but in his faith. Plato began by glorifying activity and action; now he abuses actors and acting. Yet there is a real connexion between the two sets of words, though only the Latin and English languages show it, and the Greek by what might seem a strange freak does not—strange, because one would expect the actor’s art to be magnified by the Greek language instead of by the Latin and the English, the artistic side of it being surely as conspicuous as the practical; but of course the reason is the one already noticed, the Greek has identified action with the more subjective, the more spiritual art of the poet; it cannot, therefore, identify it also with the objective and material art of the actor. But what

am I saying? After all the Greeks have used their secondary word for action, at any rate the substantive which means an action, for an "act" by actors on the stage; our own word "drama," I mean.

Now if the end of life rather lie in composed character, austerity, and pride than in theatrical and violent actions and emotions, why then the men who make history, who act bloody parts and are possessed of headstrong passions (the headstrong man, by the way, is the man weak in his head), these men seem to be relegated to a back seat at the Platonic feast of life; and the student, and the philosopher, and the historian, and the man of science seem to be invited to sit down above them at the board. This may be sound Platonism. Generally speaking, I think it is. But is it consistent with the early chapters of this same book?

(4) But the most difficult and debatable portion of Plato's attack on poetry is not the proposition that poetry is playing with life and not living, imitation of life and not creation, nor that it is the imitation of crude life, the mere life of action and emotion instead of the life of thought.

The first of these propositions is obviously true of minor poets; untrue of any considerable poet: who, because he is a considerable poet has been a considerable man first. He has thought and suffered beyond other men. He has been torn up and transplanted from the society of other and more ordinary men, from the others who remain reeds shaken by the wind, and has been fashioned by the knife and iron of thought and suffering into the reed-made flute or pipe, the mouthpiece of some great god, Pan, some spirit greater than humanity. The true poet, as the phrase goes, learned in suffering what he taught in song.

The second proposition again is implicitly inconsistent with the first, since it involves what the first denies, the deeper reality of the world of thought over the world of action. With the second Plato has himself refuted the first; and has made it somewhat unnecessary for his readers to take the first seriously.

But the third count in his indictment, to the latter part of which I have already referred, is that poetry addresses itself to the emotions, that is, as he says, to an unreal element in human nature. This is the count which is difficult of interpretation, and which has been very differently interpreted.

“What is truth?” asked Pilate, when he heard the word used in argument. “What is reality?” is the question somewhat similar, which Plato’s continual use of this vague word provokes. The unreal element in human nature—according to Plato—is the element opposed to that in us which weighs, and measures, and calculates. It is the element opposed to cold-blood reason and logic. When we have suffered a great loss of any kind, the emotional element raves like a tragedy queen over the past; the element of reason takes stock of our position and gathers up the fragments that remain. So far, so good; but what we want to know and what we never distinctly learn from Plato—whence the different interpretations of his argument by different interpreters—seems to be this; what is the extent and nature of this emotion which he banishes, and of this cold-blood and logic which he enthrones in its place?

Mr. Gradgrind, also, in “Hard Times” enthroned cold-blood and logic, and many an ancient Gradgrind of the Cynic and Stoic persuasion enthroned these apathies. The philosopher who, hearing of his son’s death, retorted that he never supposed that he had begotten an immortal; the other philosopher who, losing his wife and children, consoled himself with the apothegm that the sage is independent of circumstances—this is the somewhat unattractive guise in which resignation expressed or concealed itself in the poor pagan world. But can we make anything worth having out of apathy, unless it be an apathy towards the trivial rendered natural and becoming, because its house is already swept and garnished and possessed by some absorbing passion or devotion to some one or a few high ends? Can cold-blood, and logic, and so-called reason so absorb and possess man’s soul; or does not “emotion” cover all forms of high passion and

devotion? Can all emotion be banished rightly? Is Plato objecting only to "the skin-deep sense of our own eloquence," which is the poet's besetting sin, and his substitute often for "the pure emotion of a high devotion," or is he really asking us to forego emotion altogether and live as merely rational cold-blooded creatures? It is the old problem of Greek philosophy. What is the relation in Plato and Aristotle of the moral nature (of those aspirations after generosity, courage, forgiveness, faith, hope, and charity, which Aristotle calls "moral" or "ethical,") and the reason which alone Aristotle pronounces to be divine?

The moral is of the earth earthy, says Aristotle. It is the handmaid, not the mistress; the mistress is reason and philosophy. Plato's is not an analytical intellect like Aristotle's; and he has never so sharply distinguished between moral and intellectual. Righteousness and Reason go generally hand in hand in his "Republic;" and yet the partnership never seems quite essential in his eyes; but always temporary rather and, as it were, conditional and contingent; and in his eyes the divine nature—as also in Dean Mansel's system, and in all systems based on Aristotle—seems to stand apart from the petty and anthropomorphic moralities of human life. Hence the interpreters have parted here, and one school interprets Plato in what I am tempted to call a Christian rather than in a Platonic sense.

Mr. Prickard, in his very interesting little book on Aristotle's theory of poetry, interprets the tenth book of Plato's "Republic" to mean that Plato is deprecating "sentimentalism;" the sentimentalism of the literary man. The world is divided—so I presume the argument would run—between the literary and the silent races. The Greek spends himself on expression. He is the Æolian harp which answers to every wind of doctrine or feeling, and therefore he never really feels. Before he has really felt he has expressed and dismissed his nascent feeling in expression; and the moment after he has expressed, he feels another and a different emotion, and expresses *it*. He is elastic to the core of his being. He

is a child all the days of his life, with the child's frivolity, the child's delight in mere living, and the child's volubility and volatility. His emotions are real while they last; indeed, it is absurd to call emotion unreal (as Plato does) just because it is not permanent; for emotion as opposed to passion is essentially transient. But he is so impressionable that he is never really impressed; he is the actor, the journalist, the poet; the natural man in a southern and tempestuous population, the democratic man who acknowledges no aristocracy or hierarchy of instincts and impulses, but obeys each in turn, as it comes to him, and recognizes each as equal, each as counting for one and none for more than one in his moral democracy. The opposite type to this is the Spartan; unsympathetic, unemotional; silent; but capable of devotion to a single absorbing purpose; capable of passion, undiluted and unaltering; and capable of martyrdom. Plato, living in Athens, reacts, as a philosopher will, towards the unpopular and alien, the foreign and opposite type. He sighs for Spartan doggedness and tenacity of purpose. If Athenians did not express their emotion in language, especially in poetry, they would have sufficient emotion to carry them through life; even through the stormy life of politics. They would be able, that is, to act instead of talk; for you cannot, as the poet Clough has quaintly said, have your emotion and yet express it also.

Plato had seen, or at least had heard of, the whole Athenian people bursting into tears of idle pity, and fear, and wrath, at the portraiture of the capture of Miletus by Barbarians: he wanted their pity to be expended on practical politics, on the political humiliation of Hellas. He wanted their fear and wrath expended upon nerving the soldier's arm and strengthening his weak knees. He hates to see all feeling evaporate in literary expression.

In short, Plato's feeling for poetry and its besetting temptations seems precisely akin—if Mr. Prickard be right—to the feeling of Cardinal Newman, as expressed in certain verses

which I am accustomed to repeat *ad nauseam* to my habitual pupils.

Prune thou thy words; the thought control
That thro' thee swell and throng.
They will condense within thy soul
And change to purpose strong.

But whoso lets his feelings run
In soft luxurious flow,
Faints when hard service must be done,
And shrinks at every woe.

Faith's meanest deed more favour bears
Where hearts and wills are weighed,
Than brightest transports, choicest prayers,
Which bloom their hour and fade.

This seems to me an admirable picture of the seamy side of poetry and literature; even more admirable than Matthew Arnold's "Stagirius," which is his version of the same theme:—

"When the soul, growing clearer,
Sees God no nearer;
When the soul, mounting higher,
To God comes no nigher;
But the arch-fiend Pride,
Mounts at her side,
Foiling her high emprise,
Sealing her eagle eyes,
And when she fain would soar,
Makes idols to adore,
Changing the pure emotion
Of her high devotion,
To a skin-deep sense
Of her own eloquence;
Strong to deceive, strong to enslave—
Save, oh! save.

Plato, surfeited with Athenian emotionalism, humanitarianism, and infirmity of purpose, represents his Athenian philosophers as repenting of their Athenian or feminine temperament, and seeking like women for some nature stronger, less sensitive, and more masculine. They seem to say:—

"We, too, have felt the load we bore
In a too strong emotion's sway.
We, too, have wished—no woman more—
These starting feverish hearts away.

We, too, have longed for trenchant force,
And will like a dividing spear,
Have praised the keen, unscrupulous course
Which knows no doubt, which feels no fear."

Such is Mr. Prickard's interpretation of the 10th Book, and it reconciles us to Plato, if only it be correct. But is it correct? I see no sign that Plato has ever really faced the question: "How much emotion is to be discarded, and what is to take its place?" He is preaching Stoicism—but, then, Stoicism, if it mean fortitude at one stage, will pass, and pass by ever indistinguishable shades, into a later stage where it means mere apathy. The Red Indian, who was a Stoic in his own sufferings, became after a time at once incapable of suffering himself, and capable of inflicting monstrous suffering upon others. To preserve at one and the same time "kindness in another's troubles, courage in one's own" remains a difficult ideal, composed, like all perfection, of opposing and well nigh incompatible elements. Plato never seems to ask himself even the elementary question. "Is it the expression of feeling or the feeling expressed which is objectionable?" "Is it composure of bearing or composure of feeling which is desirable, and which is presented in the Spartan type? If the latter, how far shall this composure of feeling be permitted to go? Are our philosophers to be wholly apathetic or merely too proud of their high purposes in life to be shaken by life's trifles?"

Now these are critical and crucial questions; and in the exact kind and even in the exact degree of composure lies all the difference between fortitude and apathy. The two are not essentially divided, rather, there is direct communication and continuous progression from the one to the other; and yet there is all the difference of right and wrong between them. How are we to distinguish where the right ends and the wrong begins. Where is the quantitative analysis to show us how much fortitude there be in Spartan endurance, and how much apathy?

Nature does not help us to distinguish these elements in the Spartan, or other soldier. Nature does not help us to

read aright those of our own race who are silent and seem apathetic. Sometimes they seem heartless, because they are so careful not to wear their hearts upon their sleeves for daws to peck at and interviewers to report. A young Canadian—the member of a more emotional race than that which created our Empire and inhabits its seat—writing from England, recently, notes the scanty vocabulary of the upper class there, and their aversion to vivacity and verbosity; they do not talk themselves; and they look suspiciously at talkers; only a Prime Minister should talk; he cannot help himself; it is the price he pays for his bad eminence.

But are all these people really ashamed of all emotion? Do they really live only for golf and brandy-and-soda, for bridge and other brigandage? Perhaps the cynic who should so assume—who should assume that their *mauvaise honte* and silence covered nothing but materialism—perhaps he would find in an appreciable number of cases that, like the *mauvaise honte* of some schoolboys, it covered the other and the nobler source of silence—the silence of the philo-Laconian Laches in Plato's dialogue of that name. Laches cannot abide talking and talkers, because their talking takes the place of action—their preaching of practice: *he* does not propose to take a seat in a church whose apostle is himself a castaway; and Laches does not seem to see how Nature, herself, by her method of division of labour, tends to divide men into hearers of the word (or preachers) who are not doers, and doers who are not hearers: into men of action who understand neither themselves nor the history they are making: and men of thought who understand both themselves and their times but contribute nothing towards making the history they write. He does not seem to see that thought and the expression of thought is one man's *metier* in life, his *forte* and his action, just as action is the only conscious thought and expression to which another man, unintelligent and silent, ever attains.

Laches, therefore, cannot tolerate eloquence, unless in one of those rare cases where all a man's eloquent words are but the reflexion of an eloquent life; where all the ideals upon

his lips have risen thither from deep springs of passion, and have spoken in a thousand nameless, unremembered acts, before they were permitted to find tongue.

Tongue-tied races and tongue-tied people are sometimes silent, like Laches, because they hate hypocrisy ; because they hate to speak without acting, to profess more than they can practice. It is because they aspire more and not less to living on a high plane that they tune their words religiously to a minor key, and talk only of trivialities and field sports.

And surely the best poetry, like the best practice, must proceed from this sincere passion to be real and serious. The best poetry surely cannot be the fitful experiments of impressionists, the trivial moods of diletanteism; and there lies the source of the misgivings and demurrers with which we read Plato's attack on poetry.

MAURICE HUTTON

THE FUTURE OF LATIN

WE live in an utilitarian age. In all departments of life this fact is equally evident, and we must all, however reluctantly, be prepared to accept the consequences, and to adjust ourselves to the new demands of a new era. In no department of life is this more true than that of education, though until within a comparatively recent period the whole method and tendency of education was based upon a principle that was essentially non-utilitarian. In most civilized countries the glamour of the New Learning derived from the re-discovery of the classical languages in the Middle Ages had so over-mastering an effect that men, almost without question, accepted a classical curriculum as the pivot on which education should turn.

But the case is now different. Instead of giving a blind and unswerving allegiance to the dictates of classical education, people are beginning to ask in the case of every branch of a modern curriculum, "What is the use of this particular form of study?" Especially is this question being asked by those who occupy the position of parent or guardian. To me, at least, there seems abundant justification for such a question. Parents surely have a right to understand on what general method their children are being educated; and the more general and practical interest they take in the question of their children's education, the better will it also be for the education of the race. Nor must the ordinary parent be blamed because he is inclined to take a mere "bread and butter view" of education. It is only natural that, from the individual parent's point of view, the ideal education should seem to be that which shall best fit his own particular child or children to strive most successfully in the battle of life; and it can hardly be considered taking too low a view of the real meaning of "success," if he postulates that it shall

at least include the ability of procuring reasonably adequate means of subsistence.

It is largely, I think, because of the semi-monastic life led by so many of the leaders of educational thought in the past that this view has not been sufficiently considered. On the other hand it must, I think, be conceded that the average parent is naturally somewhat over-inclined to minimize the advantage of any form of education which does not lead to obvious and immediate results. His main desire is for an education which shall produce definite and consequential advantage, and he is prone to overlook the fact that the trained mind must always work more rapidly and more effectively than the untrained one; and that, to produce the very result of success which he desires, some form of training, which does not seem at first sight relative to the particular object in view, must often be adopted.

I have begun with these general considerations, because I wish to make it clear that, in discussing the future of Latin, the first thing to be considered is, what answer shall we make to the question which the average parent is asking with increasing insistence. "Will a knowledge of Latin be in any way useful to my children in their adult life?" As I have already hinted, that question seems to me not only fair and reasonable, but one that demands an answer. The mere fact that a number of those who are engaged in the profession of teaching—some of whom are not always conspicuously fitted for the business of ordinary life—vaguely and in general terms uphold the present system of education, is really neither an adequate nor a satisfactory answer. Still, I believe that a reasonable answer can be given to what is, I hold, a reasonable question.

Until quite recently a study of one or both of the so-called classical languages, Latin and Greek, has almost invariably formed a part of a high school education. In England, indeed, so strong has been the tendency to regard the connexion between Latin and Greek as essential and inevitable, that in schools where, in deference to popular demand, a Modern side has been established, a pupil must generally

either abandon both in favour of French and German, or learn both without any regular or systematic instruction in modern languages at all. I cannot help thinking that this attitude has been an utterly mistaken one, especially so far as Latin is concerned, and that that language has in consequence suffered an injury in public reputation from which it is only just beginning to recover.

Even on linguistic grounds Latin and Greek stand on a totally different footing, and this difference is accentuated in the light of modern educational requirements. Greek is, in fact, essentially the scholar's language, and as such will, I imagine, still be the goal to which those who desire to attain to the height of linguistic scholarship will press forward. There are also two classes of professional men—namely, lawyers and clergymen—to whom some considerable knowledge of Greek will almost certainly continue to be a positive professional advantage. So far as the clergy are concerned, the statement will hardly require further proof. The mastery of intricate linguistic problems, which any adequate knowledge of the Greek language must necessarily afford, will surely continue to be of assistance in producing that judicial habit of mind which will always be required in "great legal luminaries."

But we cannot all be clergymen or lawyers; nor can we all be scholars, even if such a result were actually desirable. And the sooner it is recognized that Greek is preëminently not a language of which the painful acquirement of a mere smattering will be of any avail to the average man, the better will it be in the interests of scholarship and education alike. For those who possess the linguistic faculty, Greek, with its magnificent literature and subtle phraseology, must always be a language of surpassing interest, but to suppose that a boy who for three or four years has been wearily and unwillingly dragged through a little Xenophon, a little Herodotus, and a little Homer can really derive any proportionate benefit from the process, is expecting too much. "The surge and thunder of the Odyssey" can only be appreciated by those who have

some real knowledge of the language, and some real taste for its study.

Latin, on the other hand, stands on a different basis. In the first place, it offers a striking contrast to Greek, in the fact that even the slightest and briefest study of the language is of real practical value. To have stumbled wearily through a few pages of Xenophon or Herodotus is nearly a sheer waste of time. To have given, however, grudgingly, the same number of hours to Cæsar is to have laid, even though unconsciously, the foundation for a better and more accurate knowledge of the English language. I do not think this fact is sufficiently appreciated, or that enough consideration is generally given in the teaching of Latin to its value as a factor in the proper mastery and appreciation of our own language. If this be true of the teaching profession it is still more certain that the outside world scarcely realizes at all the extent to which the English language is permeated, and, I might add, inspired by the influence of the language spoken by Cæsar and Cicero.

The reason of this is not far to seek. At the revival of learning in the Middle Ages, European scholars used the Latin language as a medium of international intercourse, and they became such masters of the instrument which they had adopted that it became, as it were, a part of their literary nature. Milton, than whom there was never a greater master of English prose, wrote Latin prose almost as well as he wrote in his native tongue, and he is but a single example of a general fact. Now the style which he and his contemporaries naturally copied when they were writing in Latin was the style of Cicero, and from this two consequences followed. In the first place, Milton's own English prose as well as the prose of all the writers of the period became necessarily, though perhaps insensibly, affected, not only by the style but also by the very language of Cicero. Secondly, the Ciceronian style, having thus been adopted into the language, became to a large extent the model and inspiration of future generations, this process, of course, being assisted and stimulated by the fact

that Latin, though no longer a medium of international communication, was still one of the recognized instruments of a liberal education. And our language has been so permanently and indelibly affected by the result that one cannot take up any newspaper of the present day which lays claim to literary distinction, without being aware that the influence of Cicero still retains its sway, not as an exception but as the general rule. So much indeed is this the case that I will venture to predict, with the utmost confidence, that on whatever day this magazine shall be published, the first leading article in the *Times* of the same date will bear the most clear and unmistakable signs of the abiding influence of Cicero.

And if this be true of English prose, it is still more true of English poetry. With rare exceptions the English poets have belonged to the upper middle classes of society, and have received, as part of their environment, a classical education. Nothing is more noticeable in reading English poetry than the extent to which the various poets have been influenced by the classical spirit; and, though it must be admitted that a large proportion of this influence is traceable to Greek sources, it is equally certain that the method of expression has been actually Latin. Wordsworth's "multitudinous sea" may be Homeric in diction, but it is Latin in actual origin. English prose and English verse are alike the repositories of a language which, though dead, lives in them.

And it is not only in style but in actual words that the English language is permeated with latinity: and this to such an extent that some knowledge of Latin becomes necessary for a real understanding of our own tongue. The grammar of the English language is Anglo-Saxon in character. As a necessary result the pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, as well as the verbs "to have" and "to be" are of Anglo-Saxon origin. But such words as these are merely useful in forming the structured frame of the language: the nouns, the verbs, the adjectives and, to a certain extent, the adverbs, are the parts of speech which really give to a language its

vitalizing power. And if the words which are merely useful for a structured purpose be omitted from any average passage of literary English, it is no exaggeration to say that of the remaining words approximately half will be found to be Latin in origin and form.

The study of Latin then, will, in the future be increasingly based on the fact that it is an integral and necessary factor in the acquirement of our own tongue; and Latin will primarily be taught, not in order that the student may acquire a new language, but that he may be accurately acquainted with his own. This is the real and paramount claim of Latin for general consideration, and it is one that can hardly be gainsaid; for in the case of any English-speaking nation an accurate and well-grounded knowledge of the English language must continue an essential in every scheme of education, whatever the ultimate life-work of the particular individual may be. But Latin, altogether apart from the fact that it has contributed so greatly alike to the style and the actual language of modern English, has many other claims to a permanent place in any liberal scheme of modern education.

There are, I conceive, two qualifications required to make a subject an ideal one from an educational point of view. The first is that it shall be of practical value; the second, that it shall be capable of training and stimulating the mental faculties. Each of these qualifications is so valuable that if any given subject should be conceded to possess one without having any reasonable claim to the other, it might still be regarded as possessing great educational advantages. But if any subject can be shown to include both these qualifications, its claims to recognition are surely irresistible. That such is the case with Latin, if it be properly taught, is, I think, daily becoming more clearly recognized. If the practical value of Latin as an aid to the accurate knowledge of our own language is only now beginning to receive appreciation, its usefulness as a means of admirable mental discipline has ever since the revival of learning received general recognition.

To produce an orderly, logical, and accurate habit of mind there is no grammar like that of the Latin language. Latin has suffered from the defect of this very virtue. There is a tendency in all professions to consider things from an ultra-professional point of view, and to attribute excessive importance to a detail which an educated and unprejudiced member of the general public would disregard. Until comparatively recent years teachers of Latin have bowed down before the altar of grammatical accuracy, forgetting that grammar is a means to an end. It is one of the great advantages of Latin as an instrument of mental training, that no progress can be made without a solid, though not necessarily wide, foundation of grammatical accuracy. But when once the foundation is laid, the language itself is its own best teacher; and it is forgetfulness of this fact which, from the time of Queen Elizabeth downwards, has not only been the cause of an appalling waste of time, but by the satiety produced has very seriously endangered the position of Latin as a factor in modern education. It was in order that scholars "should cum to a better knowledge in the Latin tong than the most part do, that spend four or five yeares, in tossing all the rules of grammer in common scholes," that Roger Ascham wrote his celebrated "Scholemaster." The method which he advocated was that of double translation which was, in his opinion, "fittest for the speedy and perfit atteyning of any tong." The examples which he gives of its successful application are certainly remarkable. In less than a year "a yong ientleman, John Whitneye" by name, attained such proficiency in Latin that "some in seven yeare in Grammer scholes, yea, and some in the Uniuersities to, can not do halfe so well." And he also mentions the case of his illustrious pupil, Queen Elizabeth who "never toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe," and yet by the practice of double translation, "dailie without missing every forenoon," attained in the space of a year or two to "soch a perfite understanding in both the tonges, and to soch a readie utterance of the latin,

and that wyth soch a judgment, as they be few in number in both uniuersities or els where in England, that be in both tonges comparable with her Maiestie."

The tendency to waste undue time in the study of nothing but dry grammatical rules is not less apparent now than it was in the days of Roger Ascham. There are still many schools where four or five years are spent in "tossing all the rules of grammar," with results wholly inadequate to the time expended. And the interests of Latin lose seriously thereby. It is one thing to ask for the provision of the forenoons of two years to be spent in acquiring a knowledge of Latin. It is quite another to demand the setting apart of five or six, especially if the results be of barely noticeable importance.

Another great advantage, from the point of view of the average student, is that most of the best Latin literature is contained in comparatively small bulk. The *Æneid* of Virgil is one of the world's greatest epics; yet even of the *Æneid* there are only three or four books which are conspicuous for preeminent merit. Apart from Virgil it is very doubtful whether any Latin writer can claim to be a first-class poet, in the sense in which we admit that Milton, Dante, Goethe, or Sophocles are first-class poets. In an age when most of us cannot find time to read the masterpieces of our own poets, it seems doubtful economy to study the works of inferior poets merely because they happen to be written in a language other than our own. But there is one Latin poet who, though he perhaps could hardly by an absolutely impartial international verdict be pronounced first-class, will always, I imagine, rank almost equal to Virgil as an author to be studied by all students. I allude, of course, to Horace, some of whose odes I believe are first-class from whatever standpoint they may be regarded. And even those who take a less exalted view of their merits will hardly deny them the combined qualities of exquisite diction, brevity, and melody, together with a sane and kindly wisdom which no other poet surely possesses in equal degree. In the power of coining phrases suitable to

every accident of life Horace is indeed unique. A striking illustration of this power is afforded in the story of the Dutch martyr, Cornelius de Witte, finding consolation in the midst of his torture, from the recitation of the first eight lines of the magnificent ode, beginning, "Justum et tenacem."

Again, so far as prose authors are concerned, the mastery of so trifling an amount of matter as is contained in a few books of Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico," and such of Cicero's writings as Ascham recommends for this purpose, will, at least in two ways, produce desirable results. By the mere mechanical study of the language the student must inevitably acquire an accurate and scientific knowledge of his own tongue; while the translation of Latin into English, if it be practised for its own sake, must necessarily make him qualified in the habit and faculty of English composition; and this, for reasons which I have already mentioned, is especially true in the case of translations from Cicero.

Another striking advantage is possessed by Latin in its intimate and parental relation to French, which might indeed be almost regarded as a modern dialect of the language of the Romans. Of all modern languages French is, I suppose, the easiest to acquire for one whose native tongue is English; and of the utility of learning French there can be no question. But if the extreme facility with which a reading knowledge of French can be acquired is an advantage on the one hand, it is a disadvantage on the other. The very ease of the process makes the exercise of any higher mental effort comparatively unnecessary; but this disadvantage can be remedied if Latin and French be made supplemental one to the other. In such a case not only will the mental discipline necessary be supplied by a solid foundation of Latin grammar, but the study of French itself will be rendered at once easier and more scholarly by the apprehension of the main phonetic principles which govern the interchange of words in the two languages.

In this connexion it must be admitted that there is something to be said in favour of the principle advocated by

Benjamin Franklin in his "Autobiography," namely, that if one of these two languages is to be learned before the other, French should take priority. I am inclined to think that, if they are learned simultaneously, a still greater advantage will be derived; because, in that case, each can most effectively be made supplemental to the other. But whether Latin is, or is not, to be taught conjointly with French, it seems certain that, in the future, the teaching of Latin must be Aschamized, if it is to retain its hold as a means of general education. Grammar must be regarded not as an end but as a means to an end. The practice of double translation must be made a regular scholastic exercise, for there is no other medium by which in so brief a time grammar, vocabulary, and style may simultaneously be acquired in two languages. The pedantic habit of mind which made it possible for hundreds of boys to be compelled to write verses in a foreign tongue must be wholly discarded. That, in the case of a very small minority, the writing of Latin verse was altogether a waste of time would perhaps be dangerous to assert, when one recalls the eloquent preachers, and orators, the able theologians, and the great jurists whose minds were disciplined by this exercise, as it is impossible to affirm that even a purely artificial exercise is, in the case of the scholarly mind, incapable of giving some mental stimulus of a valuable kind. But even in these exceptional cases it seems probable that at least equally valuable mental training might have been imparted by methods less open to criticism.

I never fully realized the hopelessness of the endeavour to write poetry in a foreign tongue until I read the following stanzas bearing the mysterious title, "Her Glee," and written by a Japanese gentleman :

"The purest flame, the hottest heat
Is woman's power over earth,
Which mighty pale and black downbeat
And made the Eden place of birth.

Of what, of what—can thou tell me?
A birth of noble, high value;
The station he designed for thee
Of woman, mother, social glue."

Notwithstanding their supremely ridiculous character, the author seems to me to have had a certain poetical afflatus. The second and seventh lines are quite good, and there is a certain veiled significance in the third line which appeals, even though one smiles at it. It is the eighth line which reveals the real hopelessness and impossibility of any attempt to make verse in a foreign language. I have never met anyone, whose native language was English, to whom the expression "social glue" did not seem utterly ridiculous; though why it should be so is hard to say, seeing that many words suggestive of quite as everyday ideas are perfectly suitable for poetic usage, and such a paraphrase as "sweet cementing influence" would be quite appropriate. But it is the very fact that the particular phrase used sounds so ridiculous to English ears that makes it practically certain that in any Latin poem written by the ripest of scholars "social glue" would inevitably occur under other forms. I have instanced this case, not because I think that there is any serious danger of the practice of composing Latin verses being required from the multitude, but because the habit of mind which could advocate such an exercise still, I fear, exists. Pedantry always has been and always will be the pitfall of scholarship and especially of those of us whose brains the "crambe repetita" tends to undermine. Yet if there is any danger which more than another threatens the continuation of the study of Latin for practical purposes, it is surely pedantry. This is the one peril against which we must watch with unceasing vigilance, for if we can only succeed in our efforts, we can with confidence predict a future of increasing usefulness to Latin as a factor in all but the most elementary education.

I have dealt in this article with the study of Latin solely as a means of general instruction. What I have said has no bearing on its development so far as the "ripe scholar" is concerned. That is a totally different question, and one with which my present inquiry has no immediate or necessary connection. All I have attempted to prove is:

I. That, alike in its grammar, its literature, and its style, Latin, especially if it be associated with French, is the language which offers the greatest opportunities of linguistic training for the average student.

II. That, both from its practical connexion with English and from its usefulness as a means of mental training, it is an ideal study from the educational point of view.

III. That in order to secure the best, speediest, and most lasting results the language must be studied on proper principles, and in accordance with the wise methods formulated by Roger Ascham.

IV. That, if these conditions be fulfilled, Latin is destined to a career of continued and extended usefulness.

R. E. MACNAGHTEN

HISTORY IN PHRASES

A PHRASE is an epitomized theory; often an epitome of the life and thought of the epoch of its appearance. History might almost be written in a string of phrases; for nearly every epoch culminates in a phrase, and sometimes the phrase reacts upon the epoch. In every era in the history of every nation there will be found a craving, a striving to put into form some certain sensible manifestation and formulation of itself, of its inmost soul and spirit, of its beliefs and hopes, of its views as to what man is, and what his relationship to his fellows and to the world in which he finds himself. It may not be a definite and deliberate effort, but it is there. Naturally, too, it is the great men that represent the great movements, and it is to their utterances that we must go if we would learn the characteristics of their age.

In Homeric times, the warrior was the pivot of the community: society centered about the "swift-footed," "hairy-breasted," "plume-glancing" hero. The political tie was dependence on a great and powerful chieftain, a "wide-ruling Agamemnon" or a "god-like Idomeneus." And it is in these very constantly-recurring phrases of Homer that we shall find, if we look, not perhaps a literal, but a picturesque mirror of his age.

In later times, for the formulation of Greek life we must go to Aristotle, whom Hegel called "the deepest and also the most comprehensive thinker of antiquity." Socrates and Plato were perhaps too abstract, too philosophic, to serve as mirrors of their day. In Aristotle, the great preceptor of the great Alexander, we find the practical thinker with the gift of speech. From him what do we learn? This: that to the Greek, still the

individual was of supreme importance; not as warrior now, for the community has become more complex; but as great man, great by reason of character or intellect, be he statesman, general, sculptor, dramatist, or practical philosopher; and great above all as a political unit, as a citizen; for already in Attica the warrior tribe has developed into a very perfect community. If we go to the Nicomachæan Ethics we shall find who this ideal individual was; and the Nicomachæan Ethics, we must remember Aristotle himself tells us, is of a political nature, that is, it seeks the characteristics of the perfect citizen. Well, the perfect citizen is the "high-minded" or "great-souled" man; he who values himself highly but justly; to whom honour and dishonour are matters of especial moment; who is affable; concerned in few things, but those great and famous; not easily moved to admiration; reserved; deep-toned; deliberate; quiet. High-mindedness or great-souledness—that is the Greek ideal expressed in a single word.

Passing to Rome we come to a more distinctly political era; political, that is, in that the state, including its numerous dependencies, has now grown too large for management by a single man, be he hirsute warrior or high-souled statesman; and there is therefore necessary a whole machinery of government—conscript fathers, consuls, tribunes, quæstors, ædiles, prætors, pontiffs, augurs, flamens, and what not. The ideal Roman, accordingly, was summed up in that important phrase the *Civis Romanus*, the member of a complex political community. Even Rome's banners contained in a sort of cipher the germ of this conception, for under the magic letters S.P.Q.R. her legions were bidden to fight for the Senate and the People, the legislative body, and the community for which it legislated. As a consequence, law, the celebrated Roman law from which to this day we borrow, was all in all. *Civis Romanus* and *Lex Romana* are the watchwords of Rome. These and one other: *Imperium*; for the Imperial City is mistress of many tributary nations. This was in her prime. In her decline.....ah! other phrases cropped up then—

Panem et Circenses; Pollice Verso; Vale Cæsar Imperator, Morituri Te Salutamus. When Rome as Rome—law-maker and law-giver, at once a municipality and a mistress of nations—is at the point of death, half her power transferred to Constantinople, and all her borders encroached upon by hostile tribes, then two phrases ring out as significant as, perhaps, legendary: the *In hoc signo vinces* of Constantine; and the *Vicisti Galilæe!* of the apostate Julian. Christianity, like the Spirit moving upon the waters, now supervenes upon chaotic Rome.

These last two phrases lead us naturally to the next step in the upward movement of life and polity. The Galilean has triumphed over the Pagan. To Roman citizenship succeeded Christian brotherhood; the Christian brotherhood taking little or no thought for political institutions, though rendering unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and bound together by ties less formal but more powerful than those of a municipal or provincial community. "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren"—there is the essence of Christianity in the phraseology of the Apostle.

We see here a gradual change of ideal from the man as a warrior, to the man as citizen, then to the man as a brother and fellow-man. The Greeks scouted the idea of brotherhood: the Greeks were Greeks and all else were "Barbarians." It took even St. Paul some time to learn that the "Gentiles" were not "unclean." How significant even these single words!

Nor was the change catastrophic. It was organic, natural, an out-growth of the time. With, often, two or more Emperors contemporaneously ruling, and with constant encroachments of hostile tribes, little protection could the governing body afford its distant subjects. The "decline and fall" were at hand, and no agglutinating force was available but this of the new spirit upon the waters. A potent spirit indeed it proved. But in time it acquired some of the characteristics of the spirit which it dispossessed. The warrior becomes a Crusader, the political head of the state a Pontiff, the citizen a member of a religious community.—We have reached the Middle Ages.

In that welter of history, the Middle Ages, what phrases abounded, and how diverse in kind! The weak and degenerate descendants of Clovis give birth to the *Rois Fainéants*; the strong and powerful houses of Pepin and Ebroin to the equally famous *Majores Domûs* or Mayors of the Palace, name still living in our Major-Domo, and still forceful, as we see in the phantom power which hangs about the chief magistrate. To the Crusades and to the Orders of Chivalry of this age, too, belong many phrases thick with romantic meaning. We still speak of "winning our spurs;" and, to be "*sans peur et sans reproche*" is still the acme of knightly character. From this time, too, date all those historical allusions which cluster about such words as "chivalrous" and "romantic," long afterwards to be caricatured as "quixotism;" "inquisitorial," "knight-errantry," and "bigot"—which last, they say, is but a variant of the great oath of the fierce defender of his faith.

By degrees Christendom became organized; as it could not but become when brought into contact with political, legal, and imperial Rome. The "brotherhood" of Christ (name well preserved in the Friars or Frères) develops into an "ecclesia," a church militant on earth, with a Vicar of Christ on the Papal throne and all the paraphernalia of a hierarchy—the idea of political citizenship is not lost sight of. "*Pro Christo et Ecclesia*," "For God and Holy Church," "Church and State," "*Dieu et mon Droit*," are now our watch-words. And all connote struggle and combat. Europe seethes with strife. Huns, Vandals, Saracens, Goths, Franks, have been pouring in; and no sooner are new-comers settled than fresh hordes dispute their possession. Even Christianity caught the contagion and fought and persecuted recklessly. How recklessly may be known by the well-known phrase of the Cistercian monk who at the massacre of Bezières urged to "kill all," for "God would know His own."

In process of time the iron hand of the Church grew heavy. Its bulls and decretals, its dogmas and formularies, its councils, its indulgences, its penances (what clouds of

meaning hang about these monological phrases!), seemed to Luther little consonant with the simple teaching of the primitive Church. Luther rebelled, and whereas hitherto the Church had declared that safety, whether temporal or spiritual, was to be found only within her pale, the Augustinian monk declared that "justification was by faith," phrase to which, to this day, all Protestantism has clung—to this and to that other: the "right of private judgement," as opposed to the "*ex cathedrâ*" Papal judgements in "matters of faith and morals." For Henry's refutation of Luther, the British Sovereign is still styled "Defender of the Faith." Yet, strangely enough, from this very Henry—eighth of his name—the Church received a mortal wound. Luther's bold assertion weakened her spiritual power; fifteen years afterwards her temporal power received an equally severe blow by the statutory declaration of Parliament that the king was the "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England." What fuss, what fights, and what fires of Smithfield raged over that particular phrase, all know.

Henceforward citizenship is purely secular; for, though the Church in England is established, and though the "primate of all England" is the "first subject in the realm," the temporal and the spiritual powers are henceforth divorced. Only one minute and insignificant relic now survives in England of that once potent influence of the Church over matters political, the presence, namely, in the Upper House of the Bishops, who still retain the title of "lords spiritual;" this, and perhaps tithes; perhaps also the fact that the monarch receives the crown from the hands of the Archbishop. Politically, Convocation is but the shadow of a shade.

We find ourselves now nearing modern times. Of citizenship and of brotherhood, that is, of man's relationship, first, to his own community, and, second, to humanity at large (for it was virtually these two conceptions that clashed when Pagan first met Christian)—of citizenship and of brotherhood the world is now getting clearer views. Henceforward politics busies itself with other problems, and the inscriptions on the

sign-posts of history are many and diverse. "Divine Right" and "Kingly Prerogative" (note the lingering ecclesiastical connotation in the first) were big words at an important cross-road in the reign of the first Charles, dividing paths that, curiously enough, met again at the Restoration after traversing many a bloody battlefield. This was the era of "Take away that bauble!" "Pride's Purge," and "Bare Bone's Parliament," the which to amplify would be to write the history of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate—names sufficiently significant in themselves.

The same paths again diverged when the third George began to "govern" as well as to "reign." Again were troublous times; again sign-posts with discrepant injunctions. "George, be King!" said one; "No taxation without representation," said another. This time the divergence was wide. Yet again the pathways met, and at the meeting-point was raised a gigantic sign, which read, on one side of the Atlantic, "All men are born free and equal," and on the other, "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.*"

But ere that double sign was erected a long rough road was travelled, and many and significant were the phraseological finger-posts by the way. Among the milestones, all will remember Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws;" Rousseau's "Social Contract;" Voltaire's "Dictionary;" the "Encyclopedists;" all the literature of sentiment and scepticism that led up to the political and social upheaval in Europe—to the "September massacres," to the "Reign of Terror." In process of time the brotherhood, that is the equality in the eyes of the law, of every member of the community was gradually admitted. Henceforward the question became: Who shall make and administer the law?

That is to say, citizenship having now been thoroughly secularized and equalized, the question was to define and delimit the respective spheres of the governing and the governed—difficult and delicate question, and one much still debated. At the epoch at which we have arrived it presented itself in crude, but at the same time acute form. "*L'état,*" said

Louis the Fourteenth with pardonable ingenuousness, "*L'état c'est moi.*" "*Vive la République!*" shouted the Sansculottes in answer; and under the reverberation of this last little phrase the palaces of Europe shook. Nor have the echoes yet died away; for, ever and anon, one here and there takes up one or other cry afresh. So, on the other hand, a Boulanger with transparent vagueness demands a "revision of the constitution" (on behalf of course of Monarchy); and on the other, a Republican Ministry enforces "laicization" at the point of the nozzle (on behalf of course of La République).

But I anticipate. "The Declaration of Independence" having been transmuted from word into deed, and the "Goddess of Reason" having been fitly enthroned, Europe and America will settle down to construct, or to improve, the machinery by which those who govern are to carry out the wishes of those who are governed. For by this time (portentous revolution!) it is not the community which obeys the behests of its ruler, but the ruler who carries out the wishes of the community.

Many-sided is the problem of government to-day, and some cry one thing and some another, and every cry is a phrase—"Autocracy" says Russia; "Dual Monarchy" says Austria; "Constitutional Monarchy" says Great Britain; "Republicanism with an elective chief," say France and the United States; a "Dominion" with an appointed gubernatorial head, says Canada; a "Commonwealth" says Australia; a "Vice-Royalty" says India; "Crown Colonies," "Suzerainty," "Spheres of Influence," "Tutelary Power," "Protectorate," say numberless lesser voices in the wilderness; and in the distance are heard lesser voices still, highly inarticulate.

The machinery of government, this, then, is the pressing question, coming to a head in England in 1832 with the "Reform Bill," parent (and descendant) of a large progeny of watch-words: "free-hold," "copy-hold," "scot-and lot," "forty-shilling franchise," "manhood suffrage," "one man one vote," "woman suffrage," and what not. A long fight

and a stubborn was this; renewed again in 1867, when Derby and Disraeli "dished the Whigs."

Now, too, commercial questions spring up. The bulk of the community being producers or traders, legislation is called upon to aid one or other, and we get "Repeal of the Corn Laws," "Factory Legislation," "Protective and Preferential Tariffs," "Interstate Commerce," "Imperial Zollverein,"—these the inventions of those who govern; by the governed are invented "trusts," "monopolies," "combines," "syndicates," "unions," "rings." Manifold are the demands of the governed; thorny the path of the legislator.

Now, too, arise curious questions having to do with the minutest details of government—who shall be taxed, and how the incidence of taxation shall be regulated. So a Henry George advocates "nationalization of land," "confiscation of rent," or "a single tax." "Socialism" (whatever that vague phrase may signify) goes further and demands not only nationalization of land but of means of production, also, thinking by so doing to carry to its utmost logical extreme the principle of "government by the people."—Most perilous of phrases that, for what is the most bureaucratic of governments but certain persons picked out from "the people" to stoke and oil and start the machinery of the state? The whole people cannot govern, any more than a flock of sheep can govern. And the bell-wether is but a sheep. Nor does the phrase enlighten us as to the mode in which the bell-wether shall be chosen. Shall he be merely the son of his father; or shall he be chosen for his big size? or his big stick? In a multitude of counsellors there may be wisdom; in a multitude of leaders there is not guidance.

We have come to our own day. In what sort of phrases the modern epoch is formulating itself only the future historian will say. No contemporary writer can disengage himself from his own *milieu*, as no bird can outsoar its own atmosphere, at how great soever an altitude it surveys the landscape underneath. Yet perhaps a seminal phrase may be detected floating here and there. I seem to see in the increasing

vogue for "Theosophy," for "Neo-Buddhism," "Christian Science," "Spiritualism," the "New Thought," a very marked tendency in modern life. Is it a swing of the pendulum away from the early-Victorian materialism of Darwin and Huxley and Tyndall? True, Haeckel, the arch-materialist, lives and writes, and is read. But is he read as much as that devout and philosophical mystic Amiel, or that poetical and scientific mystic Maeterlinck? I think not.

Undoubtedly, too, the new views of "matter" propounded by the physicists are running *pari passu* with new views of the "soul" propagated by psychologists. Even theology catches the contagion: a notable occupant of a notable pulpit substitutes an "Ever-Present Energy" for a "Personal God."

Of politics, the note is "Imperialism," the which to trace, either backwards or forwards, would carry us far indeed. Of society, the watch-word, of course, is "Bridge." And Bridge connotes many things—amongst others, the rapid accumulation of wealth by those unaccustomed to leisure.

Of literature.....Alas! poor literature! When will some hierophantic flowering Aaron's rod swallow up the Pharaohian serpents of fiction?

Of the social community as a whole, the "labour-union" on the one hand, and "accumulated capital" on the other—these are the great watch-words of this twentieth century; and how these two mighty engines will clash, or amicably work together, who shall say? Combination, agglutination, social and commercial union for the purpose of obtaining laws which shall benefit those so united—this is the note of the day; and the phrases of the day are "lobbying" and "the caucus." The citizen in bulk is now the care of the state; and were a new Aristotle to write a new Ethics, he would descant, not on how best the individual man might become more high-souled, but how best masses of men might be made more prosperous. For the political unit, which was once the individual, is now huge masses of individuals.

Indeed, Agglutination has gone farther still; whole nations combine against each other; legislation becomes fiscal

rather than political; tariff walls take the place of treaties. This international agglutination may lead far, as those embryonic words "arbitration" and "Hague Tribunal" hint. There are those who look forward to the day when civilized peoples will organize a "police of the world;" and no nation be allowed wantonly to disturb the peace.

Certain minor currents of thought, too, perhaps seem to-day discernible under the guise of phrases heard on every hand. We may find, I think, in "physical culture," in the plea for a "simpler life," in a "reformed diet," in "nature books," even in the myriad "breakfast foods" whose abominable names jostle each other on every barn, a distinct and spreading tendency in modern life. To trace the fount and origin of this is not easy. But, taken in conjunction with the prevalence of sport, with the intense interest evinced in athletic contests, it may point to a revulsion from the unnatural and sordid life entailed on the masses by the enormous growth of those "labour-saving" devices which pen them in great cities and confine them daily within the four walls of a factory. Certainly it points to the increase of individual intelligence, and to the desire of the individual to meliorate his lot, both physically and mentally. The cult of the body is not now confined to the fox-hunter and the preserver of game. If so, then even these humble phrases are worthy of notice; even the abominable nomenclature of the "breakfast foods," pointing, as they do, to the passing of the "domestic servant" and the break-up of "home life"—phrases which, in the century to come, may lose all meaning!

The phrase is the motive-power of the world. Corporeal man, armed with battle-ax or Maxim, is but the vehicle of the phrase; the armature, the dynamo through which that subtle electric fluid which we call Thought is collected, directed, and flies through space, working wonders: here turning a mighty monarchy about its axis, there setting a continent in a blaze. Were men voiceless, humanity would resemble a shoal of herrings; if he could not communicate his thought, humanity would be as the sands of the sea—incoherent.

Not till thought is somehow made communicable, is the society called "political" possible.

But as yet man is a highly imperfect dynamo. It is but a crude form of thought that as yet may be conveyed through lips to ears, through an armature of pharynx and vocal chords on the one hand, and of a tympanum and otoliths on the other. What may take place in the higher centres of the cerebrum—and for that matter, in the great ganglia of the sympathetic nerves—who shall say, seeing we can only know after it has filtered through speech and hearing, after it has been "coarsened," *épaissi*, as Amiel said, into audible speech? And even were these conduits less coarse, were Mind by some hitherto inexplicable process of thought-transference, enabled to convey something of its actual self to a fellow-mind, still the awesome miracle of Thought—and of Emotion—remains untold, for what in its ultimate nature that Thought or that Emotion may be, we can no more conceive than we can conceive what lies behind "matter."

We have travelled the high-road of history, reading the sign-posts by the way. It is perhaps a curious thought that the most permanent things in that path are those signs. The hewn-stone temple of Delphi is a thing of the long, long past; its bi-verbal inscription is an every-day proverb. Alexander wept that he had no more worlds to conquer: his plaint lives though his victories are vain. Immortal Cæsar is dead and turned to clay; his proud "*Aut Cæsar aut nullus*" is a daily saying. A phrase is a formulated theory, a reasoned system. It is the coping-stone of one generation; and this coping-stone is made the foundation-stone of the next. A Heraclitus, looking over the changeful world, enunciates that "all things fleet." Centuries afterwards Hegel explains the transition from Non-being to Being by the not dissimilar "Becoming." Then Darwin and Spencer work out the biological and "sociological" details of "becoming," and we get the theory of Evolution. Till some certain truism has been formulated and phrased, progress seems impossible: as a solid cannot increase till crystallization commences, or a plant repro-

duce till it has come to seed. Yet there is no finality. The conclusion of one syllogism is the major premiss of the next in an interminable sorites. The last footprint of one system is the first step of the next. For the pithiest phrase, the widest generalization, is but a partial truth; and what to-day seems an explanation beyond all possible dubiety, to-morrow is found vague and meaningless. "Truth," says Lorimer, "is one and eternal;" yet to the most infinitesimal "guesses at truth" men have clung with a tenacity absurd. Empedocles held that atoms were united by "love" and separated by "hate." A more scientific age substitutes the equally futile substantives "attraction" and "repulsion," with side glances at "centripetal and centrifugal forces," "capillary attraction," "osmosis," "surface tension"—magniloquent and meaningless terms denoting, if anything, merely laws, not things. So, "gravitation" once set at rest the puzzle of the coherence of the solar system: to-day we candidly confess our total ignorance of what gravitation is.

What do we know? Man, pigmy but self-conscious man, penned in a petty planet; knowing nothing of the mighty cosmos which he inhabits except by what comes to him through his pupils, his earholes, his nostrils, his palate, and his finger-tips; incapable of reason till he has lived two decades, and dead before he is five-score; whirled through space away from one constellation and towards another—so they tell him; possessed of unappeasable desires, inextinguishable hopes; and capable of questionings, questionings pathetic in their intensity and fearful in their scope; staring up at the star-gilt heavens to find no answer; plunging into his own dark heart only to be the more bewildered—in what one phrase shall Man sum himself up? Yet is not this precisely the quest of all history?

ARNOLD HAULTAIN

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY

MR. SADLER, in his review of the school system of Germany for the British Government, strongly urges that the industrial and commercial success of Germany is due even more to the splendid educational foundation laid in the primary and secondary schools than to the technical and commercial training which form the crown of the system. As I am thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this statement I feel that I am justified in presenting in outline the whole educational system of Germany, laying special stress upon its technical forms, amongst which, I hope, I may be allowed to include the commercial schools. Secondly, I wish to picture the educational equipment of a manufacturing city of about the size of Toronto. Thirdly, I should like to point out one or two of the outstanding characteristics of the German educational system as I saw it. And lastly, I shall touch briefly, with one or two crude illustrations, on the spirit pervading the relation between scientists and manufacturers.

The general law code (Allgemeines Landrecht) for Prussia, adopted in 1794, which has subsequently been modified, notably in 1850, laid down the main principles of education. It is variously carried out in its details in the different states and even in different localities in the same state. It provides that all children shall receive instruction from the age of six, for so long a time as may be necessary to obtain the minimum amount of education deemed by the authorities, which now usually means the local representatives of the educational office or school inspectors, to be necessary. This curriculum is usually so construed that the boy of average intelligence has to pass at least through a period of education lasting to his completed fourteenth year. This education may

be given in private but is almost invariably received in a common school (Volkschule). In Prussia in 1895, with a population 31,855,123, the children of school age were 5,602,093, one to 5.69 inhabitants. In attendance on "Volkschulen" were 5,236,826, or 93.4 per cent. There was absent under permission one per cent.; in other elementary schools 1 per cent.; in higher schools and private schools there were four per cent.

These schools are of varied kinds in different places. In small country places there is usually a single school. In Datum Neuhöfen, with a population of less than 300, there is such a school in which were 28 boys and 22 girls of from six to fourteen years of age. There were three grades; two years are spent in the lowest, three in the middle, one in the highest grade. The subjects taught in the common school are religion; the speaking, reading and writing of German; the three simple rules of arithmetic; drawing; history; geography; natural science; and gymnastics or sewing. The hours of study are 20 per week in the lowest grades, 30 in the two higher. There is but one teacher where there is a single class school. In larger places there are as many teachers as are needed for each grade; no teacher has more than 40 pupils. The three senior years are often passed in a so-called "Burgerschule," and occasionally in these one finds that a beginning is made in foreign languages, as in Hamburg. There are in these schools no examinations, promotions being made by the teacher from grade to grade, if necessary in consultation with the inspector. In those places in which there are secondary schools there are frequently attached to them so-called "Vor-schulen," preparation schools which are attended by those who intend to enter the secondary school.

At nine years of age a boy may enter the secondary school. He must have had at least three years training in the subjects mentioned above, and his knowledge may be tested if it is thought necessary. The secondary schools, which correspond to our Collegiate Institutes and high

schools, are of three types: I. The Gymnasium. II. The Real-Gymnasium. III. The Oberrealschule.

SUBJECTS	Total week hours		
	Gym- nasien	Real- Gym- nasien.	Oberreal Schulen
RELIGION.....	19	19	19
GERMAN AND HISTORY } STORIES..... }	26	28	34
LATIN.....	62	43	..
GREEK.....	36
FRENCH.....	19	31	47
ENGLISH	18	25
HISTORY AND GEO- } GRAPHY..... }	26	28	28
MATHEMATICS.....	34	42	47
NATURAL HISTORY.....	8	12	12
PHYSICS, ELEMENTS OF } CHEMISTRY AND } MINERALOGY	10	18	24
WRITING.....	4	4	6
DRAWING.....	8	16	16
SINGING.....	4	4	4
GYMNASTICS.....	27	27	27
Total.....	283	290	289

I. The Gymnasium is much the oldest and most conservative type. It has often a history which is counted by centuries. The one at Osnabruck was founded in 804 by Charlemagne, that at Fulda claims to have been founded in the eighth century. Many of them date from the Reformation. There are in such a school nine grades, and a boy graduating will be at least eighteen years old. The subjects studied are German and Latin, begun in the lowest grade, Greek begun in the fourth year, French begun in the third year. History and geography, mathematics and natural history are taught only in the four primary years. Physics and chemistry are taught in the five senior years. Writing and singing belong to the two primary years. Drawing and gymnastics are assigned to four of the junior years. The relative hours of study are shown in the table, and the figures represent the sum of the number of hours per week devoted to the subject

in all the years in which it is studied. For example, drawing is taught two hours a week in the second, third, fourth, and fifth years, being thus equivalent to eight hours a week for one year. The hours of study per week are from thirty to thirty-three. There are, of course, separate masters for the different subjects. English and Hebrew may be taken in addition.

II. The Real-Gymnasium is a slight modification of the Gymnasium, and is now more favoured by the Government. It is difficult for any community to get permission to set up a Gymnasium. In the Real-Gymnasium Greek is not taught, but English is compulsory. More attention is given to modern languages, science and mathematics and less to Latin. This may readily be seen in the table.

III. The Oberrealschule goes a step further. Latin is not taught, but science, modern languages, and mathematics gain in attention. Graduates of these schools are not permitted to proceed to degrees in theology and law in the Universities.

Promotion in all these schools is by classes; that is, as a rule a boy advances at the end of the year with his class or is compelled to wait another year. Promotion lies in the hands of the teachers in session, and their decisions are final. Each teacher is expected to keep daily note of the work done by each of his pupils, and at least once a week he must pass upon their work, noting down in a record book whether in each case the work be good, very satisfactory, satisfactory, or unsatisfactory. At regular intervals these records are collected, and each pupil's standing is transferred to his special book, which contains, as well, the pupil's name, age, religion, occupation of father, and previous school record. This book is submitted to the pupil's parent or guardian from time to time. It is signed by him, returned, and kept by the school in its archives. Public examinations are held in some classes at the end of the term, but they are of little value in determining promotion.

At the end of six years, when he is 15, if a boy advances regularly he may take the "Abschlussprüfung," and leave

the school. This examination, if passed, permits him to become a "freiwilliger," which means that he is compelled to serve one year in the army instead of two, live out of barracks, and select his regiment. A great many business houses will only take such students into their employ. In 1889-90 about forty per cent. of the students passed this examination, forty per cent. dropped out before reaching this point and only twenty per cent. proceeded. In consequence of the small percentage of boys taking a full nine years course, the six years course is now so arranged that practically all the ground necessary to a complete education is covered: the other three years are spent in getting all studies more perfect. The final examination at the end of nine years, the so-called "Maturitätsprüfung" confers the same privileges; but in addition it admits to the universities and technical high schools. There are also schools of the same type, known as Pro-Gymnasia, Prorealgymnasia, and Realschulen, which give only six years training, and from which only the "Abschlussprüfung" can be taken.

These final examinations can be taken only by those students who are recommended by the staff and approved by the inspector. The examination consists of both a written and an oral test. The final written examination for a Gymnasium consists of a German essay, for which 5 hours are given; a translation of German into Latin, 3 hours; of Greek into German; and French into German; and four problems in mathematics. If the candidate is successful there is an oral examination, the leading examiner in each subject being the senior teacher for the subject in the school. The school inspector is always present as an examiner at such oral examinations and so guarantees a fair examination for the student, and that the examination is of sufficient severity. In the other types of school the examinations are much the same. In 1905 there were in Germany 525 Gymnasium, 104 Progymnasia, 136 Realgymnasia, 41 Prorealgymnasia, 74 Oberreal-schulen, and 321 Realschulen. In 1905 there were 1201 secondary schools in Germany, with 330,341 scholars or one to 183.5 inhabitants.

After a boy has reached the age of fourteen and has completed the ordinary public school course he is in many places not as yet free from school. According to laws passed or regulations put into force in most states between 1874 and 1896, any town may introduce a by-law which provides for the creation of a Fortbildungsschule (continuation school). Each community has the right to compel attendance on the part of such boys as it chooses to bring under its local law. In most places all boys employed in trades and manufactories are compelled to attend this school, if they are not in attendance upon some school of equivalent rank, on an average six or eight hours a week until 18 years of age. The chief subjects taught are German, arithmetic, and drawing, the amount of the latter varying with the important trades of the place or the trade of the scholar. It is often taught in a practical form, as machine drawing, designing for wood or for iron work. The instruction is given either during the noon-day period from one to three, early evening, during ordinary working hours or on Sundays. The employer must allow his employés to attend, and must notify the school authorities when he employs a boy who is liable. Instruction is either free or paid by the employer or by the parents. In many of these schools great efforts are also made to teach the pupil such elements of science as will help him in his work, as, for example, chemistry for dyers. In Germany in 1900, with a population of 52,272,000, there were 9,834 such schools with 418,516 scholars, 1 school to each 5,300 inhabitants, or one scholar to every 124.8 persons.

But should a boy wish to become a highly skilled mechanic who may be head of his own establishment or a trained foreman, and yet not be able to afford to pass through a secondary school and the technical high school, he must go to a Technische Fachschule (Technical Trade school). The entrance requirements for these vary greatly. While the better ones demand the equivalent of six years in a secondary school, some only require ordinary common school training, and will take a boy at 14 years of age. Others again require

in addition two years employment at some trade or industry pertinent to the studies chosen. These technical trade schools are of all possible kinds for all kinds of trades and industries, and of all possible grades. Some are private; some are partially and some are wholly supported by the state or municipalities. The simplest schools are the non-scientific trade schools, for barbers, tailors, innkeepers, etc. Those of a more scientific type may specialize in preparing for employment in some one trade or industry, as navigation. An example of this class is the Königliche Navigations Schule zu Altona (Royal Navigation School at Altona). Another example is the Deutsche Fachschule für Blecharbeiter (German School for Lead-workers) in Auë. The latter requires only common school education. These are of the lowest type amongst the scientific schools. As an example of a higher type the Stadtisches Höheres technisches Institut zu Cothen (City Higher Technical Institute in Cöthen) might be quoted. For entrance the "Abschlussprüfung" must have been taken, that is, at least six years secondary education, and the pupil be 18 years old. It has a courses lasting three years and a half in machine construction; electricity; technical chemistry; smelting; the manufacture of porcelain, pottery, cement, and paper; and general science. There are 36 or more of this highest type with over 8,000 scholars, about 100 of the middle type, and a great many local trade schools of the non-scientific type. Some of these schools are conducted closely on the lines of a secondary school with set requirements in regard to attendance, practical courses taken, and lectures heard. In others there is more freedom. In almost all these schools there are special classes for the better trained employés of industrial concerns, and every opportunity is given them to continue their studies. It is important to notice that none of these schools prepare for another school, nor do the higher type of these prepare for anything higher still.

Great as is the importance of these secondary technical schools for the industrial development of Germany, turning out as they do the highly trained and specialized workmen,

foremen, principals of smaller industrial establishments, and well trained officials of the lower grade, the application of science to industry would never have reached its present high pitch were it not for the graduates of the "Technische Hochschulen." The Technische Hochschulen, of which there are now ten with about 11,813 scholars, correspond with the Faculty of Applied Science of our Universities. Their graduates correspond to our civil, electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineers. To enter such a school as a regular student one must have passed the "Maturitätsprüfung" of one of the secondary schools after nine years of study. These "Hochschulen" are thus on a par with the Universities, and consequently students and staff have the same privileges of "Lernfreiheit" and "Lehrfreiheit". As this, I think, constitutes the clue to the great successes of the German Technische Hochschulen and Universities, I would like to convey some conception of what this means. The student on being admitted selects his department. The departments in Berlin are civil engineering, mechanical engineering, naval architecture, naval mechanical engineering, technical chemistry, and smelting. At Hanover some of the departments are omitted, but one finds in their place architecture and electrical engineering. At Aachen there is a department of mining engineering and one for the chemistry of food. At the end of two years the student may present himself for his primary examination. Before doing so he may be required to have heard one or two courses of lectures and to have done satisfactorily certain laboratory work, though this is not the case in all departments. In order to rank as a student he must attend at least one course of lectures during a semester. Beyond this he may work as he chooses. In his department there will be probably many courses of lectures and practical work given by the staff; of professors, associate professors, docenten and privatdocenten in the department of chemistry at Berlin, for example, there are fifty-one. He may take what he chooses, paying for those which he takes. In regard to practical work, the greater part of his time he may spend as

he wishes in that laboratory, or working with that member of the staff who will give him most help, or who interests him most, or whose work will be most valuable to him, or finally who happens to be personally most compatible. Before his examination he may be required to present certain pieces of practical work—if an architect, certain drawings, for example. Then there is an oral examination by the staff of his department in certain definite subjects. For the chemist there is physics, organic and inorganic chemistry, mineralogy, building construction, and machine construction. If successful he may at the end of a further year present himself for the final examination. For this he must present important pieces of original laboratory work. If he is a chemist, his final oral examination covers inorganic and organic chemistry, chemical technology, and either geology, spectral analysis, and photochemistry, or general iron work. A student is tested chiefly in that subject in which he has done most work. As occasional students the better educated employés of large establishments are specially welcome.

The system of Commercial schools may be said to parallel exactly the technical system. On the boy leaving school at 14 years he is in many places, if he enter mercantile life, required to attend a mercantile continuation school, and in these even more than in the industrial schools an attempt is made to give him aid in his calling. Commercial arithmetic and geography are commonly taught, and in many schools English or French is added. Then there are commercial schools which closely correspond to the Industrial "Fachschulen," of secondary rank. Of these there are now at least eighteen. In these, such subjects as materials of commerce, economics, laws of exchange and commerce, commercial history, and short-hand are taught. And finally there are now in Leipzig, Cologne, and Berlin "Handel-hochschulen," commercial high schools or "Universities." There are also agricultural schools similar in type to the industrial and commercial series, but they are not as yet so completely developed. There are 370 agricultural continuation schools.

As an illustration of the provision made by a town for education I shall quote the case of Chemnitz, a manufacturing town with 206,000 inhabitants. In 1902, it had 27 primary schools with 32,000 scholars, 15,500 of whom are boys. There were 601 teachers, of whom 460 are males, with from 30 to 40 scholars in each class. There were eight continuation schools, industrial and commercial, with 3,429 scholars. Besides there was a more technical continuation school for artisans with 1,630 scholars and several trade schools for barbers, tailors, innkeepers. There was a Real-Gymnasium with at least 300 and a Realschule with at least 200 scholars. The secondary technical schools include a weaving school with 60 scholars; the Königliche Gewerbe Akademie (Royal Trade Academy), one of the highest types of secondary scientific technical schools, and the "Technische Staatlehranstalt" (State Technical Institute), which gives lower grade courses in such subjects as building, milling, dyeing. It has 627 scholars. There are then in the city schools at least 35,500 scholars, and in the continuation schools 5,000 additional.

The guiding principles of the German educational system are breadth and thoroughness. The boy with only a common school education has had a very thorough training in those subjects which he has studied, and his studies have been broad enough to make him a good and intelligent citizen. What has struck me perhaps more than anything else in coming in contact with the German artisan—and this is the almost universal comment of those who come in contact with him—is the general high level of intelligence. One thing that undoubtedly contributes to this is the entire, or almost entire, absence of examinations, which enables the teacher to teach and the pupil to study with the idea of permanent acquirement of the useful and practical parts of each subject, and permits a much wider cultivation of individualism and originality in thought and in expression than is possible under our examination system. This is especially true of the secondary schools, in which even the final examinations are almost entirely conducted by the staff, and here,

too, wide play to individuality may be given both in teaching and acquiring.

Thoroughness is the motto of the secondary technical school. The object is to turn out highly qualified workmen, and it is to the practical side that the greatest attention is given, and even in the theoretical instruction its practical application is never lost sight of. For example, in teaching organic chemistry to dyers, the concrete examples needed to illustrate theory will, where possible, be chosen from dyeing or related industries. Great care is, however, taken not to blast the pupil's ability, already developed in his earlier school days, to think for himself and in his own way. This is especially achieved by giving much freedom to the student in the carrying out of the practical work prescribed.

In the Technical High School, while thoroughness of equipment is essential, the effort is made to give the greatest freedom compatible therewith so that each man may acquire the knowledge essential in his own way. In the practical work which forms the most important part of his course freedom of method is widely allowed. The courses are not definitely bounded and set, as are those to which we are accustomed. One of the staff may take some students and get them to aid him in some experiment which he is carrying out. In the final year, at least, the student is given pieces of work to do, and in these he is thrown much upon his own resources. He is compelled to learn to consult books and reviews and to obtain the information needed from them. In all probability, the greater the promise he shows, the greater will be the time spent with him, informally discussing the difficulties which have arisen in his work, the theory involved, and its commercial application. In these colleges thorough theoretical training is not forgotten. It is presented with its future practical application in mind, and further still with its economical commercial application. Years ago there was a danger that, with the acquirement of "teaching freedom," science would be exalted at the expense of practice, and the advancement of theoretical knowledge would be put in the

fore to the detriment of practical application; that research would be in theoretical and not in technical advance. Such a fear underlies such a pamphlet as that of Holzapfel, published in 1893, and evidently led to its publication, for the point he emphasizes is that the application of theoretical knowledge must ever be greater than its acquirement. This fact is now so generally recognized that no longer is even the theoretical instruction in these schools given by men who are not thoroughly in touch and in sympathy with its technical application. Riedel and others sound the new note for advance in claiming that not only should they have in mind the technical application but the economical features of its technical application.

But fortunately for Germany there exists in the Universities the antithesis of this attitude. Here it is frankly recognized that the main thing to strive for is the advance of pure knowledge. The student at the earliest moment is put to work with this end in view. He is, as soon as possible, given a bit of research, and **only** if he promises well does he get much attention. If not, he sooner or later succeeds by himself or goes elsewhere. The teacher has ever in mind the fact that the student may not be fitted to work well in this particular subject while excellent at something else, or even that under the influence of some other teacher he may succeed. Further, as Ostwald points out so truly, it is not necessary that a man should be perfect in every side of the subject which he chooses to study; that, for example, there is room for chemists who have quite rudimentary mathematical abilities. There are whole provinces of chemistry where mathematics are not needed, whilst there are others where they are absolutely essential. Breadth is no longer so necessary as originality and perseverance.

The last point to which I would draw attention is the intimate relationship existing between the sciences and the industries. Although the reorganization of education in Germany may be said to date from the reconstruction of Prussia after the battle of Jena (1806), and technical

schools existed in a few cases before that time, the great development of its scientific and technical life did not come till nearly half a century later. England's early industrial development accompanied, and was indeed an expression of, the development in mechanics and the application of mechanics to industry. The flowering of Germany's industrial development was due to the advance made by the chemists. Hofmann, who was once chemist to the British Mint and director of a school of Chemistry in London, was recalled as Professor in 1843 to Bonn, and laid the foundation of the aniline dye industry by his researches. He was followed by a long line of brilliant experimenters, Lauth, O. and E. Fischer, Graebe, and Liebermann, and Baeyer, all contributing to the knowledge of the chemistry of dye-stuffs. As quickly as these discoveries were made, processes for their necessary technical application were called into being. It was the intimate personal relationship between the skilled chemist in the manufacturing house and his former teachers in the Universities that made this possible. Germany now supplies the world with fine chemicals of all kinds. Every manufacturing chemist in Germany realizes the value of this personal touch, and is at any time ready to put his well-paid and expert force and the resources of his establishment to work on any problem or test that may possibly prove of value. I shall give two examples which are known to myself. Several chemists succeeded in 1890 in isolating from the suprarenal gland of the body an active principle. One of these was Takamine, in the employ of a firm of manufacturing chemists. Their preparation was the first and best to be commercially used. It is doubtful if it has ever been isolated in its pure state, and consequently for years there has been a dispute in regard to its chemical constitution. Prof. Meyer, of Marburg, suggested to a large manufacturing chemical house in Hoechst that the question could be settled, perhaps, by preparing synthetically chemicals of both suggested formulæ. The house put some of its experts to work, and at the end of several months they had prepared a series of bodies of the

type suggested. A trial of their action showed Meyer which was right. Unfortunately the body could not be got pure and the process was too complex to make it as yet available for commercial use. Again, Dunbar, professor of hygiene in Hamburg, was experimenting in the attempt to produce an antitoxin for hay-fever and had had partial success, but needed the use of thorough-bred horses to complete his work. He applied to a manufacturer of somewhat similar preparations, and he put the needed animals and the resources of his laboratory and staff at his disposal. The experiments were a success, a remedy was produced. Dunbar published the principles of its manufacture. The technical details were not disclosed, and the firm will probably alone manufacture the antitoxin, though other firms could do so, did they care to work out the necessary technique. These are two quite crude examples of what is happening every day and everywhere in Germany. The manufacturers have realized how great the benefit is which they have received, and they are willing to do anything in their power to aid the scientist, whether he be theorist or technician. They feel, too, even though time and money be lost in many cases, yet in the end they will be recouped by being the first in the field with some highly important preparation or technical method. They realize, too, that such time is not wasted, as it is actually developing their employés' knowledge and technique, and consequently increasing their usefulness, and that it is absolutely necessary for their experts to be, and remain, in close touch with those in the van of scientific and technical scientific development.

V. E. HENDERSON

MOUNTAINEERING IN CANADA

MOST of us have grown up, or grown old, retaining our early impression that De Saussure invented mountain-climbing, if not Mont Blanc itself. But there are legends, traditions and even "recorded attacks" belonging to centuries before the days of this "father of mountaineering." In the "Early History of Mountaineering," Sir Frederick Pollock tells some interesting traditions: notably how in the eleventh century an unsuccessful attempt was made to reach the summit of the Roche Melon, 11,600 feet high; and how, two centuries later, the mountain was climbed and a chapel built near its summit. He tells us, too, that Leonardo da Vinci attained a considerable height on the main chain of the Alps dividing Italy and France; also, that there is to be found on a crag in the Monta Rosa range, at an altitude of 10,000 feet, an inscription, "A.T.M. 1615."

Authentic history, however, begins with Conrad Gesner, a scholar of the sixteenth century, himself writing the records. But no very successful scientific climbing of the more lofty glacier-mountains was accomplished until De Saussure's day. He made, not the first but the second ascent of Mont Blanc in 1787. The first to scale the height was one Balmat, a Swiss peasant, who trod its virgin summit in 1786. Sometimes we hear Mont Blanc called "a lady's mountain;" but the pioneers, could they come again, might call modern mountaineering "climbing-made-easy."

Strange to say, England initiated organized climbing; and modern mountaineering, as the "noble sport," properly begins with the inception of the first Alpine Club, in London, December 22nd, 1857, whose jubilee has just been celebrated with three days' festivities. Six years before, Albert Smith

of amusing memory, with three young Oxonians and sixteen guides, had achieved the summit of Mont Blanc. Smith gave an exaggerated, sensational account of it in *Blackwood's*; and absurd reading it is to present-day climbers. Two years later he published a book, now preserved as a curiosity in alpine narrative; but no one now names him as mountaineer. He also turned the experience to profitable account, making some £30,000 in six years. It took the form of a spectacular entertainment, the "Ascent of Mont Blanc" in Egyptian Hall, with pictures, "patter songs and St. Bernard dogs." In every sketch of early mountaineering, Smith and his performances are matter for ridicule. Nevertheless he gets his just due as one who aroused in England an interest in mountaineering. Albert Smiths are always with us, and will continue till mountain-climbing shall be no more. They have their use besides furnishing amusement to the genuine lover of high altitudes courageously won; such winning inducing in any real climber the virtues of humility and unworldliness.

The original Alpine Club was organized with 31 members, the qualification being somewhat general: "Mountain expeditions or contributions to alpine literature, science, or art." The object of the club was written down as "the promotion of good-fellowship among mountaineers, of mountain-climbing and mountain-exploration throughout the world, and of better knowledge of the mountains through literature, science, or art." It was in no sense a national society, as were most of the European Alpine Clubs which followed. For some time there was no permanent place of meeting, but in a year there were nearly 100 members, and a half-century after, the 31 had grown to 668. And the little one has become a thousand in a very genuine sense, for the catalogue of mountaineering clubs in existence to-day covers twenty-six pages of a pamphlet reprinted from the *Alpine Journal*. There are 13 in England, four in Scotland, 15 in Switzerland, 24 in Italy, 26 in Austria, and 11 in Germany. Even in China there is a Mountaineering Club; there are two in India; one

each in Spain, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and New Zealand; four in Russia; 10 in France; two in Norway; two in Africa; and half-a-dozen in America, the latest being the Alpine Club of Canada. The combined membership is now over 200,000.

Notwithstanding this great number and variety of alpine organizations, the parent retains its original and now too arbitrary appellation, "The Alpine Club." It is futile to expect members of similar clubs in the very lands containing the "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice" necessary to alpine operations, to so differentiate in naming the first Alpine Club. It has been, and continues to be a mighty club. Eminent scholars and men have been among its members, and have contributed to its valuable official records, and to the splendid Alpine literature of the language. Some of our own mountains are named for its veteran climbers: Mount Ball for its first President; Mount Mummery for him who lost his life in attempting an unknown peak in the Himalayas; Mount Douglas for the nobleman lost during Whymper's conquest of the Matterhorn; Mount Bryce for the British Ambassador at Washington, another famous climber and President; besides Forbes, Freshfield, Bonney, and other peaks for equally daring mountaineers.

The first publication of the Club was "Peaks, Passes and Glaciers" (1859), being an account of a series of excursions by some of its scientific members. It went into several editions, and a second volume of new matter under the same title was published. These books dealt with unknown or seldom-frequented places in the higher snow-regions of the Alps, in straight forthright narrative of mountaineering experiences, by climbers whose aim was to become as familiar with rock, and glacier, and neve, as the Swiss guides themselves. It was not until 1863 that the Club began an official organ, "The Alpine Journal," whose early numbers are now in the catalogue of rare books, and command large prices.

In the years intervening since then, the English Club has extended its operations over the whole world, and many

records in the Journal are valuable scientific monographs. Moreover, these records have proved how the mountaineering traveller succeeds in discovery where the mere explorer fails. Also, they have given a sober and accurate estimate of the dangers, with much valuable information regarding necessary precautions and climbing equipment. From a pamphlet recently issued by Mr. Whymper, and reprinting the list of members in 1859, when the Alpine Club was scarce two years old, it is interesting to note the names of Matthew Arnold, Leslie Stephen, Professor Tyndall, Joseph Chamberlain, and the distinguished publishers, John Murray and William Longmans. Among the Scottish members was one from Ecclefechan, not yet a shrine. In the professions, clergymen were conspicuous as they are in the Alpine Club of Canada. Mr. Whymper's name was not yet on the roll, nor Mummery's, Collie's, and the rest of the younger brilliant alpinists who followed after.*

The first of these to do any climbing in the Canadian Alps was the Rev. W. Spotswood Green, F.R.G.S., of Dublin, who, in 1888, eleven years before the advent of Swiss guides, was the topographical pioneer of the Selkirks. Mr. Green climbed a number of peaks, among them Mt. Bonney, Mt. Abbott, and a spur of Mt. Macdonald. He failed to reach the summit of Sir Donald, but traversed a number of glaciers and snow-passes, notably the Illecillewaet Glacier and Neve, the Ausulkan Glacier and Pass to Geikie Glacier, and the Lily Glacier and Pass. But all these would be as nothing to the exasperating difficulties of dense forest, fallen timbers and devil's club of the virgin valleys. Before leaving the mountains, Mr. Green got a glimpse of Lake Louise.

And now the exploiting of both Rockies and Selkirks by alpinists from England and the United States was only a matter of time. These seized the short summers year by year, climbing, exploring, and discovering those wonderful

* Only two remain to-day of the original members ; Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Alfred Wills, the eminent jurist. At the Alpine Jubilee dinner in Lincoln's Inn Hall, loaned by the Benchers, Sir Alfred sat between the Lord Chief Justice of England and the President of the Alpine Club of Canada.

valleys, lakes, rivers, and mountains, now well known. Sir Donald was conquered by two members of the Swiss Alpine Club; but for a decade and more, English and American mountaineers, unhindered, conquered the maiden peaks, seeking the sources of rivers and ice-rivers south of the Railway and far north towards the "icy privacies of the pole." No volunteer-climbing was attempted by Canadians, such ascents as were made being by government-surveyors whose reports were official. On the other hand, members of the English Alpine Club and the American Appalachian Club wrote the records in magazines and books; and thus began a Canadian Alpine literature, the more notable volumes being "The Rockies of Canada," by W. D. Wilcox; "Climbs and Explorations in the Rockies," by Messrs. Collie and Stutfield; and "The Heart of the Canadian Rockies," by the Rev. James Outram. Those works concerning the early history of the Rocky Mountains, such as Ross Cox's *Journeys*, Palliser's *Expedition*, and Sir Sandford Fleming's book, while being invaluable in a Rocky Mountain library, are not counted in the purely mountaineering literature.

There has been but one contribution by a Canadian, namely, "The Selkirk Range," by Mr. A. O. Wheeler, F.R.G.S., of the Dominion Topographical Survey. Mr. Wheeler had become an enthusiastic mountaineer, and was anxious for united effort in Canada towards the practice of the mountain craft and the scientific study of glaciers. Meanwhile, here and there a Canadian felt the reproach of Canadian apathy to Canadian alpine fields sought so eagerly by alpinists beyond Canadian bounds. These few grew grey preaching the gospel of mountaineering; and Mr. Wheeler, despairing of arousing sufficient interest to form a Canadian Alpine Club, was minded to organize a Canadian branch of the American Club, then four years old. Happily it only needed such a proposition to awaken Canadians to a national sense of self-respect concerning the potentialities of their mountain heritage. With all gratitude and good-will to the American climbers who, year by year, exploited our alpine regions and

loved them well, a strong opposition, rooted deep in British sentiment, was expressed against that kind of a club. There were two objections. The name "American" was not American in a geographical sense, nor could it be, since the geographical had long been swallowed by the national significance. The Executive of the American Club suggested a change so as to read "The Alpine Club of North America." And doubtless they would have removed the second and chief objection—namely, an outspread eagle above a glacier-mountain on their crest, but by this time Mr. Wheeler was convinced of the willingness and capacity of Canada for organized mountaineering on her own account.

For five months the propaganda went forward by private correspondence, and by public appeal, on national, æsthetic and ethical grounds, in the columns of the *Manitoba Free Press*. It was ascertained that at least thirty Canadians were qualified for active membership, and delegates met for organization in Winnipeg, March 28th, 1906. One of these so qualified was a school boy who had attained the summit of Mount Hector—a splendid and difficult mountain 11,120 feet above sea—before he was fourteen. Since then, several boys have qualified, one of whom was only nine years old.

The meeting for organization was enthusiastic. Delegates were present from Halifax to Vancouver. Naturally Mr. Wheeler was elected President; and the Rev. Dr. Herdman of Calgary, and Prof. Coleman of Toronto, both veterans in the limited Canadian-Alpine sense, were made Vice-Presidents. By virtue of his early and intimate connection with the Mountains and with that picturesque episode on Roger's Pass in 1883, told so charmingly in his "From Old to New Westminster," Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., was chosen Patron. He also became an associate member, qualifications for that kind of membership being merely one of dollars—twenty-five annually.

The objects of the Club are defined in the Constitution, as follows:—

1. The promotion of scientific study and exploration of Canadian alpine and glacier regions.
2. The cultivation of art in relation to mountain scenery.
3. The education of Canadians to an appreciation of their mountain heritage.
4. The encouragement of the mountain-craft and the opening of new regions as a national playground.
5. The preservation of the natural beauties of the mountain-places and of the fauna and flora in their habitat.
6. The interchange of literature with other alpine and geographical organizations.

The field of operations is not confined to Canada, but may extend to every alpine region in the world. Apropos, the first book in its nucleus of a library was Dent's "Mountaineering"; and of the volumes already presented, only four deal with the Canadian mountains.

Qualification for active membership involves an ascent of not less than ten thousand feet above sea-level in a recognized alpine region in any part of the world; or some contribution of scientific value to Rocky Mountain literature. The annual fee is five dollars, and a life-membership costs fifty dollars. There are now three life-members. There are a number of honorary members, notably Professor Fay, President of the American Club, Col. Laussedat of the Institute of France, and the Right Hon. James Bryce. Among the associate members, besides Sir Sandford Fleming, are Mr. William Whyte, Mr. Bryon E. Walker, Mr. J. D. Patterson, Woodstock, who is also a very active member, and Ralph Connor. There are two other classes: subscribing members, being those who are unable to take any part in the out-door work or business of the Club, but pay two dollars a year and receive its publications; and graduating members, being such as wish to become active members, but are not yet qualified. They are given two years to do so under the Club's auspices, but this probation is not renewable.

This leads to the most important aggressive activities of the Club. The constitution provides for an annual camp

which is a brief summer session of a school of mountaineering. It is erected in some strategical place where graduating members may qualify for active membership, and where all members may foregather for climbing and mountain-study. In 1906, over one hundred persons, besides guides, outfitters, and servants, were in camp by the margin of the little lake on the wooded summit of Yoho Pass; in 1907 it was Paradise Valley with 150 climbers; and in 1908 it will be Roger's Pass in the very heart of forests and glaciers in the Selkirks.

These summer camps are a great undertaking, involving toil and adroit administration. It would require considerable space to give an accurate account of the solid achievements in crag-craft and snow-craft by Canadians of valley and plain, in the mountains about Yoho Valley and in the Lake Louise region. Old climbers were amazed. The climbing and the glacier excursions are arranged with military precision, and all is conducted with order and decency. The comfort and even luxury, especially under the dining canopy, is a wonder; and the cost is a trifle, compared with mountaineering on an independent basis. Added to this, the Railway Company grants transportation equal to one fare from any part of Canada to the station nearest the camp, when the climber and his impedimenta can be carried by ponies provided by the management. All professions are represented in the personnel of the Club, and the camp-fires are an interesting feature. It is by the blazing logs that the annual meeting is held and the affairs of the Club discussed. In Paradise Valley it was decided to build a club-house in Banff, where the head-quarters ought to be.

No one attending the annual meet of the Alpine Club of Canada can ever forget it. A new and unknown world is unfolded to dwellers in cities and places where life is either an eternal grind or an eternal show. And Canadians have a right to seek refreshment of life in these remote places of unspeakable beauty and grandeur within their own wide, rich land. Although we know that thirteen lakes of marvellous colour lie about the base of Mount Assiniboine, the

Matterhorn of the Rockies; and that one hundred miles north of the Railway, stretches a snowfield covering an area of 200 square miles at a mean elevation of 10,000 feet above sea, and sending down glaciers to every point of the compass; although we know that hanging alpine meadows studded with Lyall's larch alternating with wintry passes of ice and snow are to be seen and loved for the climbing; yet we have only been playing at discovery. The Rocky Mountain system of Canada extends 600 miles from the Foothills to the Coast; and from the 49th. parallel to as far north "as a man can win."

The Alpine Club is not for boasting, but for propagating a love of mountain scenery and that passion for the heights which come to all who study alpine mountains, whether savants or amateurs. In all alpine literature, no more charming writing is to be found than that of Tyndall; not even that by Leslie Stephen himself. In the Canadian Club there are scientific and art sections. These will naturally grow and develop activities more slowly than the popular mountaineering section which has made amazing progress. The membership, at present writing, is over 325, a fair proportion being ladies. There is a rule that no lady shall be allowed to climb during the Meet, if the committee of physicians in attendance advise against her state of health. This is only a wise precaution. Some of the ladies have proved brave and agile climbers, and no evil results have followed from the exercise. I do not think it would be wise for any slender and delicately organized girl to climb more than two high mountains in one season, no matter how nimble, sure-footed, and courageous she may be. The Swiss guides in the Rockies are all exceedingly reliable men. And the members of the "Topographical Survey" are also fine cragsmen, familiar with most of the peaks that have been climbed. It is a remarkable alpine history that records only one tragedy in twenty years and more. And since climbing began in the Rockies, one life alone has been lost, and that before the advent of Swiss Guides.

The early climbers had to endure a good deal of scoffing, but Rousseau came to their defence with his fine writing on mountain scenery. Pioneers in England were ridiculed and called foolish names, but they pursued the sport with serene indifference. In Canada it has not been so. A sympathetic interest has been awakened, and the eyes of many turned towards the Rockies. To know mountains is to love them as one never loves the fair scenes of lower altitudes. And to know mountains one must wander in their hidden recesses, and climb—starting forth on the day's ascent ere the stars pale and the dawn whitens; cutting steps in the frozen rivers flowing down their channels, and scaling their crags, in those high places where clouds form and lightnings are loosened; returning to the valleys weary but triumphant. There is no recreation like mountaineering for hardship and pure delight. There is no exaltation like the exaltation of high, white solitudes. And this is the way to know mountains. In our day intelligent precautions give a sober colouring, a new perspective to the "bright face of danger." It is none the less fascinating, only safer.

One word more: The Alpine Club of Canada has boundless use for its money. The club-house must be built and equipped; huts must be built at remote places and new trails blazed with transient bivouacs erected where needed. Also, it is very important that the library be augmented by valuable alpine works. Hitherto, books have been the gifts of friends.

ELIZABETH PARKER

THE MINORITY SHAREHOLDER

THE case of the minority shareholder has been brought of recent years so prominently before public attention that some account of his legal and practical position may be in season. It is accordingly the purpose of this article, without going into detail, to point out the principles by which the relative powers and rights of conflicting interests in a corporation are governed, and to show that, with a few modifications, the grand old rule that might is right regulates the whole matter.

In the first place, when any one takes shares in a corporation, he implicitly agrees that he will subject his interests therein to the honest will of the majority, so long as the majority does not attempt to go beyond the four corners of the charter in such a way as to imperil or to alter the corporate existence. From this it follows that in all matters of internal management, where charter rights are not transgressed or impaired, the majority is supreme, and that, even if it act irregularly, its acts, unless in fraud of the minority, cannot be upset. Nor will the courts even interfere in such circumstances; the reason for their inaction being clearly set out in the following dictum of an English Court:

"If the thing complained of is a thing which in substance the majority of the company are entitled to do, or if something has been done irregularly which the majority of the company are entitled to do regularly, or if something has been done illegally which the majority of the company are entitled to do legally, there can be no use in having a litigation about it, the ultimate end of which is only that a meeting has to be called, and then ultimately the majority gets its wishes."

So that in an Ontario case where the rules of a company required a two-thirds vote of the shareholders at a general meeting to ratify a certain act of the directors, and where this ratification was not given, it was held that the act stood and could not be impeached, the evidence showing that the required ratification could easily have been obtained.

Again it follows, from the general rule of majority omnipotence, that only the majority may determine whether the company has been wronged by any transaction or event, and whether it should take legal steps to recover what may be due to it. In other words, corporate wrongs can be remedied by the company only; and the company in this case being the majority, the minority is powerless on its behalf. The reasoning by which we are brought to this conclusion was well set out by their Lordships of the Privy Council in the well-known case of *Earle vs. Burland*. For it would appear at first sight that if in any case the alleged wrong done to the company might have been inflicted by the very persons who controlled the majority of its voting power, and that if these persons, as might be expected, refused to take proceedings in the company's name against themselves, the Courts would in equity allow the minority shareholders in their own name but on the company's behalf to bring an action in redress. And so indeed the Courts will do, but the minority's privilege in such a case is a barren one and dies as soon as it has stepped beyond mere matters of procedure. For obviously the minority shareholders when acting on behalf of the company cannot have a greater right to relief than would belong to the company itself. But the company as a whole is bound by the acts of its majority, unless the majority be acting fraudulently or beyond the corporate powers; and the company cannot avoid the consequences of any acts which bind it. At the same time in the case that we are considering, the grievance can only arise from some circumstance in which the majority have concurred.

Therefore in this very case the minority shareholders would be prevented from doing anything for the corporation by just those circumstances that alone could give them the right to act on its behalf.

So that the only acts that the minority may restrain are those which transgress or imperil the charter powers and those which are in fraud of the minority's own rights. What then is the meaning of the latter phrase? When are the acts of the majority fraudulent and when are they legally honest? In answering this question, we must preface by saying that the word honesty is used in this connexion rather in the copy-book sense of an outspoken worldly wisdom striving after what one considers the best policy for oneself however obnoxious or injurious it may be to one's neighbours. Hence the motives or the self-interest of the majority in doing any act which is within the competence of the company cannot be called in question. The fact that a shareholder has a particular interest in the subject matter of a certain resolution does not debar him from using his voting power to carry it. Even if he as a director were precluded from entering into such an engagement by reason of the conflict between his personal interest and that of the company, yet, if the company were competent to pass the resolution, he as a shareholder may use his voting power to secure a majority upon it. So that in the case of a transportation company the resolution of a general meeting to purchase a vessel at the vendor's price was held to be valid notwithstanding that the vendor himself held the majority of the shares in the corporation, and was a director of it, and carried the resolution by his own vote against the minority who complained. In this case it was in all probability the price of the prospective purchase which enabled the director to buy a sufficient number of shares to ratify the transaction; and the company not only bought the ship from him at his own price, but practically gave him the money

which enabled him to influence it against its previous will.

Another interesting application of the same principle is seen in the Ontario case of *Ritchie vs. The Vermillion Mining Company*. Here certain large shareholders in the Canadian Copper Company, a neighbouring competitor, bought up a controlling interest in the Vermillion Company, and proceeded to sell the latter's property to the former at the cheapest rate possible, for the express purpose of destroying competition. The only circumstance that prevented the sale was the fact that it was attempted at a period of the year when the property was not in a fit condition to be inspected by other intending purchasers who might bid higher for it than its rival. Otherwise the Vermillion Company's property could have been sold at an utter loss for all the shareholders, save in so far as the majority gained by being at the same time shareholders of the rival corporation. The suit was taken by the minority shareholders. In the course of the judgement the Ontario Court of Appeal said: "The affairs of a company must be managed according to the judgement of the majority of shares, by which the directors, the executive body, are elected; and so long as what is done is legal, it cannot be prevented or undone merely because it may be disadvantageous to a minority of the members. It is said that the defendants, who control 2,382 shares out of a total number of 2,400, are selling this property not so much in the interests of the defendant company as in the interests of the Canadian Copper Company, another Mining Company operating in the neighbourhood of the defendant company's lands, in which they are large shareholders; and not only so but that their action is or will be ruinous to the defendant company. That may be even so, and yet if the Company has the legal power to make the sale, as I think it has, the plaintiffs are without remedy.

"In *Pender vs. Lushington* (1877), 6 ch. D. 70, at p. 75, Jessel, M. R., said 'In all cases of this kind, where

men exercise their rights of property, they exercise their rights from some motive, adequate or inadequate; and I have always considered the law to be that those who have the rights of property are entitled to exercise them whatever their motives may be for such exercise. There is, if I may say so, no obligation on a shareholder of a company to give his vote merely with a view to what other persons may consider the interests of the company at large. He has a right if he thinks fit to give his vote from motives or promptings of what he considers his own interest.' The plaintiff's grievance is that the defendants, other than the company, are all shareholders in a rival company and have acquired all the shares of the defendant company except eighteen for the express purpose of preventing the defendant company from opening up its mines and carrying on its business. I think there is very strong evidence that such was the motive of the defendants in acquiring the stock. That seems to have been done as long ago as 1890, and although a good deal had previously been done by the former shareholders in developing the property by sinking shafts and extracting ores, nothing whatever has been done since. There is also some evidence that one motive of some of the defendants in taking proceedings for a sale of the property is to get rid of the plaintiffs. But I do not think these charges, if proved, would entitle the plaintiffs to maintain this action if the company has power to sell its property."

Clearly, then, the majority may be actuated by the most selfish motives, and their acts may be extremely damaging to the minority; yet if those formal acts are such as might equally be inspired by good motives leading to beneficial results, they cannot be considered fraudulent.

At this point, however, an important distinction must be made. In the case to which we have just referred the majority were allowed to sell the bulk of the company's property not only with the intention but

also with the effect of suspending for an indefinite period and, perhaps, even of abandoning, the purposes of the corporation. But had the majority attempted to go farther, had it sold the company's whole existence and forever prevented its being continued by some subsequent purchase of mining lands, the Courts at the minority's instance would have annulled the transaction. For the majority may bring the Company to dispose, for the time being, of its base of operations, its source of wealth, and even of its means and instruments of production; but nothing less than the whole body of shareholders can sell those capital assets of a corporation which enable it at any time to carry out the object for which it was formed. A shareholder binds his investment for a specified purpose; and any act, such as a sale of the whole business or of the whole of the assets, just as any act, which if persisted in would render the corporation liable to a forfeiture of its charter, may be prevented even by a minority of one. Such acts, however, are preventable not as being fraudulent of the rights of the minority but as being a violation of that contract into which the shareholders mutually enter when stock is purchased, the contract that the common property shall be used for certain purposes and no other.

In like manner, too, such an act as would change or enlarge the object of the company to any serious extent, would be equally preventable, not as being fraudulent but as being *ultra vires* and in violation of the stockholder's contractual expectation and right.

Our definition, therefore, of what constitutes fraud on the part of the majority must be so narrowed down as to exclude all such acts as might conceivably be done by the whole body of shareholders acting as an unanimous interest, in a legal manner, and looking for an equal distribution among its parts of the advantages or disadvantages of being a member of the corporation. That, on the other hand, all acts of the majority which do not answer to this description might

be considered fraudulent we are hardly prepared to say, in the present state of our law on the subject; but our point is that even if such a definition could be taken as complete it would embrace only a small proportion of those acts of which minorities have nowadays such frequent cause to complain. The Courts would certainly intervene at the instance of the minority to prevent the directors misapplying corporate profits for their own ends, or disposing of any assets without allowing the minority to share in the consideration, or giving the property of the company to one party of shareholders and throwing the debts upon the remainder. But in how many cases may not the majority shareholders use their influence in a corporation to gain some personal profit not shared in by their fellows, without in any way coming inside the prohibited area? In the case of the ship, for instance, while it is true that the company at the bidding of one of its members wasted its substance by paying much more than was necessary for its purchase, yet since, as a shareholder, the director who carried the vote lost ratably with the rest, and only gained by the accident of his being at the same time the vendor, the action cannot be considered in legal terms as fraudulent. And in the same way, with regard to the Vermilion Mining Company, the fact that certain shareholders gained by the sale through the accident of being at the same time shareholders in a rival corporation is legally quite extraneous: the saving consideration is that from the Vermilion Company's point of view the minority lost no more than the majority. And yet, and this is the point that we wish to emphasize, in each case it was this accidental and extraneous element that actually caused the votes in question to be given.

What then is the practical import of this state of affairs? Obviously that owing to the enormous powers given to the majority vote, minorities have practically no say whatever in the corporate management; plain modest investment shareholders have the scantiest knowledge as to what is being done with the common property; and a corporation may at any time find itself controlled by the most alien interests

whose very object may be to depreciate and even to ruin the institution whose shares they own. These conditions are continually becoming more frequent under the regime of what is called modern finance. The speculator, known by the experts of this new science as the "magnate," is well nigh supreme. Until his appetite for corners, pools, deals, mergers, combines, syndicates, and all kinds of manipulations has been assuaged, the promises that may have induced persons of limited means to tie up their whole substance in one venture have little chance for consideration. The alliance of three or four stockholders may change the fortunes of a thousand; the quarrels of two may destroy the fruit of years of patient enterprise; and all the while the small shareholder can do nothing but either accept the sacrifice of his interests or retire from his investment in despair.

Let us for instance, out of many possible examples, take that latest innovation, the merger; and consider the position of the small holder during the course of such an operation. The procedure is generally as follows. A large company is formed with power to acquire the shares, debentures and bonds as well as the whole business of all companies carrying on a certain manufacture or trade. Such a corporation is nothing in itself and its existence consists entirely in the success of its plans for absorption. Inasmuch then as such a scheme involves the transfer of all the businesses of the various companies concerned, the consent of all the stockholders is essential and must be secured at any cost. Hence the first move on the part of the new syndicate is to obtain control over as many shares as possible in the several companies without causing a stampede. This generally necessitates a certain amount of patient work until at least majorities in value have been acquired in the companies addressed. A trust company is then employed to issue to all the shareholders a circular summarising the facts just mentioned and offering to purchase their shares on behalf of the absorbing Company at so much per cent of their value in bonds, so much in preferred stock, and a very small proportion in common stock;

assuring them at the same time that as soon as all the shares have been thus acquired the business and the property of the Company will be transferred to the merging Corporation, and the requisite mortgages created in favour of the bonds. What then is the position of the small holder when suddenly confronted by such a circular? Theoretically, of course, he might refuse to sell his shares, and the consolidation would be baulked for want of an unanimous consent to the transfer of the property. But with a majority of shares already against him and the powers of the majority in ordinary affairs being such as we have already explained, the result would simply be a state of affairs within the Company so intolerable and so damaging to the value of his holdings that he would be forced to give in by just those reasons of self-interest that would have impelled him to hold out. If, however, he agree to sell his shares he will not be much better off. If he was a minority shareholder before, what will he be now with only the smallest proportion of his shares converted into the consolidated stock? In one case, for instance, the offer on behalf of the merging Syndicate to the shareholders of one of the companies addressed was to purchase their shares at 150 per cent of their par value, as follows, 100 per cent in 6 per cent 40 year gold bonds, 35 per cent in 7 per cent preferred stock, and only 15 per cent in common stock. How much voting power would be left to the minority shareholder in such a case? And as to the bonds in the new corporation, what would they represent? Not only would they imply a loss of voting power, but, until the merger were quite complete, they would guarantee nothing. For until that time the property to be mortgaged for the bonds would not have passed to the new corporation and no mortgage could in such a case be put upon it. At the same time, however, during the interregnum, judgements might conceivably be registered against the property which would rank prior to the mortgages to be created. The only way out of the dilemma would be for all the parties at once to hasten

on the consolidation regardless of the many disadvantages that it might entail. These disadvantages could be expatiated upon at considerable length, but our object is merely to show that the minority shareholder is practically helpless in transactions of this sort. As far as he is concerned, if they are begun they are done. And who gain by the transaction? Only the promoters of the new scheme and those who were brought to fall in with their plans by special inducements. Certainly not the minority shareholders who, having had no such prior knowledge as would have enabled them to put themselves in a like advantageous position, must suffer for their ignorance. And the more prosperous their company, the more will they suffer in the averaging process that will necessarily take place. Any reduction of competition will be offset by the necessity to strike a medium interest return between the successful company and the company in poor financial standing. On the other hand, what a boon for the latter! We can imagine that a certain Company, through competition or other reasons, may have been for years unable to pay dividends. We can suppose that it might owe some bank a very large sum of money secured by a bond issue which, let us say, our company had vainly endeavoured to sell. How are dividends to be won for the shareholders, and a better security obtained by the bank? The brilliant idea strikes those chiefly interested that the company should be combined with its more successful opponents, with the result of averaging all round the dividends and the bond security. But the greater the gain for the unsuccessful corporation, the greater the loss for its healthier neighbours. This loss would be so obvious that out of self-interest no majority in any of the latter would consent to such an arrangement unless special inducements were offered to it. But if the majority through some such motives consent to the scheme, practically, as we pointed out before, the minority must acquiesce. The power of the majority in the matter of management is so great as to destroy all the value of the minority's power in the matter of corporate alienation. The

minority must either submit to be turned adrift or else fall in with the will of the rest with no prospect but a reduction in earnings, a reduction in security, and a practical abolition of voting power.

We have now reviewed the case of the minority shareholder over a fairly wide field of possible positions; and we must admit that he has a grievance. The question arises, ought we to do anything about it, and if so what? In the first place we do not consider it necessary to enquire whether the situation of the minority shareholder should be dealt with on its own intrinsic merits, for we believe it to be demonstrable that the cause of the minority shareholder is in great measure the cause of the corporation itself, and has its strongest claim to recognition on that ground. The definition of what constitutes a fraud upon the minority may indeed be open to improvement, but if such an improvement do not come chiefly as part of a general advance in the representative character of the corporation, it can only interfere with corporate efficiency. We are certainly not going to quarrel with the majority system of government, for there has so far been devised no better compromise between efficiency and democratic consent. But we would ask whether it may not be on behalf of the very principle of majority government that we ought to protest. For may it not fairly be said that the minority shareholder's chief grievance arises from the fact that he and his like really constitute the majority? If the true member-majority of the corporation prevailed, it would be governed by men; whereas it is actually manipulated by paper. To say that the corporation can be managed at will by alien speculators and that the permanent investors whose interests have been most identified with it have the least power to affect the management of its affairs, is simply to acknowledge that our theories of what should constitute a majority are defective. We may admit for the sake of argument that he who owns the greatest number of shares in a venture has most at stake in it and should have the greatest share in its control. But we entirely deny that

he should have all the control, or even so large a proportion of it as compared with his fellow shareholders as is represented by the ratio of his holdings to theirs. The custom of one share one vote is equally opposed to the true principles of freedom and to sound and conservative finance. Not only are the interests of the great body of shareholders quite unsafeguarded, but the corporation as a whole is not better served thereby. From the corporation's point of view wisdom on the part of its shareholders does not always increase with wealth. In too many cases the larger the holding the greater seemingly is not only the selfishness but also the recklessness of the holder. In too many cases the management is at the mercy of incessant changes to suit the whims of the latest speculator. Energy and means that should be spent upon progress are wasted in a kaleidoscopic succession of internal and external struggles, surprises, stratagems and shocks; of litigations that only confuse, and compromises that never unite. Character, reasoning, persuasion,—all that could be contributed by more sober influences, count for nothing against the dumb argument of so many shares. That these conditions often exist cannot be denied; that they are ideal or that they lead to corporate success, who will be so hardy as to pretend?

Without, therefore, unduly emphasising the point of view of the minority shareholder it may reasonably be argued that the present system of corporate management is open to criticism; and that it might be considerably improved in its own interests. What particular form the improvement should take, supposing such arguments should recommend themselves to those most concerned, we leave it to them to determine. Various expedients, both tried and untried, might be suggested. The abolition of proxies might be proposed. Reference too might be made to the cumulative system of voting for directors, now in use in California, in virtue of which a shareholder instead of dissipating his votes by giving them for each of so many directors, may put them all together in favour of one, and in com-

pany with his friends who compose a minority ensure the election of at least one representative on the board of control. But we shall content ourselves with pointing out that on general lines one of two alternatives must be faced if the inequalities of the present situation are to have redress; either the power of the courts to interfere in company management at the instance of minorities must be enlarged, or wider scope given to the personal element in corporate rule.

The first proposal, even if it were practical politics, is, except for the question of fraud, a poor way to dispose of the difficulty. In an age when people are beginning to appreciate the privilege of governing themselves, such a shifting of responsibility from private to public arbitrament ought not to be considered.

But the opposite policy should recommend itself for just those reasons that make the first objectionable. An improvement, in the direction of an increase in the power of the personal element, and a decrease in the power of mere capital, is in line with the best principles of modern thinking. In England, although their acceptance by incorporators has not been made compulsory, provisions are already available by which stock-holders shall have one vote for every share up to ten, but beyond that not more than one vote for every five shares up to a hundred, and beyond that again only one vote for every ten. It may be objected that in such a case the large shareholder would simply parcel out his shares among dummies. But a practical means of preventing this would be the rule that no one should vote at any meeting who had not been a registered shareholder for at least three months previously. The only persons to suffer by such a rule would be newcomers and speculators. To the latter, who are willing to take all possible profits but little or no responsibility, no great sympathy is due. The former, if they intend to become permanent members of the corporation will soon enough have their just influence. The benefit of two such rules in conjunction, and compulsory upon all corporations, would be that character and average

opinion would at last play that part which they ought to play as the most sensible regulators of human affairs.

If it be objected that time would be wasted and the company rendered less effective by putting such an access of power into the hands of the less important shareholders, it may well be answered that after all the least of them have been admitted into the corporate fold; while on the other hand in the wildest use of their new found liberty they perhaps might never equal the astounding impracticality and inefficiency of the higher finance in some of its aspects. But more than that; as things are now, the petty shareholder, having nothing to gain by attending, stays away in good times from the meeting of his company and consequently knows nothing of the details of its affairs. But in bad times he invariably appears. By his ignorance he increases the panic, damages the prestige of his company, embarrasses the directors, and often brings about just those troubles that it is desired to avoid. The regular attendance at meetings of all the shareholders would not only immeasurably increase the general knowledge and confidence, but would have a steady influence in bad times as well as in good, and such an attendance can only be brought about by giving to the wills of all who may come an appreciable chance of influence.

If again it be objected that such recommendations, if carried out, would put too much power into the hands of those who had a small stake in the company, we again would answer that, for the reasons just considered, the more power these elements in the company have, the more valuable conservatively does their influence become. They at least have no inducements to be irresponsible. As for the wealthy shareholder, let him be content with the fact that his dividends properly exceed those of his neighbours in proportion to his holdings. In the matter of management he, as well as his poorer neighbours, must yield something in the interests of the whole. When he insists that his influence ought to be in the same proportion, he is leaving the sure ground of corporate policy and falling back upon an individualistic

argument that has no greater weight intrinsically than that of the small shareholder, whose stake, however limited, may represent his whole financial existence. Man for man, the two are probably equal. If the latter acknowledge that he has not so many shares, let the former admit that he has no more personality; and it is, in the last resort, personality, character and good-sense that ought to have the largest part in the guidance of united human effort. How much more reasonable that instead of the self-interest of a few large capitalists, instead of the blind discretion of an external tribunal, the corporation should be governed by a sensible compromise between its wealth and the practical wisdom of the greatest number of its shareholders. If mistakes should be made, all would divide the responsibility: if fortune attended them, all would share the success.

WARWICK FIELDING CHIPMAN

LES PARTIS POLITIQUES EN FRANCE

UN TRAVAIL profond s'accomplit en ce moment dans les partis politiques français. Tous ceux qui suivent, de près ou de loin, l'évolution parlementaire de la République, peuvent s'apercevoir qu'une période nouvelle s'est ouverte depuis les élections de 1906, et que, tout en conservant leur nom traditionnel, plusieurs groupements se trouvent en fait animés d'un esprit nouveau. L'heure est donc favorable pour comparer un passé récent avec l'avenir qui se dessine.

Notre but, dans cet article, est d'abord d'analyser brièvement la situation respective des partis, sous le régime dit du Bloc, qui prévalut de 1899 et principalement de 1902 à 1906, pour aboutir à la séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat. Nous tâcherons ensuite de caractériser les élections de 1906, qui marquent un point tournant de grande importance. Nous étudierons enfin les orientations nouvelles qui s'ébauchent actuellement. Ce sera l'occasion d'observer en raccourci la politique intérieure de la France, dans une des périodes les plus mouvementées, les plus grosses de conséquences qu'ait traversées la Troisième République.

La politique du Bloc doit sa naissance aux troubles profonds qui accompagnèrent l'affaire Dreyfus. A la faveur des attaques dont l'armée avait été l'objet, et sous prétexte de la défendre, " un parti tumultueux, formé des oppositions jadis les plus irréconciliables et toujours les plus disparates, se préparait à l'usurpation du pouvoir; par l'exercice le plus extraordinaire de tyrannie, il avait décrété que n'être pas avec lui c'était être contre le pays; la Patrie était sa chose, et le patriotisme une industrie politique pour laquelle lui-même il s'était délivré un brevet." ¹ Le parti nationaliste (c'est le nom qu'il prit) ne pouvait manquer, dans un pays aussi

1. Discours de Waldeck-Rousseau, à Saint Etienne, le 12 Janvier 1902.

patriote que la France, de recueillir au premier appel de nombreux concours. L'esprit nationaliste se répandit donc dans les milieux les plus divers, chez les radicaux, les modérés, les socialistes même. Mais c'est surtout dans les rangs des partis anti-républicains que son drapeau fit des recrues. Bonapartistes, royalistes de toute origine s'enrôlèrent avec enthousiasme dans un groupement qui ne parlait pas beaucoup de la République et qui parlait beaucoup de la France, qui affectait de mépriser le Parlement et lui opposait sans cesse la nation. C'en fut assez pour provoquer dans la République un état d'insécurité qu'elle ne connaissait plus depuis longtemps. "Après vingt-cinq ans d'exercice du pouvoir," disait Waldeck-Rousseau dans son magnifique langage, "les républicains éprouvaient un sentiment nouveau, l'anxiété du lendemain. Un scepticisme apparent et vainement railleur dissimulait mal la certitude d'une agitation croissante. Tout était troublé." ²

Telle était la force du mouvement que les ministères républicains en place n'osaient rompre ouvertement avec lui. Les partis de droite avaient retrouvé de ce fait un pouvoir qu'ils ne connaissaient plus. A la Chambre, ils parlaient haut, menaçaient et se faisaient obéir. Chose plus grave, l'administration, l'armée, la marine étaient contaminées. Bien des officiers, travaillés depuis des années par la propagande anti-républicaine et cléricale, s'approchaient de ces dangereuses frontières où le respect de la discipline fait place aux séductions de la révolte.

La situation était inquiétante. Mais elle ne pouvait étonner que ceux auxquels l'histoire des dernières années était demeurée inconnue. Depuis la mort de Gambetta, les hommes au pouvoir, sous le nom d'opportunistes, puis de modérés, s'étaient insensiblement laissés pénétrer par une foule de gens qui, de républicain, n'avaient que le nom. Si, par une évolution lente et sûre, la masse du peuple se rapprochait de la République, par une évolution non moins sûre mais plus rapide, la bourgeoisie, jadis démocratique, devenait

2. Discours de Waldeck-Rousseau à Toulouse, le 23 Octobre 1900

à son tour une nouvelle aristocratie. Le type du bourgeois libéral et voltairien, célèbre sous Louis Philippe, a vécu. La bourgeoisie française est aujourd'hui conservatrice et catholique.

On ne le vit que trop, en constatant le succès qu'obtenaient dans l'opinion, et spécialement dans l'opinion des classes aisées, ceux qui tentaient d'opposer l'armée à la République et reprenaient à leur compte les procédés les plus condamnables d'agitation et de guerre civile. Il fallait une main bien ferme pour mettre de l'ordre, tant dans la rue que dans les esprits.

C'est alors qu'appelé au gouvernement, par la confiance du président de la République, M. Waldeck-Rousseau se décida, malgré une répugnance évidente, à prendre la direction des affaires. Ancien ministre de Gambetta et de Jules Ferry, mais avocat plus qu'homme politique, il n'avait pas tardé à se cantonner presque entièrement dans l'exercice de sa profession, où il avait acquis, en même temps qu'une fortune considérable, la réputation de premier orateur d'affaires de son temps. D'opinion modérée, et presque conservatrice à certains égards, il était cependant considéré par tous comme une des réserves de la République. Plusieurs fois sollicité de rentrer dans la lutte, il s'y était toujours refusé : amateur éclairé, sportsman convaincu, il vivait au milieu d'un petit cercle d'intimes, distant et un peu dédaigneux. Il était de ces hommes qui ne cherchent pas le pouvoir et auxquels on demande, comme un service, d'accepter les honneurs.

Cette fois-ci, en raison de la gravité des circonstances, il se décida à tenter la bataille ; et le 23 juin 1899, il constituait son ministère. L'apparition au Journal Officiel du nom de ses collaborateurs produisit une véritable stupeur. Le nouveau président du conseil avait eu en effet recours aux grands moyens. Contre la réaction menaçante, il ralliait autour de lui tous les groupes républicains de gauche, y compris les socialistes, et, cherchant d'où venait le véritable péril, il le dénonçait d'abord dans les entreprises de révolution césarienne, ensuite—et davantage encore peut-être—dans les manœuvres d'un envahissement clérical qui visait à dominer la République.

L'étonnement à peine épuisé, les partis prirent leurs positions de combat. La droite, les nationalistes ne pouvaient qu'engager une lutte sans merci contre un ministère dont le but était justement de les réduire. La gauche radicale et les socialistes, après quelques hésitations, se décidèrent à soutenir la nouvelle combinaison. Mais, qu'allait faire le parti modéré, ancien parti de Gambetta et de Ferry, puis de Méline, pilier de la République opportuniste? Il se divisa en deux groupes, bien vite séparés par un fossé profond: l'un qui suivit M. Waldeck-Rousseau, l'autre qui le combattit avec passion comme on fait d'un transfuge, et ne se réconcilia jamais avec lui. Dans ces conditions le ministère n'obtint en se présentant devant la Chambre qu'une pénible majorité de 25 voix. Les votes, importants à noter, se répartissaient de la façon suivante:

Pour le ministère: 262 voix, dont 172 radicaux, 61 modérés, 21 socialistes, 8 membres du ministère.

Contre le ministère: 237 voix, dont 104 membres de droite ou ralliés, 86 modérés 22 nationalistes, 5 socialistes, 20 radicaux à tendance nationaliste.

Abstentions: 60.

Nous avons insisté sur l'analyse de ce vote, parce que de ce jour date la nouvelle répartition des partis qui a persisté jusqu'en 1906 et à certains égards jusqu'à maintenant. Désormais, pour une longue période, les socialistes allaient collaborer à la politique gouvernementale. Les ralliés étaient rejetés, conformément à leur véritable nature, dans la politique de résistance. Les radicaux, parti traditionnel d'opposition, se rapprochaient des responsabilités du gouvernement, dont ils n'allaient pas tarder à devenir, par le jeu des événements, la base essentielle. Enfin, élément capital de la situation, le parti modéré se divisait—irréremédiablement—en deux fractions, égales, dont l'une allait tendre à se confondre avec la droite, tandis que l'autre tendrait à se confondre avec les radicaux. Pendant plusieurs années, il ne devait donc pas y avoir en France de politique de centre, mais au contraire une politique de coalition de tous les éléments de droite contre

tous les éléments de gauche. C'est là un point nécessaire à constater, si l'on veut comprendre la politique du Bloc.

L'activité du ministère Waldeck-Rousseau, pendant les deux ans et demi de son existence, peut se résumer en deux tâches essentielles. Il commença par rétablir l'ordre si gravement troublé. La police assura le calme dans la rue; l'exercice d'une ferme discipline restaura l'équilibre des pouvoirs dans l'administration et dans l'armée. Poursuivant ensuite l'adversaire sur son propre terrain, M. Waldeck-Rousseau entreprit de limiter l'influence de la puissance des congrégations religieuses, trop souvent occupées de politique et contenant selon son expression "trop de moines ligueurs et de moines d'affaires." Après des discussions passionnées fut votée la loi sur les associations, qui soumettait à une autorisation législative l'existence de toutes les congrégations, quelles qu'elles fussent.

Quelques mois après, en Avril 1902, le pays était appelé à se prononcer sur l'action du ministère. Les élections furent une sorte de plébiscite sur l'œuvre de Waldeck-Rousseau: on votait pour ou contre lui. Le résultat fut une majorité, petite mais solide, pour la politique de la coalition de gauche. Le président du conseil eût pu conserver le pouvoir, et il en était vivement sollicité. Il préféra quitter un poste, accepté au moment du péril, et dont il se souciait moins dès l'instant qu'il devenait plus facile à remplir.

Son successeur, M. Combes, était au moment de son accession au pouvoir peu connu du grand public et même du monde parlementaire. On le savait radical et anticlérical. On n'ignorait pas qu'il continuerait l'œuvre de son prédécesseur et qu'il avait été justement choisi dans ce but. Mais on était loin de deviner l'ardeur, l'entrain et la volonté qui se cachaient chez ce petit vieillard, aux cheveux blancs, à l'allure volontiers effacée. On avait affaire en réalité à l'un des tempéraments politiques les plus fortement constitués qui se fussent révélés depuis les luttes du 16 mai 1877. Le nouveau président du conseil ne tarda pas à en donner la preuve.

Il commença par appliquer la loi sur les associations avec une fermeté, une rigueur que n'avait pas prévue M. Waldeck-Rousseau. Si les congrégations charitables de femmes furent autorisées à subsister, les congrégations enseignantes de femmes et toutes les congrégations d'hommes furent dispersées. La nouvelle Chambre appuyait M. Combes d'une solide majorité d'environ cinquante voix, composée de quatre groupes sévèrement disciplinés (groupes socialiste, radical-socialiste, radical, et de l'union républicaine). Pas une fois, pendant plus de deux ans, ces troupes admirablement disciplinées ne lui firent défaut. Le pays, du reste, était derrière ses députés, et les poussait à une vigoureuse action anticléricale. Beaucoup d'hommes politiques, que leur tempérament eût inclinés à la conciliation, se voyaient obligés par leurs électeurs à soutenir un programme qu'au fond d'eux-mêmes ils réprouvaient. Le ministère Combes fut donc un ministère essentiellement démocratique et son chef se trouva être, pendant son passage au pouvoir, l'un des hommes les plus populaires qu'eut connus la République depuis Gambetta.

La politique anticongréganiste ayant été réalisée pleinement, le pays, lancé dans cette voie, se laissa entraîner jusqu'à la séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat. Il semble bien qu'une année même avant l'accomplissement de ce grave événement, la masse des électeurs et la grande masse des députés n'en voulaient pas. Les uns et les autres redoutaient l'inconnu d'une mesure qui, rompant un pacte séculaire, rendrait à l'Eglise une complète liberté d'action et jetterait la République dans un redoutable inconnu. M. Combes lui-même avait fréquemment déclaré qu'il considérait la séparation comme désirable mais prématurée. Il fallut des démêlés avec le Vatican, sur lesquels je n'ai pas à insister, pour décider le président du Conseil à rompre les relations diplomatiques avec Rome et, par là même, à dénoncer virtuellement le concordat. L'étude de la séparation était amorcée. Elle se poursuivit sans relâche à travers toute l'année 1905 et la nouvelle loi fut promulguée le 11 Décembre de la même année. Quelques mois auparavant, le ministère Combes était tombé, sous les

coups d'un vote au scrutin secret nommant à la présidence de la Chambre M. Doumer, adversaire déclaré du cabinet. Au scrutin public, quelques jours après, le ministère trouva encore une petite majorité, mais insuffisante pour gouverner. Il se retira, devant la Chambre plus que devant le pays; car, ainsi que nous le disions tout à l'heure, nombre de députés anti-ministériels ne l'étaient qu'en cachette et n'eussent osé l'avouer à leurs mandants. Assez déconsidéré à Paris et dans le milieu parlementaire, M. Combes conserva longtemps son crédit en province. Et c'est réellement sur son œuvre et sur sa politique que se firent les élections du 6 Mai 1906, dont nous allons parler maintenant.

A la veille de cette consultation nationale, l'attitude et la position respective des partis était la suivante.

La coupure entre la droite et la gauche restait presque exactement au même endroit qu'au temps déjà lointain du ministère Waldeck-Rousseau. Nationalistes, membres de la droite catholique, modérés ennemis du Bloc demeuraient irrémédiablement opposés à la politique suivie depuis sept ans. Toutefois, dans la lutte, les modérés et les nationalistes avaient peu à peu passé au second plan, laissant la véritable direction de la bataille aux catholiques, groupés en parti politique sous le nom d'Action Libérale Populaire, car en France l'épithète de libéral désigne aujourd'hui les catholiques.

Constatons d'abord que la mode avait délaissé les nationalistes. Leurs procédés d'émeutes, leurs déclamations patriotiques exagérées, leurs polémiques outrancières avaient fatigué l'opinion. Sans programme sérieusement travaillé, ne sachant pas au juste s'ils devaient se soumettre à la protection cléricale ou répudier ce patronage parfois compromettant, n'ayant jamais su choisir entre la haine de l'Angleterre et celle de l'Allemagne, mais ne pouvant cependant les haïr toutes les deux à la fois, les membres de ce groupement usé ne conservaient un peu d'influence qu'à Paris et sur la frontière de l'Est. Mais la majeure partie de leurs anciennes troupes retournaient soit au catholicisme, soit à un certain radicalisme d'où elles étaient venues.

La situation des modérés antiministériels ou progressistes était à peine plus facile. Sept ans d'opposition les avaient rapprochés des adversaires historiques du régime républicain; à force de voter et de lutter avec eux, ils s'étaient laissés pénétrer par eux. Le parti progressiste, à côté de vieux et sincères républicains, comprenait donc de nouvelles ou de jeunes recrues dont la véritable place eût été à droite. Quelques modérés, au fond d'eux-même, s'en sentaient gênés; mais, depuis la scission du grand parti opportuniste survenue en 1899, ils n'étaient plus assez nombreux pour agir seuls: la politique de coalition s'imposait à eux. On les vit donc marcher partout de concert avec les catholiques et les antirépublicains.

Dans ces conditions, le parti catholique devenait le cœur même de l'opposition. Très actif, très bien organisé, très riche, il avait entre les mains des armes puissantes. D'abord, le concours du clergé, qui est resté très influent dans certaines régions rurales de la France, l'Ouest notamment. Ensuite l'argent, car les classes riches se sont en France rapprochées de l'Eglise. Enfin, l'appui de la bourgeoisie et du grand patronat, qui voient dans le prêtre un utile lieutenant du gendarme pour la défense de la société contre le socialisme. Il y avait là les éléments d'une active bataille. Elle fut menée avec une ardeur extraordinaire, car l'opposition comptait bien que le gage de sa victoire serait l'abrogation de la loi de séparation, la reprise de relations diplomatiques avec Rome, en même temps que le retour à une politique de résistance au point de vue social. Tel fut en effet le programme soutenu par les progressistes et les catholiques alliés.

Passons maintenant au Bloc; car le Bloc, très compromis au Parlement depuis la chute de M. Combes, survivait encore dans le pays, plus lent à modifier ses positions et ses alliances. L'union des quatre groupes de gauche demeurait donc entière pour la campagne électorale.

L'appoint modéré du Bloc était représenté par le groupe de l'Union Démocratique, appelé parfois aussi l'Alliance Républicaine Démocratique. Ses candidats, qui prirent généralement l'épithète de républicains de gauche, étaient des modérés anti-

cléricaux, au fond un peu conservateurs en matière sociale. Ils se recrutaient dans cette petite portion de la bourgeoisie qui a refusé jusqu'à présent de s'allier avec la droite. De même que leurs anciens amis les progressistes, ils ne se trouvaient plus assez nombreux pour faire une politique indépendante et ils se voyaient contraints de marcher la main dans la main, soit avec les radicaux, ce qui leur convenait, soit avec les socialistes, ce qui leur répugnait d'habitude infiniment. Néanmoins, les élections ont leurs nécessités, et la situation des partis était telle, depuis la dissolution du centre, qu'un progressiste ne pouvait plus se faire nommer sans les voix cléricales, tandis qu'un membre de l'Union Démocratique pouvait difficilement se passer des voix socialistes. La campagne de 1906 en fut profondément faussée et plus d'un membre modéré du Bloc, absolument sincère dans ses déclarations anticléricales, se trouva insensiblement amené à corser malgré lui son programme social. Là est l'origine de certaines déceptions qui suivirent la victoire.

Par suite de l'émiettement des modérés, parti de gouvernement traditionnel, les radicaux s'étaient vus poussés à la première place et chargés de responsabilités un peu nouvelles pour eux. Historiquement, par tradition, par tempérament, le parti radical est essentiellement un parti d'avant-garde. Contenu longtemps dans l'opposition, par l'ardeur même de ses aspirations il fut vis-à-vis de l'opportunisme la voix, souvent gênante qui réclamait impérieusement les réformes. Libre du souci d'agir, il pouvait s'adonner tout entier à l'idéal d'une République intégrale, ne connaissant à gauche ni obstacle, ni limite: Tel fut le vieux radicalisme d'il y a vingt ans. Mais les choses changent. D'abord, depuis l'avènement du socialisme au Parlement, les radicaux ne sont plus les derniers à gauche: ils ont trouvé plus avancés qu'eux. Ensuite, comme il arrive toujours en pareil cas, les radicaux, en se rapprochant du pouvoir, sont devenus plus modérés. Tous anticléricaux, ils ne sont pas tous passionnés pour les réformes sociales, qui atteindraient dans leurs intérêts matériels certains d'entre

eux. Enfin, on ne gouverne pas comme on fait de l'opposition et il y a certaines nécessités qui s'imposent au ministre en place quel qu'il soit. qu'il s'appelle Gambetta, Méline ou Clémenceau. Voici donc un cruel cas de conscience qui se pose à beaucoup de radicaux, dès les élections de 1906. Pour faire les réformes sociales demandées et rester unis aux socialistes, sacrifieront-ils un peu l'esprit de gouvernement? Ou bien, pour remplir complètement leur rôle nouveau de gouvernants, oseront-ils rompre avec ces alliés gênants? Deux tendances se manifestent, répondant à ces deux questions. Les radicaux-socialistes, tels que M. Pelletan ou M. Buisson, tout voisins du socialisme, restent des hommes d'avant-garde. Les radicaux tout court, tels que MM. Sarrien, Clémenceau, Léon Bourgeois, demeurent certes des hommes de gauche, mais tendent à devenir surtout des gouvernementaux et des modérés. Aujourd'hui, cette division se manifeste au grand jour. Mais, au moment de la campagne électorale, elle ne fait qu'apparaître et presque tous les radicaux bénéficient des voix socialistes, qui leur sont nécessaires pour triompher de la coalition de droite. Il y a donc une légère équivoque, qui échappe aux électeurs. Ceux-ci croient aller plus à gauche que ne vont en réalité nombre de leurs élus.

Parlons enfin des socialistes, élément très important, sinon par le nombre, du moins par l'influence et la puissance d'attraction. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'en France, le snobisme électoral, si l'on ose ainsi parler, incline toujours les gens à gauche. Il est très rare qu'un Français, même conservateur, ose dire qu'il n'est pas avancé. Les socialistes bénéficient donc de ce fait qu'ils sont un parti extrême. Et par là il sont eux-mêmes à la merci de tous ceux qui sont ou se prétendent plus avancés qu'eux. Là est toute l'explication de l'évolution socialiste vers l'anarchie et l'anti-patriotisme.

Au moment du péril nationaliste, les socialistes avaient accordé ouvertement leur appui au modéré Waldeck-Rousseau. Plus tard, ils avaient secondé avec non moins d'ardeur le radical Combes dans sa lutte anticléricale et ils avaient été, sous son ministère, une des pièces indispensables du Bloc.

M. Millerand, puis surtout M. Jaurès, véritable leader parlementaire du parti, avaient été les instigateurs de cette politique. Mais il y a, dans les rangs du socialisme français, un élément jaloux et méfiant, qui redoute toujours de voir les élus s'embourgeoiser et la force révolutionnaire du parti s'enliser et s'endormir dans l'espoir de lentes et pacifiques réformes. Pendant que les députés socialistes s'adonnaient tout entiers à la vie parlementaire, stationnaient dans les antichambres des ministères pour placer leurs amis, se faisaient nommer dans les commissions ou à la vice-présidence de la Chambre comme M. Jaurès, de nouvelles couches socialistes se révélaient dans le pays : des ouvriers, groupés en syndicats et influencés par l'état d'esprit anarchiste, raillaient le Parlement et déclaraient que le peuple n'obtiendrait de réformes que par sa propre énergie, par les grèves, la menace, l'action directe, c'est à dire par la Révolution. Des agitateurs, d'origine universitaire, comme M. Hervé, reprenaient la vieille idée de l'internationalisme et déclaraient brutalement que l'ouvrier n'a pas de patrie et qu'il aurait bien tort, en cas de guerre, de contribuer à des batailles qui finalement ne profitent qu'à son patron. Grève militaire, insurrection, tel était le programme de M. Hervé.

Lorsque les parlementaires socialistes, allaient dans les congrès où ce personnel nouveau pérerait, ils s'y sentaient incompris, dépaysés, disent le mot, réactionnaires ; et ils supportaient impatiemment l'idée qu'une génération nouvelle, plus hardie qu'eux, les poussait de l'épaule, comme dit Bossuet, pour prendre leur place dans la confiance ouvrière. Des hommes de sens ou de caractère, comme M.M. Briand et Millerand, refusèrent de céder à cette surenchère : ils furent expulsés du parti. M. Jaurès, lui, ne put se résoudre à un pareil sort et, pour rester le chef, il suivit ses troupes.

Dès avant les élections, le parti socialiste se retirait donc officiellement du Bloc. Au premier tour, il combattit violemment les radicaux, affectant de les considérer comme des bourgeois réactionnaires dont il n'y a rien à attendre. Au second tour toutefois, ayant besoin des voix radicales pour

faire passer ses propres candidats, il recommanda le désistement en faveur du candidat de gauche le plus favorisé. De telle sorte qu'en fait le Bloc, déjà détruit au Parlement, se survécut devant les électeurs.

C'est en effet sur la politique du Bloc qu'on se prononça. En votant pour les candidats de gauche, on entendit approuver la politique anticléricale, la séparation et les réformes sociales promises. En votant pour les candidats de droite, on entendit condamner l'anticléricalisme, la séparation et les réformes sociales telles qu'elles étaient présentées.

Le résultat fut pour la gauche une victoire énorme et pour tout dire, absolument inespérée. Les progressistes étaient écrasés et leur nombre diminuait presque de moitié. Les nationalistes disparaissaient pour ainsi dire de la carte politique. L'Action libérale et la droite revenaient en perte de six sièges. La coalition de droite qui comptait 232 voix dans la précédente Chambre se trouvait réduite à 174. Par contre le Bloc était en gain sur toute la ligne : 14 voix pour les républicains de gauche, 12 pour les radicaux, 13 pour les radicaux-socialistes, 13 pour les socialistes unifiés, (nuance Jaurès), 6 pour les socialistes indépendants (nuance Briand). Le Bloc passait, de ce fait, de 353 à 411 voix.

L'enthousiasme de la Démocratie fut considérable, d'autant plus grand qu'on n'était pas sans appréhensions. Le pays venait d'affirmer, avec éclat, son attachement à la politique de laïcité et de signifier sa complète approbation pour l'œuvre accomplie par M.M. Waldeck-Rousseau et Combes. Sur ce point, aucune discussion n'était possible et les vaincus n'essayèrent même pas de contester l'étendue de leur défaite. Les éléments les plus avancés, de leur côté, donnèrent à leur victoire une interprétation que la suite des événements devait révéler inexacte. Ils crurent de bonne foi que le pays s'était prononcé pour la politique sociale plus encore que pour la politique anticléricale et ils désignèrent aussitôt l'année 1906, comme une date historique et comme l'ouverture d'une ère nouvelle. L'avenir immédiat leur réservait plus d'un mécompte. Quand, en bourse, une valeur a monté trop vite, il

se produit fréquemment un recul passager, qu'on désigne sous le terme de *tassement*. A la suite de cette magnifique victoire, les partis de gauche étaient à la veille d'un tassement.

Rien n'est plus périlleux pour la discipline d'une majorité que l'écrasement de l'opposition. De cette vérité les vainqueurs firent immédiatement l'expérience. La droite étant en fait annihilée, le vieux cri de guerre contre le cléricanisme, qui s'était montré si précieux à l'usage, devenait démodé. Il fallait parler d'autre chose. De quoi? Justement de ces réformes sociales sur lesquelles radicaux et socialistes n'étaient pas du tout d'accord. Quand il s'agissait de réduire le cléricanisme, les radicaux étaient des avancés. Lorsqu'il s'agit de toucher au régime social existant, ils devinrent en un certain sens des conservateurs, au regard des socialistes qui voulaient tout bouleverser. De là entre eux, une raison de conflit immédiat.

Les socialistes n'attendirent pas longtemps pour provoquer la rupture. Dans un banquet où ils célébraient leurs victoires électorales, ils raillèrent brutalement les radicaux, les accusant d'impuissance et les mettant au défi de rester un parti démocratique. Ils déclarèrent, quant à eux, reprendre toute leur indépendance, se retirer des conciliabules parlementaires où naguère encore se concertaient les votes de la majorité, en un mot redevenir ce qu'ils avaient été jadis, un parti de classe, révolutionnaire et sans contact avec le gouvernement bourgeois. Bientôt même cette évolution s'accrut encore, et sous la double influence des syndicats ouvriers et des antipatriotes, le socialisme se rapprocha des frontières de l'anarchie. La Confédération générale du Travail, puissante fédération de syndicats, prêchait la grève générale et l'action directe, c'est à dire la révolution dans la rue et la propagande par la violence. M. Hervé, agitateur professionnel, soutenait, dans son journal la *Guerre Sociale*, qu'il fallait répudier l'idée de patrie et répondre à toute déclaration de guerre par la grève militaire et l'insurrection. Les leaders parlementaires condamnaient ces doctrines brutales; mais, inquiets de cette surenchère, ils n'osaient pas trop résister. Au congrès

socialiste tenu à Nancy du 11 au 15 Août 1907, M. Jaurès, et le parti socialiste avec lui, s'inclina devant le nouvel esprit syndicaliste et, dans un ordre du jour entortillé, accepta l'essentiel de l'hervéisme. Les socialistes avaient lassé et indigné l'opinion. Le scandale fut grand et les radicaux, qui jusqu'alors avaient évité de déterminer leur situation vis-à-vis de ces anciens alliés, se virent obligés de prendre nettement position.

Le parti radical avait été au fond un peu embarrassé de sa magnifique victoire. Il eût préféré sans doute que l'écrasement de l'opposition fût moins complet. Car, si le terrain de l'anticléricalisme lui était essentiellement favorable, celui des réformes sociales se présentait comme plein d'embûches et de périls. Le radicalisme français est, par tradition, essentiellement politique. Sa grande pensée, la séparation, une fois accomplie, il ne se trouve plus en présence que d'un programme ou impopulaire, ou difficilement réalisable ou même ne lui appartenant pas en propre. Autre difficulté. Ces réformes qu'ils ont inscrites dans leurs professions de foi, beaucoup de radicaux ne sont en somme pas très pressés de les réaliser. Ils sont aujourd'hui au seuil de la même évolution qui s'est imposée, il y a vingt-cinq ans, aux opportunistes devenus maîtres du pouvoir; leur puissance d'attaque, leur ardeur pour les nouveautés s'atténue. Ils n'oublient pas non plus qu'une grande partie de leur clientèle se recrute, non dans le monde ouvrier, mais dans la petite bourgeoisie et la classe rurale: en se tournant trop vers la gauche, ils redoutent de mécontenter leur aile droite. Mais, cruel cas de conscience, ils savent en même temps qu'en France les partis qui rompent avec la gauche, véritable source de tout idéal et de tout vie démocratiques, sont invariablement condamnés à voir tôt ou tard se tarir la sève qui les fait vivre, à s'étioler, à disparaître. Et ainsi, tirillés de droite et de gauche, ils cherchent péniblement leur orientation et se demandent souvent s'ils ne vont pas se rompre en deux morceaux. C'est qu'en effet, dans le sein même du parti coexistent les deux tendances. Il est une soixantaine de radicaux-socialistes qui votent presque toujours

comme M. Jaurès et ne manqueraient pas de se séparer, si le gros du parti devenait trop modéré. Il est d'autre part, sur l'aile droite, un grand nombre de gens, nouveaux venus imbus d'arrivisme et radicaux seulement de nom, vieux lutteurs calmés par les ans et l'expérience, qui sentent fortement l'utilité d'une politique d'ordre et à certains égards de résistance au danger socialiste. Les deux états d'esprit sont faciles à analyser. Mais il faut comprendre que toute discussion publique sincère sur le sujet est impossible. Jamais les radicaux modérés n'avoueront à la tribune leur modérantisme. En France, ces choses-là ne s'avouent pas. Ils feront donc publiquement des déclarations plus ou moins avancées, pour les contredire ensuite dans le demi-jour des couloirs. Mais ainsi, les questions n'avancent pas et les situations ne se clarifient guère. Tel est à peu près le spectacle qu'a donné le récent congrès radical de Nancy.¹ On y a vivement répudié l'antipatriotisme, ce qui allait de soi. Mais on n'a pas abordé — et on ne le pouvait pas — la seule discussion essentielle, celle de savoir si le radicalisme resterait surtout un parti d'avant-garde, ou deviendrait surtout un parti de gouvernement. De ce fait, l'équivoque dont souffre depuis un an le monde parlementaire français se perpétue. Et il faudra que la Destinée, plus forte que les hommes, se charge de trancher des liens dont les timides n'osent voir la fragilité. Mais où se fera la coupure, nul encore ne peut le dire.

Pour l'instant, l'ardeur des luttes qui avaient passionné la France pendant sept ans s'est apaisée. Au sortir d'une période active et troublée, la République se recueille. Mais ce recueillement n'est pas un sommeil et de sourdes influences sont à l'œuvre. Quelque chose est terminé: Le pays a nettement manifesté sa volonté d'être laïque et soustrait à l'influence politique du prêtre. Il ne reviendra pas sur l'œuvre accomplie, et à cet égard, une page bien caractérisée de son histoire vient de se tourner. Mais, dès maintenant, des horizons nouveaux s'ouvrent devant lui: Le terrain est

1 Du 10 au 15 Octobre, 1907

déblayé de plusieurs très vieilles questions et aucun programme-tampon, si l'on peut ainsi s'exprimer, ne sépare plus les républicains au pouvoir des premières transformations sociales que leur demandent les socialistes. Nous avons ainsi amené le lecteur au seuil même d'un avenir qui s'écrira demain.

Dans quel esprit, dans quel sens ? Avant longtemps l'histoire le dira.

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