THE McGILL UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.

VOL. 2, No. 2.
APRIL, 1903.

MONTREAL:
A. T. CHAPMAN.

WITNESS PRINTING HOUSE,
MONTREAL.

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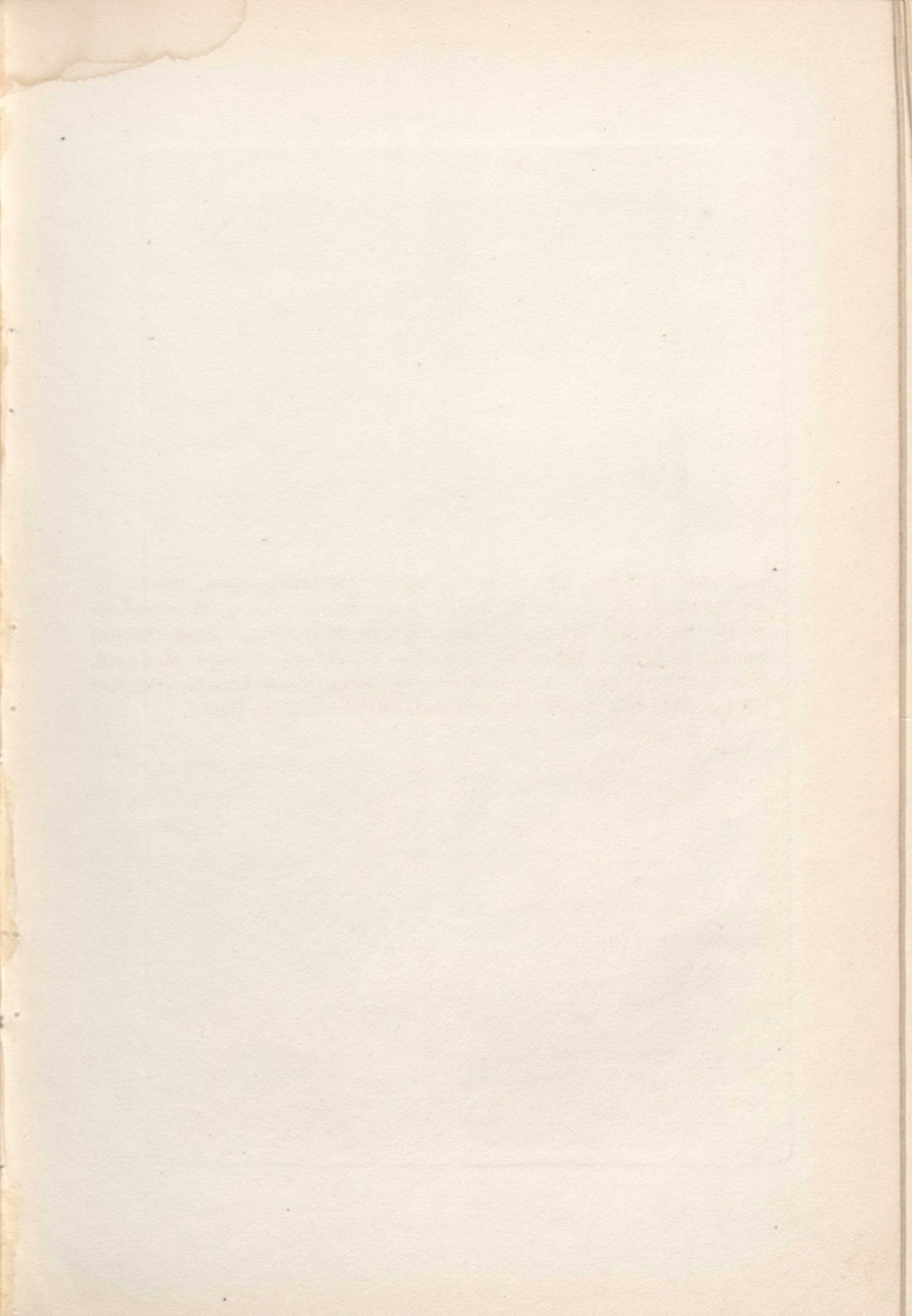
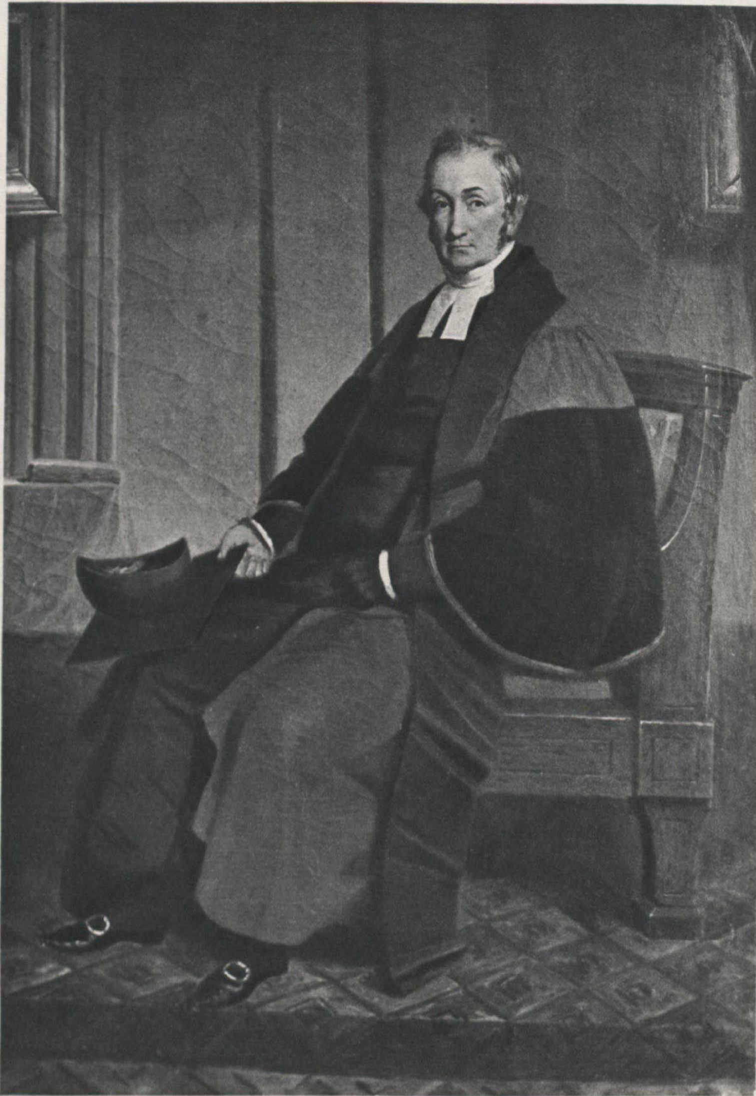
[All articles and other literary communications should be addressed to the Editor-in-chief, 802 Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, or to the Secretary, Royal Victoria College, Montreal. Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, 31 Ontario Avenue, Montreal. The next issue of the McGill University Magazine, being the first part of Vol. III., will appear on or about November 25th, 1903.]





Photogravure. John Andrew & Son. Boston.

Rev. John Bethune.

Acting-Principal of McGill University, 1835-1846.

From a painting in possession of Strachan Bethune, Esq., Montreal.

THE McGILL UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.

In this number of The McGill University Magazine our readers will find an article written by an Englishman in reply to two articles contributed to the Monthly Review by Mr. Bourassa, a well known member of the Canadian Parliament, and entitled *The French-Canadian in the British Empire.* The articles appeared in the September and October numbers of last year. On account of the strong and, to many Englishmen, novel light in which they present the aspirations of the people for whom Mr. Bourassa speaks, they seem to have been read widely and with much interest, and to have made the editor of the Monthly Review feel that a speedy reply was desirable. Accordingly, a portion of the November editorial grappled with the main bearings of the French-Canadian question on the Empire. Whatever may be said of his utterances on the platform, in the Monthly Review Mr. Bourassa addresses himself to his subject in a temper that its gravity demands, for although he presents his case with much vigour and in no spirit of compromise, he judiciously abstains from seasoning his language with expressions that repel rather than convince open minds. The article of Mr. Bourassa's opponent being of similar tone, we have not the slightest hesitation in printing it, especially when we reflect on the vital way in which the issues involved in the controversy bear on national and imperial progress and destiny. And we are reminded that the writer, after graduating at Oxford, began a tour through the Empire with a prolonged visit to McGill.

The educational attitude of Ontario towards other provinces was touched on in the December editorial. Some desire to modify

it by acknowledging the protests made by McGill as worthy of consideration, appears to exist in official life. The Minister of Education in Ontario is seemingly ready to compare notes with Principal Peterson, with the object, we suppose, of ascertaining how far McGill actually meets the requirements in Arts now in force in Ontario, and, consequently, to what extent a modification of our present curriculum is necessary in order to satisfy doubters and give the University the standing it justifiably demands. In view of the reconstruction of the curriculum in Arts only five years ago, searching changes are hardly entertainable now, nor, indeed, would they be warranted by the end that is sought. Whatever conditions Ontario might advance, McGill could meet, but any system that McGill has found to be vital to its academic effectiveness must remain essentially unimpaired. And it may not be irrelevant to add, quite quietly, as a fact and not as a vaunt, that the *personnel* of the McGill Faculty of Arts is not excelled in quality by that of any university in the Dominion.

It is a matter of every-day note how easily grounds of debate are shifted, either unintentionally or wilfully. With the University of Toronto, McGill has, in this question, no concern. The University of Toronto is occasionally brought into the discussion, as if the chief object of the disputants was to pit rival universities against each other, and then, after making calculations tinged by bias and prejudice, point to the impossibility of doing anything to get rid of a state of affairs that is felt to be damaging to true educational interests. Sensible persons belonging to both universities are ready to confess that above them both stands the educational welfare not of provinces regarded as such, but of the country as a whole. It is, indeed, preposterous to suppose that the function of universities can be rightly discharged unless they minister to the needs of the country without let or hindrance. Nor, we repeat, should the fear be entertained that inefficiency would cause disaster if educational barriers were altogether removed. That feeling is sometimes harped on by way of thwarting efforts to rise to higher academic conceptions. But in the educational as in the natural world things sink quickly to their destined levels, and an inefficient university soon finds it impossible to keep on the surface. It is obvious that educational vigour is increased by promoting healthy academic rivalry, and equally obvious that no step could be better taken to excite it than the step which removes the obstacles provincialism has erected.

Owing to want of space, we can notice but briefly some misconceptions still entertained regarding the educational system of Ontario. It is not correct to state, as has been done, that a graduate of McGill in Arts can qualify himself to teach as a specialist in Ontario by fulfilling the requirements of a Normal School course in that province. The key of the position is obligatory graduation in Ontario. Indeed we may go a step further, and assert that a request to be examined in the subjects prescribed for specialists in Ontario made by a McGill graduate who had previously passed through an Ontario Normal school, has been refused. The request was the only means of combating doubts as to efficiency. It was officially declined, and properly so, since officials are created for the purpose of seeing that the regulations of officialdom, whether good or bad, are kept to the letter. It is the system which is to blame and not the men who are working under it. After all, a glance at the various aspects of this controversy drives home the fact that in official hands academic calendars are easy things to juggle with, whereas products of education stand declared.

The reaction in favour of Latin in the United States was mentioned in the last editorial. We had intended to express our views more fully on the educative value of Latin in the present number, but the limited space at our disposal must be given to quotation, as we find the temptation to print statements made in an inaugural address delivered by Professor G. G. Ramsay, of the University of Glasgow, in November, 1902, and entitled "Efficiency in Education," too great to be resisted.

"Higher Education," "writes Professor Ramsay, "is making immense strides in America; and it will come as a surprise to many to hear that *the* subject in which the greatest advance of all is being made, in the Secondary Schools of America, is the subject of Classics. A committee of twelve experts from all parts of the Union, has been engaged for some years in collecting exact information as to the number studying the various subjects in the Secondary Schools of America. . . Taking the whole of America, the Committee report that the number learning Latin in the Secondary Schools of America has increased from 100,144 in 1890 to 314,856 in 1899-1900; those learning Greek, from 12,869 to 24,869. Now, the total number of scholars in all the Secondary Schools of the country in 1899-1900 was 630,048; so that exactly one-half of the total number of scholars are learning Latin. And that not as a mere smattering, but in solid continuous courses pursued for four years or for five years, and in a considerable number of schools, for six years. . . The great bulk

of these scholars are not preparing for a University career; they are preparing for the ordinary life of an American citizen. In the last year for which there are returns—the year 1899-1900—the total number of Secondary scholars, as we have seen, was 630,048, out of whom 314,856 were learning Latin. But of that number only 61,517 were preparing for a college or a higher scientific school; no less than 223,349 scholars were learning Latin as an instrument of pure school culture without any intention of continuing the study at a University. . For the men of science in America no doubt hold, like many of our foremost scientific men in this country and in Germany, that they would rather begin to teach science to minds furnished with a sound general education suitable to their age, with no knowledge of science at all, than have to deal with minds imperfectly trained, unable to take in scientific conceptions, which have sacrificed education proper for the sake of a so-called training in science unworthy of the name."

Those who are conversant with what has been taking place in the University know that the question of lengthening the session has been under discussion for some time, and in view of the gravity of the step contemplated, a summary of the opinions expressed in debate will prove interesting. It has naturally fallen to the duty of Principal Peterson to make one, which is printed in full in this number of the Magazine. Our own views have been given at some length in a previous editorial, and they need not be repeated. To increase the number of our students in Arts, and so broaden the influence of the University is a consideration which, in our opinion, is far more important than any other, nor has the reasoning of the advocates of a longer session convinced us that the falling-off in numbers which would inevitably result from their action, would be speedily checked by such inducements, abstract and concrete, as the new scheme is by them held to carry with it.

The importance of giving research the fullest play is too obvious to require comment. Comparatively young as our University is, it has for many years been making reputable contributions to knowledge, both literary and scientific; in fact, with the discoveries in radio-activity that are now exciting so much attention and speculation among physicists, the name of McGill must always remain inseparably connected. Nor can we pass from this subject without referring to an experiment in radio-activity which Sir William Crookes has just made—an experiment as beautiful as it is far-reaching, and one, besides, that admits of being described in few and simple words. Certain substances

exposed to radium rays become phosphorescent, and of such substances zinc sulphide is one of the best. If a screen of zinc sulphide is exposed to the action of radium rays and examined under the microscope, the field of vision is seen to be flashing with points of light. These flashes are caused by the impact of particles expelled from the radium. The particles themselves are infinitesimally small, and, of course, lie infinitely beyond the bounds of human sight. But they are like so many shells, invisible in their path, yet causing sudden and visible disturbance where they strike. On account of their extreme minuteness, human imagination is utterly unable to picture them, and has to take refuge in the mathematical statement that each is, conjecturally, the one-thousandth part of an atom of hydrogen in size. Although the mass discharged is so minute that no change in the weight of the radium could be detected in thousands of years, yet, owing to the high velocity of the particles, their energy is sufficiently great to be measured in fifteen seconds and, as M. Curie has recently shown, to maintain the radium permanently at a temperature of two degrees above its surroundings. The significance of Sir William Crookes's experiment with the microscope lies in this, that it enables us to verify by actual vision a theory that extends our notion of the constitution of matter beyond the atom to its minute constituents, and, by so extending it, opens up a new region of *sub-atomic* research.

An event which has recently taken place—the resignation of Dr. Johnson and of Dr. Murray—changes the aspect of the Faculty of Arts in a way that emphasizes a depressing experience of academic life very strongly. We may be allowed to quote, in part, the notice we wrote for the McGill Outlook:—

The retirement of Dr. Clark Murray from professional life is an event that deeply touches those—and they are many—who have been affected by the influence of a personality that might be termed rare. An idealist by instinct, Dr. Murray has been endowed with a constitution of mind that has enabled him to make his life a uniform exponent of virtues which vanish in theoretical idealists the moment they find themselves tempted by sordid interests or by promptings of passion. Hence the secret of Dr. Murray's power and success. His students have felt that the high principles he inculcated were guiding his life from day to day. It is known by all who are in a position to know, that, owing to that feeling, Dr. Murray has, for more than a genera-

tion, exerted a remarkable influence on the large classes he has taught. In a subject like Philosophy, the life of the teacher counts for much, and, to young minds especially, seems almost in itself to give sanction to his teaching.

It is a rather delicate, and certainly a difficult thing, to say what might be said regarding one whose name awakens such reflections, particularly when intimate friendship, revealing nobility of attitude and of character only more clearly, inclines to silence. Eulogy is mostly kept for the dead—except in after-dinner speeches, when, generally, much less is meant than meets the ear. And although praise may sound sweet, and is now and again timely, it is a wise ordering of things that makes the consciousness of effective work bring its meed of satisfaction, and even of pleasure, and ask for nothing more. Indifferent to applause and scorning designs that sometimes win it, Dr. Murray will perhaps be conscious that there is an occasion when his closest academic friend may be allowed to break silence with words of admiration and, if it is seemly in a younger man to say so, of praise.

The name of Dr. Johnson is synonymous with hard work and devotion to the University, in which he has been such a prominent figure as Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Vice-Principal. To Dr. Johnson has fallen an amount of routine work that is truly colossal, demanding effort that can be estimated only by those who know how time-absorbing and exacting even a moderate quantity of such work proves to be. Within the University he has tenaciously clung to academic ideals that will have to be respected if the University is to concern itself with the minds of men, and not simply with their purses, while outside it he has been conspicuous in various spheres of activity. To him as a teacher more than one of his colleagues can express deep gratitude.

Two professors, who for years had to work their hardest when the University was passing through a time of stress, leave its scene. As they go, the feelings of those who will miss them as colleagues or as teachers are a mingling of regret and gratitude and hope—hope that they will be spared to enjoy for many years both the satisfaction of well-earned repose and the thought that the place that knew them best will always treasure their memory.

THE EXTENSION OF THE SESSION.

[A SUMMARY OF DEBATE.]

The Academic Board having been constituted to serve as a forum for the discussion of matters that concern more than one Faculty, there is every reason why the question of the extension of the session, which has been so exhaustively debated in the separate Faculties, should now receive some consideration also from the Board. Having listened to the various discussions that have taken place, I may perhaps be in a position to give all parties interested the benefit of what I hope will be considered an impartial and dispassionate summary.

One obvious result of these discussions is that the subject is certainly better understood now than it was formerly. If any friends of the University were in danger—though I cannot say I think this to have been the case—of imagining that the question was simply one of more or less work to be done by the staff, and more or less leisure to be enjoyed, they must have been compelled to revise their standards during the progress of the debate. It is indeed an elementary principle, and one that differentiates University teaching from school teaching, that the professor's vacation is not, and ought not to be, a holiday. It is a period during which he is renewing his supplies, and undertaking such study, writing, investigation and research as can alone enable him to maintain his teaching efficiency.

On the other hand, it does professors no harm to hear from time to time how their work and attitude are regarded by those who may be taken as representing the general public. Parents and guardians, not

perhaps specially interested in academic matters, fail to understand any good reason why students in attendance on a University course should be in *danger of being allowed* to pass half the year in idleness. The academic mind must, like every other mind, take pains to "clear itself of cant." As we come once more to the end of our short session in this University, with only one month more teaching in the Faculties of Arts and Applied Science, I am sure that most of us cannot help wondering in our hearts whether the present is the best of all possible systems. We cannot but be conscious of the fact that both students and professors have been working at express speed; that much that we should have liked to overtake must remain unaccomplished; and that just when we are gaining greater opportunities of "getting at" the students individually, we are about to say good-bye to them for a considerable number of months.

A reference to the chart which has been prepared showing the length of session in twenty-one universities on this continent, and seven on the other side, will be enough to show that there was at least a *prima facie* ground for raising the question at the present time. In this table McGill comes out at the foot of the poll, along with Queen's University, Kingston—having only 135 lecture-days, including Saturdays, as compared with Queen's, 137; Dalhousie, 145; Toronto, 150; Cornell, 195; Pennsylvania, 200; Harvard and Chicago, 205.

Now, while all due weight must continue to be given to arguments in favour of the long vacation, drawn from the undoubted prestige that comes to a university whose staff is using its leisure for investigation and research, it must never be forgotten that the final cause of the existence of universities is, after all, their students. With that one word of reminder by way of preface, it would seem to be possible to summarize the results of the discussions which have taken place, and to balance against each other the various arguments that have been adduced, under the following three heads:—

(1) The interest of the students (both Ordinary and Honour) who form our constituency;
(2) The general policy of the administration of the University;
(3) The interest of professors and teaching staff.

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion, on purely educa-

September 1st | August 1st | July 1st | June 1st | May 1st | April 1st | March 1st | February 1st | January 1st | December 1st | November 1st | October 1st | September 1st

Harvard University
Yale University
Brown University
Columbia University
Princeton University
University of Pennsylvania
Cornell University [illegible]
Johns Hopkins University
University of Chicago
University of Michigan
Vassar College
Washington University (St Louis)
Mass Inst of Technology
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

McGill University
University of Toronto
Queens University (Kingston)
Dalhousie College
University of New Brunswick
Manitoba University

Glasgow University
Edinburgh University
Dublin University
University College Liverpool
University of Birmingham
University College London
Queen's College Cork

September 1st | August 1st | July 1st | June 1st | May 1st | April 1st | March 1st | February 1st | January 1st | December 1st | November 1st | October 1st | September 1st

tional grounds, that, especially in the Faculty of Arts, an extension of the period of teaching, whether by lengthening the regular session or by means of a fully organized summer session, would be eminently desirable, if it could be made practicable. This is held to apply to candidates for the ordinary degree, above all others, and especially to students in the earlier stages of the curriculum. It is believed that, without any great increase of actual teaching, more thoroughness and greater efficiency could be secured for the large majority of students if the present courses could be redistributed so as to allow more opportunity for individual study and thought throughout the session. It is obvious to many that students in their first or second years are not at a stage when they can profitably be left to work by themselves for a period of five months. They would do better under supervision, and surrounded by the general influences of university life. A shorter vacation would still afford ample time for rest and recreation, and would involve less loss of time and loss of ground. It must be remembered that in the case of such students the present five months' interval is apt to bring relapse as well as discontinuity, and much has to be made up at the beginning of each session before progress can be resumed. As to advanced and Honour students, what difference there is is only one of degree. It has been very properly urged that the circumstances of some departments differ from those of others, and what has been said applies especially, as has been stated, to the Faculty of Arts. In Medicine, for example, the materials for work are mainly available in the University buildings, where attendance is accordingly required of students during the greater part of the year. This does not apply to the literary departments and to some branches of scientific work, although it must be obvious that the best use cannot be made, under present conditions, of our expensively equipped laboratories.

The existing practice of the University was based on Scottish models, to meet essentially similar conditions in this Dominion. But things have changed in Scotland, as they are changing now in Canada. In Scotland it used to be said that the students wanted to be away all summer for farm operations; but that cannot be held to apply now, and as a matter of fact each of the Scottish universities has instituted a fully organized summer session, attendance at which qualifies for the degree. It may be taken for granted that the existing system in

Canada would not now be adopted *de novo*, and this seems a *prima facie* ground for re-considering present conditions. When students were scattered and in poorer circumstances, the session had to be concentrated so as to avoid journeys and leave time for earning money in the summer. With the improvement of means of communication and the more general diffusion of prosperity, it is beginning to be felt that the interests of the majority are in danger of being sacrificed to the needs of the few.

The conclusion, therefore, seems to be—judging in the meantime purely from the educational standpoint—that greater efficiency and more thoroughness could be secured by extending the session. Possibly without increasing the amount of lecturing in the aggregate, relief might be obtained for both teachers and taught by spreading it over a longer period. Especially in the case of students of the First and Second Years, it is noted that it is found in practice absolutely impossible to prescribe any reading or other work for them outside the requirements of the courses laid down in the Calendar, and also that it is extremely difficult for the average man to keep up with the demand made in the way of preparation for lectures. This evil would be remedied by the proposed change. If it be the fact that under present conditons our more able students suffer from the disproportion between the time devoted to direct instruction and that available for independent work and thought, surely the cure may be best sought in a direction which will provide some increase of free time during term, while students still remain under the supervision of their teachers. It is admitted that for Honour students individual work is highly beneficial; but such work is always best done under supervision of some kind; and this is why, as has been pointed out, even in such conservative centres as Oxford and Cambridge—not to repeat the reference to the Scottish Universities—the long vacation is being increasingly taken advantage of for methodical and organized teaching.

It has been said that the next consideration should be the general policy of the administration of the University. Some point out that in the Faculty of Arts many students have already been lost in consequence of the recent increase of fees; and with the additional cost of living, in such an expensive centre as Montreal, which an extension of the session would involve, the number of students in Arts might be expected to decrease still further. There is some doubt as to this.

Some hold that the increase of fees has already turned away most of the students who are compelled to choose the cheapest and shortest path to the Arts degree; but, after all, an *inclusive* fee of $60 cannot be considered prohibitory, even in an Arts curriculum, nor should it be forgotten that Arts students may be required to pay even more than this if they take expensive laboratory courses in the universities with which McGill is in friendly competition—namely, Queen's and Toronto. Moreover, in some of the smaller universities, such as Vermont, to which Canadian students go from the Eastern Townships, and also in some of the universities in the Maritime Provinces, the long session is in vogue, from September to June, and succeeds in attracting even the class of student who has to do something to earn his own living during the period of his attendance. Such loss as might be sustained through this cause would, of course, arise in connection with students who come from a distance, and these form at present only two-fifths of the membership of the Faculty of Arts.

It is possible that such a loss of students, if it should take place, would be made good later on, as soon as the idea had taken hold of the minds of all interested that the university which is doing most for the teaching of students is the university most deserving of patronage. But—to speak again of the Arts Faculty—something will certainly have to be done to increase and enhance its present attractiveness, especially to those at a distance from Montreal. It is not easy to bring home to persons at a distance from the university seat the comparative merits of a particular Arts course. In other departments, such as Medicine and Applied Science, the degree conferred on the student has in itself a certain pecuniary value, and that degree which seems to give the best return for the money invested in the curriculum is naturally sought after in increasing numbers. It is different in the case of Arts. Here the benefits conferred are more impalpable, and cannot be estimated in terms of building and equipment, or in the salary to be obtained immediately on graduation. The number is not great of those who are ready to go long distances and to incur the expense of such journeys for a good general education in subjects like, for example, Latin and Greek—instruction in which may quite readily be obtained, after a fashion, nearer home. Almost the only guide to a parent in making comparisons between various institutions must be the personal reputation and strength of the teaching staff. In this

aspect it ought to be emphatically stated, especially in view of much current misrepresentation, in quarters which ought to be better informed, that McGill has never needed to apologise for the poverty of its Arts Department. Like other universities, it points to a steady, and, in late years, rapid increase of the teaching staff, and recent extensions, as well as the distinction of the men at the head of the various branches of study, have brought it fairly into line with the other Faculties, whose strength is acknowledged everywhere. It is true that we are somewhat heavily handicapped in competition with Toronto, Kingston and Dalhousie, from the fact that McGill is more isolated amid the rising tide of French population, and that it is situated in a centre where the cost of living is, perhaps, some thirty per cent. higher than elsewhere. But we may confidently rely upon the increased recognition which comes from greater teaching efficiency.

On the whole, then, it would seem that the possibility of loss of students ought not to be considered an overruling objection to any extension of the session. It goes, of course, without saying, that the University must endeavour now, as always, to safeguard the interests of its poorer constituents. That is why the recent increase of fees has been accompanied with the offer of a large number of entrance Exhibitions and other awards open to competition, with the result that no poor student possessed of adequate talent need feel himself shut out from the University course. In the same way now, the more efficient training of such students as could face the additional cost of an extended session, might be dearly purchased by a further reduction of numbers. But here too, the remedy may be found in the offer of additional Exhibitions and Scholarships, tenable not for one year only, but for the whole period of study, provided satisfactory reports can be obtained as to the progress of the holder from one session to another. It is at this point that the question of general policy mainly enters. It would never do to make such changes in the existing condition of things as would give hostile critics any ground for stating that McGill tends to become a centre only for the rich. In a young country, barely at the beginning of its development, that university would be foregoing great opportunities of usefulness which failed to diffuse the benefits of a liberal education among as many as possible of those who will have a hand in shaping its destinies at a critical period. On the other hand, no unnecessary sacrifices must be expected to be made in

the alleged interests of those who are not blessed with any excessive share of this world's goods. Efficiency of teaching and equipment may be expected in the near future to be the deciding factor in competition with other universities, and such efficiency ought to be secured at every cost.

A special head under which the above difficulty has been much discussed is the interests of the affiliated theological colleges. Here again it must not be supposed that the administration of the University fails to appreciate the importance of the considerations urged. The training of students for the learned professions is one of the main functions of a Faculty of Arts, and McGill has reason to be grateful for the influence that has been wielded on her behalf in various parts of this vast country by clergymen who have gone forth from her halls and have settled in distant centres. But while it has been roundly stated that the interests of the theological colleges absolutely forbid any extension of the session, it may be serviceable to remark that if a fair inference may be drawn from the case of the Presbyterian College, the persons mainly interested, namely, the students themselves, do not seem to be unduly influenced by such apprehensions.

The recent report of the Committee of Corporation sets forth in short terms some of the advantages which would accrue to the University from an extension of the session, considered from the point of view of general policy. "The University would be brought," says the Committee, "into closer and longer continued touch with the life of the city and the country." That would be an undoubted gain. For reasons which are quite adequate to anyone who understands the true inwardness of the present situation, the staff of the Faculty of Arts, and also that of the Faculty of Applied Science, is to some extent under the temptation of making Montreal and McGill places of resort for the winter only. It need not be said that this is not always the case. Many of our Professors—including some of the heads of the professional departments in the Faculty of Applied Science—remain on the scene of their labours practically throughout the year. But apart altogether from those whose work in foreign libraries requires their absence, many members of the staff withdraw as soon as their teaching duties are discharged to centres where the cost of living is less than it is here. It cannot be doubted that the University would produce a greater impression on the public, whose interests it serves,

if measures could be taken to secure a greater representation of teaching work in both Arts and Science during at least part of the summer.

Under the head of the interest of professors and the teaching staff much that might be said has already been anticipated in the foregoing pages. The objection has been taken that an extension of the session would curtail opportunities for investigation and research in science and literature, and would consequently depreciate the value and attractiveness of the McGill professoriate. To this it has been rejoined that no university which knows where its true interest lies will fail to make arrangements by which persons exceptionally distinguished for powers of original research, or capable of developing such powers, may secure the desired opportunity without being unduly burdened by routine teaching. And if the point be correctly taken that what is needed is not so much more lecturing in the aggregate as a wider distribution of the amount of teaching, an obvious result will be the increase of free time during term itself—time in which the student can be employed in reading around his subject, as it were, while the professor can follow his private work, to some extent, at least, concurrently with his teaching. It must be held in addition that such increases to the staff of the several departments as have taken place in recent years, and as may reasonably be expected to continue in the future, should go far to secure to individuals the necessary freedom for that research and investigation on which the reputation of the University so largely depends.

Into this matter of the interest of professors, the question of finance must necessarily enter—as, indeed, it enters into everything. The provision of professors of the highest ability and reputation is largely a question of finance. It is well known that in McGill things are not as they ought to be in this respect. The salary question is always with us—or, at least, with some of us! Friends of the University too often speak, however, as though some personal responsibility for existing conditions lay at the door of the administration. It should be clearly understood that one element of good government, in the university as elsewhere, is that expenditure cannot be incurred where the available funds are not sufficient to justify it. On the other hand, there is no reason why it should not be admitted that McGill cannot, under existing conditions, share in the competition of other universities for the best men available, no matter from what part of the

world they may come. When the new University of London is offering salaries of £1,000 and upwards, with all the attractions of the capital, and when colonial salaries in Australia range from £900 to £1,200, it will be strange if we can continue to attract to Montreal the first or even the second choice of men—and keep them there—for a salary of from $2,500 to $3,000 a year. Nevertheless the professoriate, as represented by its best types, is not a money-making class; and once assured of a sufficient income for a decent but quiet life, for the education of children, for occasional travel and study at foreign centres of thought, as well as of some provision for old age, most of those who choose such a line of life would prefer freedom and the opportunities for research and work offered at McGill University to any prospect of accumulating wealth, such as the same ability would command in one of the professions.

Date of Convocation.—It is argued that it is desirable to retain the present date of Convocation for the Faculties of Arts and Applied Science, whether the session be lengthened or not, on the ground of greater opportunity of obtaining work immediately on graduation. This is said to apply to all departments of the Faculty of Applied Science, and, in the Faculty of Arts, to theological students and teachers. Apart from such cases, it certainly does not appear desirable to offer any inducement to students to go off on other lines of work during the period of their university studies. A special report has been presented by the Faculty of Applied Science showing how a practical extension of the session of four or five weeks could be obtained by instituting, in addition to the present Summer Surveying and Mining Schools, further work in the Physical Laboratory, in the Drawing-rooms, and in the workshops for students in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering. The present system, by which students in the Second and Third Years are nearly all employed during the summer in mines and large electrical and engineering works is represented as combining the English system of apprenticeship and the American university system. Such work can most readily be obtained if the student is early in the market, and is prepared to spend at least ten weeks or three months in his employment. The Faculty of Applied Science is strongly of opinion that the longer period in the University laboratories would be a poor compensation for the development of character and knowledge of practical conditions obtained in summer

employment, by which the University work of the succeeding year is itself greatly improved in quality. The precise date at which such summer employment should begin seems to be largely a matter of arrangement.

In the event of some extension of the session being made practicable, there seem to be two ways open to the University of carrying out the views of those who are responsible for the present suggestion. It should not be forgotten, in the first place, that Summer Classes are already in existence, and have been gradually increasing in numbers during the past few years. The least expensive method would certainly be to organize these classes more fully under a staff specially charged with their administration. The extended session in Medicine was begun in the first instance as an optional term, and the same result might be expected to follow in the course of time in other Faculties. Meanwhile, with the laboratories kept open and some teaching going on to represent most of the subjects of the curriculum, the University would be more in evidence during the summer than has hitherto been the case.

This would, however, be only a transition stage. The best return in the way of efficiency that can be secured would seem to be, in the judgment of many, to extend the session (especially in the Faculty of Arts) under such safeguards as have been referred to above, so that with a break at Christmas and Easter, it should go on continuously from the end of September to the middle of June. Probably by the time when such an important step has come to be within the reach of practical politics, those additions may have been made to the equipment of the University which the Committee of the Corporation in its report very properly desiderates as necessary for such action as is now recommended. We do not need to wait, however, to be provided with students' residences, and a gymnasium, and a dining-hall, and a Convocation Hall, before making an effort on the line that is to lead to an extended session. But it will be well if our equipment and attractiveness can be increased by the provision of such buildings before the time comes for changing the present system of voluntary summer classes into an extended session by the inclusion of the month of May and part of June in an organized and more or less compulsory curriculum.

WILLIAM PETERSON.

THE REV. JOHN BETHUNE, D.D.

Dr. John Bethune was born in the county of Glengarry at the beginning of 1781. He received his education at Cornwall under Dr. John Strachan, who afterwards became Bishop of Toronto. After serving in the war of 1812, he entered the ministry of the Church of England, and in 1818 was made Rector of Christ Church, Montreal. He remained in charge of this important parish for more than fifty years, eventually becoming Dean of the diocese. His connection with McGill College began in 1835, when on the resignation of Dr. G. J. Mountain he was appointed Principal by a Board which consisted of Lord Gosford, the Bishop of Quebec and the Chief Justice of Montreal. It will be observed that the inscription placed under his portrait (see frontispiece) styles him "Acting Principal." This designation is strictly correct, for under the old charter an appointment to the office of Principal required the sanction of the Sovereign. Dr. Bethune was *de facto* Principal during a period of eleven years, 1835-1846, but he cannot be styled a Principal *de jure*, since ratification was finally refused by the Crown on the advice of Mr. Gladstone, then Colonial Secretary.

The mere mention of Dr. Bethune's name recalls the most acute controversy which has ever arisen out of the affairs of McGill College. Though a large issue was at stake, personal differences unfortunately became involved with it, and the dispute, which lasted for several years, caused a considerable degree of bitterness. The main facts of the case are to be gathered from "A Return to an Address of the Legislative Assembly," dated March 8th, 1849, and from "A Narrative of the Connection of the Rev. John Bethune with McGill College." Both of these documents may be found in the University Library. The first contains copies of "All Papers or Correspondence relating to McGill College between the Authorities in Canada and the Home

Government since 1840"; the second is Dr. Bethune's own vindication, "addressed to the Congregation of Christ Church, Montreal, and to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, in the Diocese of Quebec." A very appreciative notice of Dr. Bethune's career will be found in Fennings Taylor's "Portraits of British Americans," vol. II., pp. 51-60.

While it is far from being the wish of the Editors to revive the memory of acerbities which have long been forgotten, it is necessary that the policy of Dr. Bethune should be defined in order that his place in the history of McGill College may be understood. In short, he endeavoured, without at all concealing his designs, to put the College under the control of a Board, whose members should "consist of all the Clergy of the Church of England now holding, or who may after hold, preferment in the Parish of Montreal, and of a certain number of Laymen of the Church of England, resident in the aforesaid parish, to be named in the Charter." Vacancies were to be filled by co-operation, and the Bishop of the Diocese was to be Visitor of the College.

In other words, Dr. Bethune frankly wished to place McGill College in the hands of the Church of England, although "the youth of all other religious bodies may, in the discretion of themselves and of their parents, resort to it for instruction in the several branches of Science, with the assurance that no attempt will be made to bias their religious belief." His arguments are that there must be some religious discipline, that James McGill was a member of the Church of England, that the Sovereign in the Charter insists upon "the instruction of youth in the principles of true religion," and that there is in Canada no college which is bound by plain and acknowledged ties to the Church of England. Such reasoning, however, was not destined to prevail. Not only were the other Protestant bodies in the Province hostile to Dr. Bethune's design, but his own Bishop, Dr. Mountain, resisted it with great vigour.

Into further details we need not enter, save to say that the controversy embraced a dispute regarding jurisdiction between the Governors of McGill College, who belonged to Dr. Bethune's party, and the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which had for its chairman Dr. Mountain. As the result of prolonged strife, the interests of the College suffered severely, and Mr. Gladstone remarks in his despatch of April 3rd., 1846, to Earl Cathcart (the despatch which removed Dr. Bethune from office): "I have observed with great regret

the state of disorder and inefficiency in which the Institution appears to be." The crisis was precipitated by joint action of Dr. Mountain and the Governor-General, who made private representation to the authorities in Downing Street. Before the close of May, 1846, Dr. Bethune ceased to be the acting chief of McGill College, but he remained Rector of Montreal until his death. Regarding his nomination to the Deanship of the diocese, Mr. Fennings Taylor says: "A more fitting appointment could scarcely be made, for his personal history had been intimately and lovingly blended with the history of the Church and Parish of Montreal."

It only remains to state that while Dr. Bethune's policy failed and even led to his removal from office, he received loyal support from some of the most important members of a college staff which, outside the Medical Faculty, was still extremely small. In confirmation of this statement we print the following document:—

"We, the undersigned, Officers of the University of McGill College, from our personal knowledge, as far as we have respectively been connected with it, do hereby certify that the Reverend John Bethune, Doctor in Divinity, has performed the duties of his office of Principal of this Institution with a zeal, ability and moderation only equalled by his patient and enduring perseverance under circumstances of great and harassing difficulty, and that the opening and establishing of the College, and consequently its very existence, are mainly to be ascribed, as we verily believe, to his active and indefatigable exertions."

(Signed) "JOS. ABBOTT, A.M.,
"Vice Principal and Secretary.

(Signed) "E. CHAPMAN,
"Late Professor of Classical Literature."

"McGill College, May 11th., 1846.

My connection with McGill College has been of very recent date, and I have no objections to add my testimony to the above."

(Signed) "WILLIAM T. LEACH,
Professor of Classical Literature,
"McG. C."

C. W. COLBY.

MR. BOURASSA ON CANADIAN IMPERIALISM,

IN THE MONTHLY REVIEW, SEPT. AND OCT., 1902: A REPLY.

[*The following article unfortunately reached the Editor too late for insertion in the preceding number of the Magazine.*]

Political judgments cannot be appreciated apart from personalities and antecedents. Of this Mr. Bourassa himself is conscious, and accordingly devotes much space to a historical and descriptive account of the French-Canadians. With his history we need not quarrel at present. It is neither more nor less biassed than other history written with a purpose. But there is an omission to be filled. We must know something of Mr. Bourassa's own career before accepting his opinions unreservedly as representative of "the higher classes among the French-Canadian people," for which he professes to speak. This necessary information he modestly witholds from us, except that he subscribes himself M.P.

The Member for Labelle was the most prominent opponent in Canada of the British policy during the late war. In Parliament he adopted the tatics employed by others in Australasia, and sought to prevent the dispatch of contingents by drawing the red herring of constitutional malpractices across the trail of his aversion to the war. The Dominion Government, he argued, had been coerced by Mr. Chamberlain, who astutely accepted a Canadian contingent before one had been offered officially. From this incident he was able to forecast the approaching destruction of Canadian autonomy. In a lengthy speech, in March, 1901, he moved certain resolutions, nominally for the purpose of establishing familiar constitutional principles which no one had disputed, but really, as Sir Wilfred Laurier pointed out in his reply, as a

pretext for again condemning the British policy. Only two members showed their sympathy by voting with him, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier merely stated the obvious when he declared that "what we did, we did in the plenitude of our sovereign power." Nevertheless Mr. Bourassa, undaunted by his isolation, continued to seize every opportunity to harp upon the perils arising from the character and actions of Mr. Chamberlain. His conception of the Colonial Secretary may be judged from a passage in the speech referred to—"Chamberlain . . . having had at leisure and unreservedly the blood of our blood, in order to enrich himself and his brother and the whole of his tribe by selling guns and ammunition. . . ."[1] To test the feelings of his constituents, Mr. Bourassa had resigned his seat early in 1900, and had been re-elected without difficulty. He had been returned again at the General Election in the following November; and this repeated assurance of the confidence of his constituents accounts for the violence of his subsequent tone in Parliament and the persistence with which he has since adhered to his position. Doubtless his electioneering harangues followed the lines of his speeches at Ottawa. We may assume that the two leading topics were (1) the injustice and barbarity of the war, with special reference to Mr. Chamberlain, (2) the violation of precedent and consequent perils incurred by the dispatch of troops to South Africa. From Mr. Bourassa's own description of the French-Canadians it is easy to imagine which of these topics proved the simplest and most effective with his audience. But what of Mr. Bourassa himself? Was he, in the heat of pro-Boer excitement, and in a mood of violent antipathy to the Colonial Secretary, competent to judge the wider tendencies of contemporary political action?

It is a commonplace that men who are violently prejudiced against one particular aspect of a policy are not the best judges of that policy in other respects, which may be the more important. The most important aspect of the present Education Bill is its effect on our educational efficiency, but we find that Noncomformist ministers do not judge it calmly in that light. The most important aspect, for Canada, of the policy of sending contingents was its bearing on the national status of the country. But we need not expect a clear and impartial estimate of the policy as a national-Canadian movement, from a politician whose feelings were overcome with aversion to the war itself. Hence it is not surprising to find both elusive vagueness and para-

[1] Hansard, Vol. LIV., p. 1290, *et seq.*

doxical inconsistency in the views expounded by Mr. Bourassa. Instead of a clear statement of the dangers apprehended we get nothing but mysterious allusions. By collating the latter we seem to ascertain that these articles, which read as a warning to the British public, are really directed against the machinations of the "Anglo-Canadians." The latter, it seems, "talk of drawing him (the French-Canadian) either by persuasion or force to a closer allegiance to the Empire." Apparently they threaten "to take advantage of their greater numerical strength to break the agreement," viz., the "compact" by which the French-Canadian was assured of certain "rights and privileges." As to the latter there seems to be some confusion. The only "rights and privileges" peculiar to the French-Canadians are those granted by the British Parliament, which alone can modify them. Thus the allegation against the "Anglo-Canadians" is perplexing. Possibly Mr. Bourassa fears that the malign influence of this party is being brought to bear on the British Government, but of this he offers no evidence. It would clear the air if we could assure ourselves that Mr. Bourassa does not suspect this country of wishing forcibly to modify the Canadian constitution. On this point some light is thrown by another passage in the speech already quoted. Here Mr. Bourassa describes "the new Imperialism . . . . the tendency of Mr. Chamberlain's ideals, *favoured either wilfully or blindly by most colonial public men*, is to centralize gradually the political, military and economic ruling of the Empire, making it as free as possible from independent local action." Evidently Mr. Bourassa has not been at pains to understand Mr. Chamberlain's ideals. But the important point, conveyed by the words italicized, is that he fears the accomplishment of those ideals, not by the *force majeure* of this country, but through the active support of "most public men" in Canada itself. Plainly then we are not protagonists, but only interested spectators of a conflict between Mr. Bourassa and the majority of his fellow countrymen.

The question at issue is one of national ideals. Referring always to the movement towards national co-operation with this country, misnamed Imperialism, Mr. Bourassa claims to "approach the problem as it may affect the exclusive interests of Canada." He is "thoroughly and exclusively Canadian." He complains that his English-speaking fellow countrymen "are but partially Canadianized;" that they fail

to "study the problems of Imperialism from a purely Canadian standpoint." Theirs is a "divided allegiance." With colonial nationalism we can have nothing but sympathy. A people deficient in the national sentiment which cherishes above all things the idea of the fatherland (distinguishable in this case from the mother country), does not make the progress in commerce, arts, or national character, which commands the world's respect. It is only when

"Our faith and our hope and our honour
We pledge to our native soil,"

that we find an incentive to all that national progress implies. Colonies, therefore, which, having the opportunity to grow into nations, lack the vitality to do so, can never be a source of strength to the British Empire. From the Imperialist point of view, the more nationalism in Canada and Australasia the better. If Canadians and Australasians sometimes talk of "independence" as "the natural outcome of their ultimate destinies," we need not take it amiss. It is the simplest expression of a national sentiment, which will embrace a more ample national ideal, should such a one present itself.

But why does Mr. Bourassa thus assume that French-Canadians have a monopoly of genuine Canadian nationalism? He calls his English-speaking fellow citizens "Anglo-Canadians," presumably on the analogy of "Anglo-Americans." Americans resent the half-hearted patriotism and exotic manners of the "Anglo-American," and the term "Anglo-Canadian" seems to imply a similar disparagement. Mr. Bourassa takes it for granted that the ideals which, as he confesses, appeal to "most public men" in Canada are anti-Canadian and un-national. An assumption so paradoxical demands inquiry. We have generally found English-speaking Canadians, no less than Americans, sufficiently ready to champion their own country and people against all detractors. Let us then investigate their Imperialist ideals, and estimate the value of the latter solely by the standard of Canadian national interests.

The first ideal is that Canada should undertake a larger share of her own defence. To Mr. Bourassa this is sheer militarism. To other Canadians, however, it is a measure dictated by national self-respect. There is an analogy between the career of a nation and that of a man. When a boy claims recognition as a man, we expect him to acknowledge and fulfil the duties of manhood. We despise him if

he is content to remain a mere dependency, living on the good nature of a parent who reflects that, after all, one more or less in a large household does not appreciably affect his expenses. So with nations. Mr. Bourassa poses as the prophet of Canadian nationalism. But the national status is not established by proclamation, and when action is proposed, he wishes his country to remain in the nursery stage of the past, a mere colony, rather than vindicate the claim to nationhood by undertaking the national defence. But Mr. Bourassa implies that Canada has always supported "a sufficient force to maintain internal peace and to resist aggression on her territory." This opinion, which is not shared by "most public men," is at variance with his own *résumé* of diplomatic negotiations. For what is his whole story of Canadian relations with the United States but a repeated illustration of the fact that American and British statesmen alike have regarded Canada as impotent for self-defence? The Americans have always based their exorbitant claims on the assumption that in the last resort England would give way rather than face the prospect of garrisoning Canada with her own troops. England generally has given way for that very reason, and Canada has felt obliged to acquiesce merely because of this inherent weakness of her situation.

It is remarkable how completely Mr. Bourassa ignores the subject of naval defence, in respect of which Canada figures indeed as a mere dependency and no nation. Though second in wealth and population, she provides less for naval defence than any other autonomous country of the Empire. Possibly Mr. Bourassa would argue that because "the Canadian territory is easy to defend against attacks on her sea borders," no naval protection is required. What then of the Canadian mercantile marine, which already is amongst the largest in the world? We might ask him, supposing Canada were now independent, would he support or oppose the proposal that she should tax herself to provide a navy? Presumably he would not have his country placed in a position inferior even to that of Hayti, where a German warship lately found no obstacles to congenial employment. But if he admits the hypothetical necessity for a navy, he confesses that Canada now enjoys indisputable protection by the charity of another country.

Mr. Bourassa is on different ground when he deprecates the demand for more adequate defence forces as tending to involve the country in wars wherein he "has no interest whatever in the contest, and no con-

trol over the policy which preceded the conflict, or over its settlement." The assumption that Canada has no interest whatever in wars directly affecting other parts of the Empire depends upon the repudiation of the principle of co-operative defence. That principle, however, is accepted by "most public men" in Canada, and of late has been mentioned frequently by the Minister for Defence. "We should be in a "position to defend ourselves against sudden attack from any quarter, "and then in case of prolonged war to rely upon aid from the mother "country, just as we should of our own free will and accord give aid "to the Empire, according to the necessities of the conflict." And as to naval defence, "we will take up in a tentative way the training of "Canadian seamen. In this matter whatever we do will be at our "own expense and entirely within ourselves. We will co-operate, if "necessary, with Britain, but we will control our own expenditure."[2] And later: "The country has expressed the desire to help the mother "country, and to take the first steps to form the nucleus of a navy. I "shall be pleased to study any scheme that may be proposed, and feel "quite sure that some understanding may be come to. The Canadian "Government is not trying to dodge its responsibility, but at present "is not prepared to ask taxpayers to spend any money without having "a word to say on the expenditure of it."[3]

Mr. Bourassa, however, prefers to believe that Canada would not receive effective support from other countries of the Empire, in the event of a decisive struggle for her national existence. He rests this opinion "both on past events and on prospective developments." The former have been dealt with already. The latter refer to the "eventuality of a war with the United States." "Rightly or wrongly, the "French-Canadian is inclined to think that in order to arrest such a "calamity Great Britain would even go to the length of abandoning "all British rights in America." Mr. Bourassa goes on to argue (completely ignoring, by the way, his sufficient Canadian military force) that in any event "nothing could prevent the American army from "occupying the central portion of Canada, and probably invading "most of her territory. Canada would therefore at all events be the "sufferer in the fight;" and the interruption of our food supplies would "force Great Britain to accept the terms of the American Republic."

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[2] Canadian Gazette, Oct. 19th., 1902; p. 28.

[3] Canadian Gazette, Dec. 11th., 1902; p. 253.

This is the kind of language which has long been popular with American newspapers, but comes strangely from a Canadian who professes an ardent affection for his country. It is a pity that Mr. Bourassa, with his fervent admiration for the Boers, should not have learnt from them that well-armed patriotism can withstand far heavier odds than any which the United States could bring against the British Empire. It may be admitted at once that if Mr. Bourassa's views prevailed in Canada, this country probably would show itself as reluctant now as in the past to antagonize the United States for the sake of Canada. But, fortunately for the Canadian national cause, the present Colonial Secretary believes that " most public men " in Canada are in earnest when they profess the creed of nationhood. Accordingly British diplomacy lately has upheld Canadian claims in a degree never before approached. Mr. Bourassa has not much to say about the " unfruitful negotiations carried on at Quebec in 1898-99." In former days such negotiations would have been made fruitful—from the American point of view. Has he forgotten the outburst of national enthusiasm with which Canada greeted the unexpected discovery that neither American bluster nor American misrepresentation would induce the British Government to abandon the claim of the Canadian Commissioners with respect to the Lynn canal? At that time the present writer was residing in Ottawa, and well remembers the feelings with which " most public men " and the entire press, French and English, hailed this practical demonstration of the " new Imperialism," of effective British sympathy with the Canadian national cause. It was then said that if presently British interests were threatened elsewhere, Canada would reciprocate heartily the support accorded to her. This was the sentiment of national self-respect, resenting the consciousness of unrequited obligation. It was translated into action when contingents were sent to South Africa. Canadians confessed themselves astonished at their own eagerness to take part in this war, in which Mr. Bourassa " has no interest whatever." Admitting the compulsion of an instinct which they had neither time nor inclination to analyse, they accepted the explanation, while instinctively resenting the flattery of the English press, which dilated upon " the splendid loyalty of our colonies." It was not colonial loyalty but national patriotism. If it was merely the loyalty of a colony to the suzerain power, surely that colony would now acknowledge its general liability

to take part in England's wars and pay a subsidy to England's navy. To this liability Mr. Bourassa seems to apprehend that Canada practically committed herself by her recent action. He himself goes so far as to acknowledge that "towards Great Britain he has a duty of allegiance to perform," and he is convinced that the "Anglo-Canadians" are "undertaking to make the country more British than Canadian." In this country, on the other hand, people are talking about the "disappointing" results of the recent Conference, and wondering why Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues were so reluctant to accept what Mr. Bourassa alludes to as "the full responsibilities of Imperial citizenship." The truth is that the Canadian Ministers at the Conference were controlled by the same national instincts which forced the dispatch of the contingents to South Africa. The liability to take part in foreign wars without control over foreign policy, the hiring by cash subsidies of English seamen to defend Canadian maritime interests—these things are indeed prejudicial to natural dignity and efficiency, and are therefore resolutely avoided by the statesmen whom Mr. Bourassa finds deficient in national sentiment. Their ideal, we believe, is co-operation in defence, which involves co-operation in foreign policy. The obstacles which retard the realisation of this ideal are, firstly, the inherent difficulty of devising a scheme of co-operation wherein the national status of Canada can be recognised as equal with that of England; and, secondly, the certainty that any such scheme will be vehemently opposed in Canada by the colonialist minority, which, not yet having risen to the prevailing conception of national dignity, imagines that "most colonial public men" are conspiring with Mr. Chamberlain to degrade their country by transferring the seat of government from Ottawa to London. Under these circumstances the ideal may have to wait, but in the meantime our respect for Canada is enhanced by the knowledge that "most public men" there are concerned for her national position, which they do not wish to be "what it has been so far and nothing more." They no longer speak or think of Canada as a colony.

Another of their obnoxious ideals is that of closer commercial relations with this country, with the object of increasing the commercial prosperity of Canada. Is this an anti-national ideal? It is not unusual for nations to negotiate commercial treaties, the policy being determined by a calculated balancing of gains and losses. Even

the existing preference, accorded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government, to imports from this country was granted on this principle, with the difference that the calculation concerned domestic political questions to a greater extent than commerce. The political gain was advantageous to the Liberal party, which so long had been discredited, but the commercial risk affected the whole nation. For this reason the preference is condemned by the present Opposition, which is traditionally the nationalist party in Canada. They demand a more tangibly commercial *quid pro quo*, such as a tariff preference for Canadian wheat. They, too, "have a notion that any favour received would have to be compensated by at least an equal favour given." The nationalist seeks a business contract, and, being ambitious in all things, is not afraid to take a risk. One would have thought that Mr. Bourassa, after describing the essentially commercial character of the English-speaking Canadians, might have left these matters in their more dexterous hands.

In fine, Mr. Bourassa seems to have drifted out of the stream of true national patriotism by which "most public men" in Canada are being swept along. Instinctively he uses the word national in a sectional sense, meaning French-Canadian. Only by an occasional effort does he reach the conception of a united Canadian nation, which Sir Wilfrid Laurier describes so eloquently for his benefit. For that conception he has no enthusiasm, but only a formal recognition. Otherwise how could he tolerate the idea of closing the national career at the outset, by disintegrating the Dominion, abolishing the Federal Parliament at Ottawa, and adding the provinces as additional units to the already unwieldy American Union? It is a curious patriotism which would have the country commit national suicide, destroying its national identity to score off the Imperialists! He would do this, in the last resort, because under the United States system "at all events he would preserve the self-government of his province." It would be a strange innovation for the Americans to sanction an established church and a foreign official language, privileges now guaranteed to Quebec by the British Parliament, and therefore perfectly safe from the "Anglo-Canadians." The idea, however, is not more absurd than the other motives of Mr. Bourassa's desperate expedient. To show his contempt for "Imperial power and glory," he would become one of the tyrants of the Philippines, and listen daily to cruder and more

jingoistic apologies for Empire than are offered anywhere under the British flag. Remarking that "the lust of abnormal expansion and Imperial pride have ever been the marked features of all nations on the verge of decadence," he would throw in his lot with the only people which acts on the theory, constantly expounded by President Roosevelt, that "expansion," even over tropical islands 5,000 miles away, is a matter not of policy but of inevitable destiny. To keep clear of militarism and avoid providing for national defence, he is willing to enter the Union which spends more money on its army, and is increasing its navy more rapidly, than any other country. To remain unsullied by "the frantic display of financial energy, the feverish concentration of capital, the international competition of industry," he will fly to the arms of Mr. Pierpont Morgan!

It is difficult to take Mr. Bourassa as seriously as he takes himself. His real ideal, we suspect, is the old one which contemplated a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Long ago, in the pre-national era of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself was attracted to this idea. To suit Mr. Bourassa the new state would have to get its independence guaranteed from outside, national defence being equivalent to objectionable militarism. The only insuperable obstacle to this scheme is that it conflicts with the prevailing Canadian nationalism, which Mr. Bourassa does not appreciate. Affection for the integrity of the Dominion is not confined to the French-Canadian. It remains to point out that the attitude which Mr. Bourassa attributes to the French-Canadians is by no means peculiar to him or them, as he seems to suggest. Colonialism, which may be described as the antithesis of national self-respect, afflicts certain minorities in other parts of the Empire also. At present there is a noisy clique in Queensland, threatening secession from the Commonwealth, and claiming a right, sometimes in the name of provincial autonomy, sometimes by virtue of an imaginary "compact," to veto the measures which the Federal Government, supported by the chosen representatives of Queensland, deems essential to the welfare of the Australian nation. There is a handful of politicians both in Australia and in New Zealand who cannot distinguish between the duty of national defence and the disease of militarism; and are not ashamed to urge that England could never afford to withdraw naval protection from countries which are mortgaged to her financiers. Finally, there has been a querulous whisper

from Johannesburg, which, after petitioning this country to interfere with Mr. Kruger's *régime*, hints that its "loyalty" is unequal to the strain of making any contribution towards the cost of our interference. Such is the loyalty of colonialism. Colonialism was the halter, said the founders of the Manchester School, with which England inevitably would strangle the younger peoples growing up under her ægis. It was argued that those communities could not develope a national vigour and national character of their own, under a system relieving them of the occasional conflicts and constant responsibilities which produced the great nations of the past and of to-day. There followed the question how these colonies, claiming the privileges while declining the responsibilities of self-government, could bring any permanent advantages, commercial or political, to this country. This question, so ably put by Mr. Goldwin Smith and others, remains unanswered. If nevertheless at the present time the views of the Manchester School are less popular with us than ever, the reason is that the hypothesis of its doctrine is being falsified by experience. Already there is room for just pride in the thought that but for our illogical perversity there would be no second nation in North America to-day, and no independent New Zealand to diversify the experience of antipodean civilization. After all, nationalism is not incompatible with the system of our Empire. The marvellous economic development of Canada, the marked self-reliance and national pride of the majority of her people, the consummation of a federal union in Australia, the fertility of political thought in New Zealand—all these indicated the waning of colonialism. Finally there came the South African war, when by a spontaneous impulse the colonies threw off the shackles of tradition and boldly claimed recognition as nations of the future. In this country the revelation has resuscitated old dreams in new shapes. Nations are not everlasting. To return again to our analogy, the man with a purpose to fulfil rejoices if there are sons to carry on the work with which his own life has been identified. In history the English will live by their Imperialism, in its proper sense, namely, the work of ruling subject races. If the very principle of Empire is questioned, we reflect that the Americans have now deliberately assumed the same task, confessing the same moral obligation which forbids us to relinquish it. Racial affinity tends to produce a similarity of national ideas as well of political forms. From the United States the contagion

of Imperialism will spread to Canada more rapidly than from this country, and it is to America that Australasia looks for the latest phases of democratic progress. Thus the revelation of colonial nationalism suggests that nations springing from our colonies may presently wish to become junior partners in our Imperial work, and ultimately, having outstripped this country in wealth and power, assume the bulk of the burden which we now support single-handed.

It is only if Canada helps to hold and administer the dependencies of the Empire that the term Imperialism can have any real reference to her connection with this country. When in time this proposal comes to be mooted, it may be that the successors of Mr. Bourassa, still in the rear of national progress, will be found in opposition. Mr. Bourassa tells us that the French-Canadians are less imaginative than the Frenchmen of the South. We believe nevertheless that they are more imaginative than the English, and that the Imperial idea may mean ultimately more to them than to ourselves. Possibly a French-Canadian Viceroy of India may prove the stimulus to imagination, just as lately the position of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has done much to inspire them with the idea of a united Canadian patriotism.

Imperialism in this proper sense offers a wide field for debate. On the other hand, the policy of international co-operation for defence, commerce, and minor objects, seems to be approved by many who nevertheless oppose it, because it is also known, through a misleading convention, as Imperialism. This popular misconception may have influenced Mr. Bourassa. In conclusion, we recognize also that his racial affinities, causing lack of sympathy, do not make it easier for him to quit the broad highway of colonialism, and follow the majority up the steep path of national ambition. But one who professes an admiration for British political institutions might remember that saving principle of our party warfare, the tacit understanding that after all the other side may be right. It is a mere conceit for him to pose as a Canadian nationalist, accusing "most colonial public men" of a deficiency in patriotism. To them the *tu quoque* may be tempting, "you do not look at these things from a purely Canadian standpoint; you are only partially Canadianized; you are still a Canadian with a hyphen!"

R. C. JEBB.

THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF HISTORY

Each great branch of literature and science seems to connote by its very name some well recognized attribute. Thus certain phrases come into being, as, for example, "the truth of mathematics," "the beauty of poetry," "the lucrativeness of chemistry" and—may not one add?—"the attractiveness of history." It would be idle, however, to contend that historical study is the only attractive thing which can be pursued on earth. Some people find an interest in collecting beetles. When the young Darwin popped into his mouth that acrid-tasting scarab, while with one free hand he made a dash for the *panagaeus crux major*, he was enjoying himself hugely. Likewise we must assume that Pasteur was not quarrelling with the dulness of his lot when he solved the tartaric acid mystery. Did he not rush from his laboratory into the hall and embrace the janitor? To be sure, all subjects which are worth thinking about have their attractions for the stalwart mind, and any one of them may annex the individual investigator for life.

As a rule, historians are willing to live and let live, but, like other men who are in earnest, they occasionally wax argumentative and defend their subject against all comers. Not long ago this was necessary, for scholars (that is to say, the athletes of classical nurture) and hard-headed mathematicians decried history as fluff, and declared that it could only be a matter of interest to those of feeble or retarded intelligence. Thus placed on the defensive among its rivals of the curriculum, history developed unexpected strength. It rapidly begot a terminology and an apparatus. It appropriated the idea of evolution and talked glibly of organisms. Not content with becoming a science, it girt itself round with its ancillary, subordinate sciences. Heuristic

leaped to light closely attended by Hermeneutic. With equal swiftness, Epigraphy and Diplomatic, Archæology and Palæography, appeared upon the scene. Then, indeed, Clio began to feel at her ease, and learned to assume a look of mild melancholy when she considered the shortcomings of the sister sciences. Her expression was that of Botticelli's Madonnas as they sit surrounded by their group of attendant angels. Thank heaven, we have now finished with those tedious disputes in Faculty rooms over the question of equivalence. It will no longer do for the scholar or the mathematician to talk about fluff—an allusion to the vigours of the Ecole des Chartes can be depended upon to overwhelm the most exacting critic.

But though the battle royal is ended, the scope and value of history are still discussed from time to time by the *doctrinaire.* And on such occasions the ground which champions of our side usually take is that man is more interesting than matter. D'Israeli, it will be remembered, once said in a speech at Edinburgh, "There are those who think that we are descended from the apes, and those, again, who deem that we are descended from the angels. Now, I am on the side of the angels." With equal gaiety, the historian ranges himself on the side of man as against the lower animals, or as against stocks and stones. Borrowing from Terence the fine, though familiar, sentiment, *Homo sum, humani nihil*, etc., and from Pope an aphorism to the effect that the proper study of mankind is man, our pleader for history considers the argument closed. Man, the lord of creation, should, like Voltaire's satrap, feel satisfied with himself and be content to seek his highest pleasure in contemplating his own past actions. Such retrospect is surely profitable, and, above all things, must it not be attractive?

So far, perhaps, the discussion has gone when something is urged by the enemy. The sardonic spokesman who represents the cause of palæontology (a science, by the way, that is older than our ancillary science of palæography, and therefore resents being confused with the latter in the public mind)—the spokesman of palæontology, I repeat, breaks in with a sharp question. "But it is not true," he exclaims, "that the late Bishop of Oxford, your own great Stubbs, has said, 'The study of history may make men wise, but it is also likely to make them sad?' And did not the abominations of the past so weigh down the soul of Cardinal Newman that, for himself, he could see no

sign of God in history, and was thrown back upon the inner witness of the spirit? And did not Lord Acton show by a mountain of proof how the most exemplary theorists of the last four hundred years have accepted the doctrines of Machiavelli's 'Prince'? Now, sir," the palæontologist may conclude, working up to a pitch of heat, "now, sir, if you have a heart in your breast, can you dare to call such a record attractive? At any rate, the ravages of nature are less atrocious than the inhumanity which has made countless thousands mourn."

Here let this imaginary conversation cease with an admission that the "good old times" lie beyond the range of authentic chronology. The historical barometer is not like that optimistic instrument which always registers *beau fixe* in the mountain hotels of Switzerland. Alexander, the mediæval moralist is fond of reminding us, was poisoned in his own palace, while Julius Cæsar was pierced by the bodkins of Brutus and Cassius. But we have not alone to do with the *Schadenfreude* of Chaucer's monk, as he tragically recites the overthrow of the great. Wherever we turn, the masses have suffered even more. If one has a genius for melancholy, Burton and history between them will furnish him with themes. Indeed, a friend of mine thinks of embodying this idea in a title. He is writing a text-book of mediæval and modern history, because, as he jocosely remarks, there is no other work on the subject. The dates chosen are 378-1878, and if his publisher permits, he intends to christen the book "Fifteen Centuries of Crime."

Something, of course, might be urged on the other side. If it were desirable, the smiling philosopher might speak of heroism, justice, self-sacrifice, and a host of virtues which have been illustrated by human actions, thus drawing up a neat antithesis after the fashion of Lord Macaulay. But here no attempt will be made to strike a balance between good and bad. They are pretty thoroughly mixed, whether of not the proportions be equal. If Sterne laments the "sad vicissitude of things," Stevenson is alive with "the incommunicable thrill of things." Let the adjudication of such points be handed over to essayists and poets, to moralists and theologians. What fills the historian with pride is the fine and ample diversity of his field. Its bigness is not only attractive but magnetic. Matthew Arnold said that Catholicism and the Abbé Migne suggest "all the pell-mell of the men and women of Shakespeare's plays." *There* is the deep charm, the

lasting attractiveness of history. *Quicquid agunt homines* is its motto: the honour and the meanness alike; the holiness and the sin alike. Its scope reminds one, too, of what Michelet has said concerning the Church Catholic and Roman: "She presented herself to the world such "as the world and time had made her. She appeared before it in the "parti-coloured robe of history. Comprehending humanity at large, she "shared also its miseries, its contradictions. The little heretic "societies, made fervent by their zeal and by their danger, standing "apart, and purer by reason of their youth, disavowed the cosmopolitan "church, and compared themselves with her much to their own satis-"faction. The pious and profound mystic of the Rhine and Low "Countries, the simple rustic Waldenses, pure as a flower amid "Alpine snows, triumphed when they accused of every vice her who "had received all, adopted all. In the same way, each brooklet doubt-"less may say to the ocean: 'I come from my own mountain, I know no "'other waters than my own; whereas thou receivest the impurities of "'the world.' 'True,' is the answer, 'but I am the ocean.'"

Everything that makes history broader and deeper must tend also to make it more attractive. And here, as we review the situation by comparing past and present methods of research, there is ground for just satisfaction. Though the spirit of complacency must at all times be put down, who can fail to be elated at the progress which history has made in the last two generations? "We all know," says Mr. Wiley, "the old methods of the eighteenth century: character "sketches and fancy portraits, Thucydidean in scope and drawn to "display the wordy skill of the draughtsman; lofty and often contra-"dictory generalizations, all based upon the same meagre stock of "knowledge; a modicum of well-worn facts tricked out in varying "degrees of picturesqueness. Indeed," he continues, "after many "years of minute reading, I am almost constrained to say that I know "nothing sadder in literature than the way in which old fictions are "repeated by favourite authors without any attempt at verification "from original sources." This is plain speaking, and Mr. Wiley shows himself almost as severe towards the contemporaries of Voltaire and Gibbon as Sir Philip Sidney does towards the historians of the 16th century, whose "greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundation of Heare-Say." But we have changed all that since the days of Ranke—if not in detail, at least in conception. Nor has the

process of going beneath the surface been attended by any abatement of interest. The delight of students grows greater and greater as each layer of sand and gravel is removed, until the record is seen at last to be grounded upon the solid ledge. Research may have its perils, but among them is not reckoned lack of zeal. It is pleasant to see that Professor Maitland, for whose cleverness and learning we all feel such respectful admiration, has alluded in his latest utterance to the progress which is being made in all directions. He, at any rate, will not admit that history means politics alone. "We could not if "we would," he says, "be satisfied with the battles and the protocols, "the alliances and the intrigues. Literature and art, religion and "law, rents and prices, creeds and superstitions, have burst the "political barrier and are no longer to be expelled. The study of "interactions and interdependence is but just beginning, and no one "can foresee the end. There is much to be done by schools of history; "there will be more to be done every year."

Let us say, then, that we are on the right track, and that we have no reason to despair of our cause. After all, this enlargement of history, this attainment of a better perspective, this improvement of method simply means that we are standing on other people's shoulders. When we grow vainglorious we may still turn for chastening to certain celebrated and classic works, which endure like the Pyramids, but which, unlike the Pyramids, have not been preserved by the dryness of their atmosphere. Signor Villari says in the preface to his recent book on the Barbarian Invasions that, besides reading Dahn and Hartmann, Malfatti and Bertolini, Bury and Hodgson, he has used Tillemont and Gibbon and Muratori, "who never grow old." The eighteenth century was not altogether given over to evil in spite of the Thucydidean portraits. To have been born before Ranke and Darwin was doubtless a misfortune, but, none the less, great triumphs were won in those days by the favour which the first of the Muses bestowed upon her chosen few. However enticing the attractions of history may seem to-day, at no time have they been slight. The love of great deeds, the love of letters and the love of fame have from the first formed a powerful trinity, and if further incentive were needed the elect historian found it in reverence for his ancestors or in a sense of indebtedness towards posterity. I know few passages which are more irresistibly delightful than those wherein the great historians have revealed

themselves to us and shown us their joy in their work. There is Herodotus as he girds himself to describe the famous actions of both Greeks and barbarians; and Thucydides, who feels that history has furnished him its noblest theme; and Polybius, who becomes at once philosopher and panegyrist as he sees in the advance of Rome the central fact of all. Nor is it in the masters of the art alone that we can perceive signs of pride and of the quickened pulse. The *di minores* of the Middle Age are also alive to the dignity of the subject, and love this task which taxes their powers to the utmost. Gregory of Tours forbids all future scribes to tamper with his page, even though they be as learned as Marcianus Capella. Ordericus Vitalis sighs as he lays down the pen which the rigours of a Norman winter will no longer permit him to hold. Giovanni Villani, having gone on pilgrimage to Rome in the year of the Great Jubilee, is seized with a longing to write the history of his native Florence. What could be more eloquent than his words or how could any passage express more fitly the mood of those whose imagination is not dead to the glories of the past? "And "I, finding myself on that blessed pilgrimage in the holy city of Rome, "beholding the great and ancient things therein, and reading the "stories and the great doings of the Romans, written by Virgil, and "by Sallust, and by Lucan, and Titus Livius, and Valerius, and Paulus "Orosius, and other masters of history, who wrote alike of small things "as of great, of the deeds and actions of the Romans, and also of "foreign nations throughout the world, myself to preserve memorials "and give examples to those who should come after, took up their "style and design, although as a disciple I was not worthy of such a "work." Our predecessors may not always have observed the letter, but the best of them had the spirit that giveth life.

Of these ancient histories which we still cherish, some survive because they are unique sources of information, some because they contain important political or moral ideas, and some because they possess the saving grace of style. And here, were there time, we might branch off into a separate discussion concerning form and substance, for history unadorned does not always captivate the general public. There are those who can even hear the name of Rome without being thrilled by its sound. I was once told by a distinctly clever woman that, although she had often been in Florence, she had never yet seen Rome. The fact seemed strange, but the explanation was

still stranger. "You know," she said, "that one can't go to Rome without learning some history, and I *hate* history." Of much the same disposition was a gentleman from our side of the Atlantic, who last winter sat next a friend of mine at the table of a Roman *pension*. On arriving he announced that he should remain twelve or thirteen days. With less than the activity which he had elsewhere shown, he hoped in the time allotted to see "all there was in Rome." At the end of the second day his luggage was observed to be moving downward through the corridor in the direction of the front door. "I hope," exclaimed my friend, "that you have heard no bad news which is taking you away so suddenly." "It isn't that," replied the departing traveller, "it isn't that, but I 've seen all the buildings in this town that have roofs on them, and as for the rest, *I say* 'let bye-gones be bye-gones!'" To such folk as these, whether male or female, history of itself does not appear attractive, but in many cases we shall not go wrong if we attribute their distaste to the quality of the books which they have read. For example, I found out that the lady whose unwillingness to visit Rome has been mentioned, had once been made to study a one-volume abridgement of Gibbon. *Hinc illae lacrimae.* That was all the history of Rome she wanted.

To leave the realm of anecdote, one may recall the fact that this question of literary style in historical composition has recently excited much interest and some debate. The death of Gardiner, following so close upon the publication of Green's "Letters," was sure to raise the point in many minds, and at all times the form of his expression is a source of misgiving to the historical writer. People in general will not read books which are unreadable. What course, then, should be followed by the men of sound sense and solid learning? Shall they permit the public to grope about in the dark without being permitted to see the attractive side of history? Or, putting all thought of the public from them, shall they address those and those only who have so much light within their own clear breasts that they can sit in the centre and enjoy bright day? Some years ago a colleague, though not an historian, asked me what I thought of Justin McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times." I presume I passed the banal criticism that it is rather too journalistic. "Well, I don't know about 'journalistic,'" said he, "but I wish some one would write a history of the Middle Ages that would be as interesting." This remark may not have

been quite logical, but it shows a point of view. And we all know how often it happens that those who are best fitted by knowledge and good judgment to mould the historical opinion of the world reduce their audience to a minimum by the baldness and bareness of their style.

In speaking of such things one must be careful not to waste words or to beat about the bush. Thus Mr. Bryce, in his introduction to the English translation of Helmholt's "Weltgeschichte," quietly puts aside another most interesting question. Whether history is a science, he observes, it boots not to inquire. The distinction is purely verbal. Let us pass on. So in this matter of historical composition some one may say, "Why talk about nothing? We all know that historians should do their work as thoroughly as possible and then write as well as they can. Pray spare us these glimpses of the obvious." For myself, I hardly think we can dismiss this particular question so lightheartedly. The stricter votaries of the scientific sect seem to hold that *ex hypothesi* your sound historian *must* be colourless. At the very moment when one bites into the apple of vivacity the fall is accomplished, and it only remains to expel the offender from the Eden of orthodoxy—from that Eden which is bounded by the four rectangular rivers and irrigated by the brick canals. Unfortunately the instincts of the natural man are yet strong, and some there be who get so affected by their study of the past (I am afraid I must use the word "enthusiastic") that they cannot make their style resemble an inscription on a tombstone. I imagine that Macaulay was thus constituted. He had a large amount of historical emotion, and could impart it to others. I well remember that as a small boy I never read his description of the acquittal of the Seven Bishops without feeling strange though pleasurable sensations creep up and down my backbone. Green, who used to tear like mad through the streets of a continental town, until he had seen cathedral and palace, square and back lane—Green also belonged to the same class. He and Macaulay are under heavy suspicion, whether on account of unfair bias or of undue picturesqueness. We need not discuss them as individuals any more than we need discuss either Droysen's statement that Frederick was morally justified in seizing Silesia, or Treitschke's attitude towards England. Two opinions, however, may be hazarded. In the first place, most men might write more attractively than they do if they

would but take the pains. Secondly, it is not the part of good judgment to banish *a mensa et thoro* those historians who are gifted with powers of vivid writing, simply on the ground that one is sure to be misleading when he ceases to be dull. For example, M. Funck-Brentano's "L'Affaire du Collier" need not necessarily be bad history because it has all the dash and animation of Gaboriau's novels.

I have said little of the attractiveness which belongs to the study of movements and institutions. Few pastimes are more exciting or exacting than that of tracing out institutional origins, when one can ferret at will through a large, well-catalogued library. But in this respect all branches of history are alike to the devotee. Gibbon, it will be remembered, once lost his hat while staying at the country seat of Lord Sheffield. After a visit of six weeks the historian was about to depart, but the hat could not be found. "I left it here," he said, indicating a particular spot, "I left it here when I came, and I have not since used it." He had spent all his time in the library. This may do well enough for an Englishman, but the highest triumphs of devotion and endurance belong to the Germans. For fourteen years Christopher Cellarius was Professor of History and Eloquence in the University of Halle, and it is said that during the whole of this time he only once took a walk. *Why* history should prove so absorbingly attractive, who shall say? Here we trench upon deep questions which none but the psychologist can explore.

I am afraid that I have not treated my subject in a very profound or philosophical manner, but to analyze the charm of history minutely would be like itemizing the beauties of Olivia or dissecting the Venus of Melos. When we contemplate the attractiveness of this study, which embraces all the past, we do so largely for the sake of edification, and to impress upon ourselves the truth that history as a whole is more than any of its parts. We may have special fields and an enormous number of weighty monographs, but should we not always work in the spirit of co-ordination and of catholicity? In the College of the Six Days' Works they were esteemed the highest sages who raised "the former discoveries into greater observations, axioms and aphorisms." Doubtless it is reserved for few of us to be called "interpreters of history" as these were called "interpreters of nature," but we shall all be the losers if we do not keep before us the idea that only by co-

ordinating our special studies and striving to give them their due place in the universal scheme shall we rise to the height of our opportunity.

History, then, is most attractive when our conception takes in the totality of human action and when our imagination is permitted to play around this central point. Being very finite, we must content ourselves with undertaking very finite researches, but because we work in a corner there is no reason why we should not see the stars. In his noble oration on the slain heroes, Pericles says, "I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because I wish to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges." He who would praise the attractiveness of history must also take *sursum corda* for his concluding words. If we would realize the grandeur and pathos of the past, we must be ready to lift our eyes above the threshing floor, which seems so large because it is so near, and scan from time to time the whole circuit of the heavens. We are all the willing bondsmen of our pet enthusiasms, but it is not the slave to a single period or a single movement who has most purely felt the attractiveness of history.

C. W. COLBY.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE HABITANT.

II.

The fur traders, closely followed by the missionaries, were almost the first French people to come into contact with the Indians, and for many years French influence, for good and for evil, rested entirely with them. The fur trader, however, copied the Indian mode of life, and often became even more hardy, wild, and lawless than the savage.

On turning to the priests, we find them inculcating peace and mercy, thus hoping to convert the red men to Christianity and eventually to make them French. Indeed, from the beginning, the missionaries recognized that the wandering life of the savages was a great hindrance to their work. Until the Indians were persuaded to lead a more sedentary life, religious teaching was almost useless. Accordingly missions were established to introduce Christianity and to teach agriculture and other civilized occupations. At Sillery, at Lorette, near Quebec, where the descendants of Huron braves may still be found, at Caughnawaga, the foundation of which was the one good result of the Iroquois mission, at Montreal, at the Sault, and at La-Prairie, the priests and their converts were to be found. At those places and elsewhere, schools were opened, but at first the Indian children would not attend regularly, or, if they did, they learned but little.[1]

Gradually, however, civilization won a footing, and, in 1861, the Indian lads at the various schools were being well taught. At Lorette

1. Frontenac à Colbert November 6th, 1679. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.

and at Sillery they were reared according to French custom, except in the matter of food and dress. They were taught to read and to write and even to play instruments.[2] The girls were under the control of the nuns, from whom they received the rudiments of such education as was given to French girls at the time. Sometimes, indeed, an Indian youth was sent to France to be educated. Many Indian tribes refused to receive the Black Robes, as the priests were called, and thus the great majority of Canadian Indians could not be reached through the missions, so that the influence of the church upon the savages was scarcely an important factor in Canadian life. Still, in Acadia the priests were very successful in swaying the Abenaki to their will, whether they made them Christian or not.

But throughout the whole period, the unchanging cry of the Fathers was that the fur trader was the greatest foe of the church. This was most unfortunate, for, from first to last, the fur trade was the breath of life to New France. Without it the colony would have ceased to exist. To keep it within bounds was beyond the power of the government. Again and again the colonists were forbidden to go to the woods, but to no avail.[3] The government then attempted to bring the trade to the colony, and for this purpose an annual meeting of buyer and seller took place at Montreal by order of the King. Thither went numberless Indians with their peltries, and many traders with various sorts of wares. During the days of the fair, brandy-selling was prohibited,[4] but the prohibition was not enforced, and these great gatherings broke up in the utmost confusion. Montreal, once a most pious settlement, was the scene of drunkenness, licentiousness, and disorder of every description. Tadoussac and Three Rivers also held annual sales,[5] and the trade in furs was brisk enough there, but Montreal was the one great centre.

The colonists, however, did not take kindly to the regular annual sale of furs, but preferred to go to meet the canoes, or to form settlements above Montreal in order to intercept them, and then, having plied the hunters with brandy, they bought the furs at a low rate. Usually these colonists were the agents of a prominent official or of

2. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, Novembor 13th, 1681. Ibid.
3. *Conseil Souverain.*
4. *Conseil Souverain.*
5. In 1663 the fur-trading privileges at Tadoussac were sold for 46,500 *livres*.

seigniors, and though their trading was forbidden, no punishment was meted out to the offenders.[6] It was small wonder, therefore, that the young men, in ever increasing numbers, became hunters and trappers, and by doing so made punishments impossible. Then, in order to regulate an evil which they could not prevent, the officials issued licenses *(congés)* permitting the holders to go to the forests for furs, but the licenses were few in number and valid but for a year and a half. Usually they were given to needy friends or to their widows, and to relatives and favourites, to whom they became a source of income, as they were sold at a price ranging from five hundred francs upwards. This system, renewed as often as it was suppressed, remained in vogue during the period of the French *régime.*

But whether the system was in force or not, the Canadian youth eluded the authorities, and roamed the trackless forests with savage freedom. Young men, whose vigour and strength was needed at home, became the noted *coureurs de bois* or bushrangers, who were regarded by the sober citizen, the priest, the official, and the King alike, as an object of terror and scorn. Edict after edict was issued against them, but it was found that severity was dangerous, for the English gave higher prices for furs, and hence the threatened fur traders might be driven over to them or might become banditti.[7] Fines were imposed upon colonists who assisted these renegades, and even death sentences pronounced against them,[8] but the whole colony was deeply interested in the trade, and information against an accused person was hard to obtain. From the fur trade, therefore, grew up a great evil, baneful alike to the growth of the colony, to its progress, and to its morality. Seigniories were abandoned, wives and children left destitute, farms uncultivated, and cattle uncared for, until the colony was on the verge of ruin.[9]

There were two sorts of *coureurs de bois*—the one went to the homes of the beaver and the bear, and did not return for two, three, or even four years; the other, a less numerous class, went only to Fort Michilimackinac. There they met the canoes from the western hunting-

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6. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, November 10th, 1679. op. cit.

7. Frontenac au ministre (Colbert) November, 1672. op. cit.

8. *Conseil Souverain*, June 26th, 1669.

9. Correspondence of Duchesneau during the autumn of 1697. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol ix.

grounds, bargained for and obtained peltries, and returned to the colony at the end of five or six months.[10] Sometimes they went to Fort Michilimackinac in organized bands, under leaders of their own choice.[11] On hearing of such leagues, the King ordered that all persons going to the forests without a license should be whipped for a first offence, and sent to the galleys for life for a second.[12] Finally the disobedience of the *coureurs de bois* reached such a pitch that no one obeyed the King's orders. Several prominent families were deeply implicated, and, besides, the Governor was remiss in inflicting punishments. He even shared the profits. When speaking of persons of importance in the colony, who took interest in the fur trade, it may be noted that a famous *coureur de bois*, La Taupine, traded for Frontenac in 1678, and that Major Bizard openly sent men to the bush to engage in an occupation that he found profitable.[13] There was always the fear, too, that the *coureurs de bois* would go over to the English.

In 1680, there were over eight hundred young men in the forests.[14] Becoming dissipated and accustomed to a vagabond and loafing life, which they would not abandon, they wasted their earnings in drunkenness and fine clothes.[15] One of the Governors speaks even more emphatically regarding this evil. He points out that the *coureurs de bois* injured the colony by corrupting the settlers physically and morally, as they did not marry and cultivated an idle spirit. Upon their return from a long hunting-trip, they assumed aristocratic manners and dress, while spending their gains in drunken revelry. Although they were only peasants themselves, they despised the peasantry. They would not condescend to cultivate the soil, nor would they listen to anything but a return to the woods, where they lived immoral lives, and thwarted the efforts of the missionaries by injuring religion. The Canadian youths, says this same authority, were badly trained, and from the time they could shoulder a gun, their fathers dared say nothing to them. They did not work, were poor, and ranged the forests, where they were guilty of an infinitude of dis-

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10. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, November 10th, 1679. Ibid.
11. Frontenac à Colbert November 6th, 1679. Ibid.
12. Roi à Frontenac 1681, regarding the punishment of *coureurs de bois*.
13. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, November 10th, 1679. Ibid.
14. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, November 13th, 1680. Ibid.
15. Ibid.

orders. The Indian mode of life had strong attractions for them, and they copied it to the utmost extent, going so far as to discard all clothing and even to scalp their enemies. As to the Indian himself, he learned neither good morals nor manners, and acquired only what was bad among the French.[16]

As might be expected, the forts or trading posts where these men met for the purpose of selling their goods were centres of lawlessness, and it is not at all difficult to find emphatic language regarding what was felt by many to be a grave evil. One of the Jesuit missionaries, Father Carheil, brings this state of things at Fort Michilimackinac vividly before us. According to him, Fort Michilimackinac was the centre of all iniquities in the west. There was no sort of misconduct of which the *coureurs de bois* and licensed traders who gathered there were not guilty. Nor was such a degraded condition of things peculiar to them, for even the officers and soldiers of the fort were equally immoral. It should be remembered, too, that the condemnation of the Jesuit missionary is not by any means limited to the great fur trading centre of the west. He paints in very dark colours the ugly side of the fur trade as a whole. And he does not stand alone by any means.[17]

On turning, then, to the other centres, the same state of things is found, but not perhaps to the same extent. Fort Frontenac, the refuge and store-house for the *coureurs de bois* on Lake Ontario—situated, in fact, where Kingston is now—was a feebler imitation of Fort Michilimackinac. Between the two, in the matter of loose living, stood Fort Chambly, a particularly interesting spot in view of its close relations with Manatte and Orange,[18] two out-lying settlements founded by the Dutch to the south of New France, and, at the time of which we are speaking, possessed by the English. Fort Chambly was, indeed, a *rendezvous* for the most lawless of the *coureurs de bois*—men, in fact, who had committed crime, and on whose capture a price was set, for otherwise they would not have been found trading with the English, as that was regarded as a treasonable thing. But the chief

16. Denonville au ministre, March 10th, 1685. Ibid. Also a letter from M. St. Vallier about the same date saying that the Canadian youth was wholly demoralized.

17. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, App. i, p. 506.

18. Report of D'Aigremont, who was sent to New France in 1707. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.

interest attaching to the place is rather a geographical one, as already hinted, and for this reason, that it was the most southern post of a chain, and lay nearest the English, who were ready to give higher prices for furs than the French traders to the north. It might be asked what attitude the government assumed to such a condition of affairs in the country. Severity was felt to be imprudent, for the *coureurs de bois* were useful in exploration, in war, and in influencing the various tribes in favour of the French.[19]

With the fur trade the liquor traffic is closely connected. The Jesuits strove to keep brandy from the Indians and to lessen its use among the French, but to little purpose, for it was declared that even the women drank, and every house was a groggery, the result being that the French were old and decrepit at the age of forty from excessive drinking.[20] With the Indians, however, the case was different. They loved brandy, drank it simply to get drunk, and sometimes to get drunk for a purpose. When drunk, they could kill any one against whom they had a grudge, without running the risk of legal punishment. And an Indian village during a drunken debauch may be most fitly described by the epithet "infernal." In the name of public good, of humanity, and of religion, the Jesuits denounced the traffic. They pointed out that liquor ruined the Indian, for he spent everything to procure it, became loaded with debt, and lived in great distress.[21]

And yet the opponents of the Jesuits accused them of making their missions trading posts, dealing in furs, and even selling brandy.[22] The complaints made by the Jesuits against the liquor traffic were declared to spring from a desire to keep a great part of a profitable trade in their own hands. Those who wished the fur trade and liquor traffic to continue as before insisted that the Indians sold their furs only where they could get brandy, and if the French did not give it to them, the Dutch and English would, and accordingly New France would lose a great part of the fur trade. Not only that, but among the Dutch and English they would be taught heresy, which was a far

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19. In 1687, Denonville used the friendly Indians in the war against the Iroquoise.

20. Denonville à de Seignelay January, 1690. op. cit.

21. Father Lifitau in a report regarding the brandy trade, written evidently about 1716. *Quebec Historical Society.*

22. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 390.

greater evil than was brandy.[23] Some efforts, however, were made to restrain the sale of liquor to the Indians, and such punishments as fines, whippings, excommunications, and even death, were pronounced upon those who offended. There were also numerous attendant frauds attached to the liquor traffic, such as cheating in measure and in quality, and demanding an exorbitant price.[24] The greed of the traders and consequent evils alienated the Indians in a measure, and the French found it difficult to retain their good will. Gifts of different values were of great assistance, but even in this matter of gifts much fraud existed. Presents sent by the King were too frequently sold to the Indians at a high price, and, in consequence, the Indians complained that they no longer received presents, but were charged unfair prices for what ought to have come to them free. In 1711, Vaudreuil promised the King that the Indians should be treated well in future, and that they would not be angered by loss or extortion.

Another result of the fur trade was the lack of workmen. The demand for labour became so great that, in 1688, it was suggested that slaves should be brought to Canada. The King approved, but feared the climate was too rigorous. Whether or not negroes were brought to the colony at once, it is impossible to state positively, but from the Ordinance of Raudot, in 1709, it is evident that there were slaves in Canada prior to that date. Among them were found the Panis, a tribe of Indians held in bondage not only by the white men, but also by stronger Indian tribes. The terms of the capitulation of Montreal also show that slaves lived in Canada to the end of the old *régime*. In brief, to sum up the various aspects of Canadian life which have been touched upon, it may be said that the influence of the French upon the native red men was not wholly good. According to Jesuit report, it was wholly evil, outside of the missions. A traveller in Canada, about the year 1749, noticed the influence of the Indians upon the French, however, for he observed that the French became Indian, but that no Indian ever became European.[25]

Immediately upon the planting of an English colony in America, causes for jealousy between New France and New England sprang up. The fur and brandy trades, the boundary question, the friendship

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23. Instructions to Tracy, 1664. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.
24. *Quebec Historical Society*.
25. Kalm, *Travels in North America*, vol. iii.

of the Indian tribes, and the possession of the great West, were, at various times, occasions for hostility. The French and English colonies were established upon very different bases. In growth, in government, and in principles of progress, they were absolutely unlike; their interests clashed, and war was the result. Canada was established upon a basis which soon became purely Catholic. The people were sent to Canada by a King who expected them to flourish, although the incentives for doing so were lacking. Effort and self-reliance were not called forth. Independence of thought and action was not permitted. Indeed, why should it be? There was a King who freely gave money, land, and titles; who advised; and who, when necessary, punished. In his hands lay limitations and checks. What more natural than to look to the forest as the only place of liberty? On the other hand, New England, as the French called the English colony, was established on a Puritan basis, but not exclusively so. The settlers came of themselves, expecting peace and religious freedom. They were neglected unless they demanded assistance, and even then it was grudgingly given. In short, they were permitted to carve out their own future until New England became large, rich, and powerful. Each colony, however, looked to the West. France wanted to claim a vast region which she had neither the money nor the men to hold, while the English perceived that if French plans prevailed, they would possess a mere strip along the sea.

The Canadian was more martial than the English colonist. Various Governors suggested the usefulness of military training among the colonists in order to defend New France. Under a military Governor, therefore, the warlike tendency of the French was kept alive. On the other hand, the English colonists were so occupied with increasing business and trade relations, and their desire for peace was so strong that they were not prepared for war. Each English colony in the New World fought its own battles without assistance from neighbours, and each English Governor was so anxious to prosper that selfishness pervaded the politics of his region. The French had good reason, therefore, for despising the English militia—which, by the way, received scant support and assistance—and for considering them cowardly and wanting in spirit.[26] The success of Kirke, however, in

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26. Duchesneau, Denonville and others write in much the same vein throughout this period.

1629, when he took Quebec, the attacks upon Acadia and its final conquest by the English, the rivalry around Hudson's Bay, and the long duel between New York and Canada, foreshadow the final struggle between the two races.

In 1638, having found the Iroquois no mean foe, the French made overtures to the English to form an alliance, defensive and offensive, against that nation. In Canada, therefore, relations were apparently friendly, but the expeditions into Acadia and the counter attacks on the Puritans kept the boundary question alive. The instructions to Frontenac were to keep on good terms with the English, but two years later (1679) he reported that the Iroquois were being tampered with by the Dutch and English, whose trade ought to be forbidden. It is clear, then, that the Dutch and English aimed at a large share of the Indian trade. When the English colony acquired possession of the Dutch settlement at Orange, and Dongan became Governor of New York, the aspect of affairs changed considerably. Henceforth, when the Iroquois attacked the French, it was ascribed to English influence and encouragement, and when the Abenaki ravaged the Maine frontier or other tribes made attacks upon Maryland and Virginia, Jesuit intrigue was held to be the moving spirit.

In Acadia, the contest was for territory. This was also the case in Newfoundland, about Hudson's Bay, and in New York. The wars with New England, however, greatly influenced both the Canadian and the Acadian. About 1685 the Acadian population numbered nearly one thousand, scattered at various posts throughout the country. Allied with them were the Abenaki Indians, who, under missionary influence, annoyed the English exceedingly. The Acadians had been very friendly with Boston, because communication with Quebec was difficult and tedious. New England did not begin any war on this part of New France, nor did it even provoke attack, yet its borders were the scene of bloodshed and burnings, of massacre and destruction, of which the record is ghastly enough. The motive for this border warfare and the attacks upon York, Wells, Oyster River, and other settlements, by the French and Abenaki, was to prevent the interference of New England in the designs of the French on the West.[27] The missionaries incur a full share of blame for keeping the animosity of

27. Parkman, *The Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. i, p. 22.

Acadian and Abenaki alive, which was done apparently with the full consent and approval of the government.[28] At one time it was reported that the Abenaki had made a truce with the English. This rumour caused great dismay to the French, but one of the missionaries was soon able to report that the Abenaki were so exasperated by the bad faith of the English and by their treatment of prisoners that they needed no urging to be revenged. Things went so far that on one occasion the Indians of the missions of Father Bigot and de Thury attacked an English settlement, and killed fourteen or fifteen persons. Throughout the correspondence between the officials and the home government, a marked desire to use the Abenaki and the Micmacs to harass the English in Acadia is shown. The purpose of such alliance was to prevent attack upon Canada by diverting English effort. During the Seven Years' War, Father Le Loutre urged his flock against the English. He promised them homes, food, and even payment for losses. If they refused, he threatened to deprive them of priests, wives, and children, and even to destroy their effects.[29] In 1745 three hundred Canadians went to Acadia to assist in protecting French interests. There was no abatement of the border warfare, however, and if the English complained of this manner of reprisal, the Governor disclaimed all knowledge of it. He said that his authority was over the Canadians only, and that they had been instructed to avoid trouble.

The half century of conflict between New York and Canada, with its consequent fighting, burning, and massacres, its midnight raids and horrors, seems to have originated in the desire of both French and English to exert a dominating influence over the Iroquois. Minor causes for alarm or jealousy were constantly arising, and ultimately western expansion entered into the problem. By this time the French occupied the valley of the Illinois. They were found along the Mississippi and in Louisiana. But Dongan, the Governor of New York, was alive to the condition of affairs. He foresaw that, as soon as they could, the French would seize the routes of communication with the West, and accordingly shut out the English. The neighbouring colonies ought to have been interested, but they were not. Nor did

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28. The correspondence between the French King and minister and the Colonial officials inculcates caution. The French are not to appear openly as urging on the Abenaki and Micmacs.

29. *Quebec Historical Society.*

Dongon's representations to the English government meet with desirable approval, for the King (James II) commanded him to be on friendly terms with the French.[30] Dongan's aims, therefore, were far reaching, and though he received little encouragement, he did what he could to prevent further French expansion in America. The Canadians complained that he received French deserters, who were really spies with prices upon their heads, and thus kept himself well informed concerning Canadian affairs. When La Barre, the Governor of New France, made war upon the Iroquois, Dongan claimed them as English subjects who could make a treaty only by his permission. This claim caused much correspondence with Denonville, who succeeded La Barre, and it was never really settled. After the disastrous effects of La Barre's rule, Denonville found the colony in a desperate condition. Even the Indian allies despised the Canadians, while their Indian foes openly mocked them. He ascribed the hostility of the various tribes to Dongan, who harangued, advised, and armed them. English trade, he found, had reached Fort Michilimackinac and the Hurons. New England traders did everything possible to attract the savages. They paid high prices for furs, gave them presents of brandy, and sold goods to them cheaply. "I know not greater enemies to the colony than they," wrote Denonville in 1687, when complaining of the assistance given by the English to the Iroquois. Nevertheless, the French still looked upon the English as a commercial people, wanting in spirit and untrained in war. Their towns were unfortified, and their means of defence so scanty, that the Intendant Duchesneau voiced the popular opinion when he said the English "could not hurt us if we drove them "from the places they now occupy."[31]

It must not be thought that the Iroquois loved the English, nor, on the other hand, did they ever care for the French. They knew they were useful to the English, but they evidently expected to retain their independence as a reward for their services. They listened to the French occasionally when French soldiers and ecclesiastics interpreted English words and messages as best suited their own interests. In 1696 there was a short truce, but the war soon broke out more cruelly than ever. Two years later the peace in Europe was proclaimed in

30. Garneau, *Histoire de Canada*, vol. i, p. 35.

31. Duchesneau à de Seignelay, November 14th, 1679. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.

America, but border warfare was not discontinued. Without going into fuller details, it may be mentioned that Corland and Salmon Falls were scenes of the horrors of Indian warfare, with its scalping and tortured prisoners. Mere trails of smoke showed where the red man had been. Raids upon Deerfield, Hatfield, and Saratoga, as well as upon many less important places, were rich in scalps and prisoners. In 1747 there were 280 prisoners in Montreal, of whom Rigaud brought 56 from Fort Massachusetts. Oxen and horses and grain were taken or destroyed, and the land was laid waste for twelve miles down the Hoosic River.[32] Galissonière's despatches were filled with references to these scalping parties, which were composed chiefly of Indians led by Canadians. The one redeeming feature was the ransom of the English prisoners by the French.

The English had forced their way up to Lake Ontario, and established a Fort at Oswego (Chouagen), whereupon the French established an outpost at Niagara. They had also a fortress at Detroit, another at Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and several along the Illinois and the Mississippi, where, in 1701, the King had permitted the *coureurs de bois* to settle. Each post was planted with care in order to check English advancement, since reports of greed and encroachment were numerous.

From the time Canada had become a royal province, it had had a military Governor, who was virtually master of the whole force of the country. If he abused his power, nothing but an appeal to France could check him, and to make that appeal one man was always ready. This was the Intendant, who was really a royal spy, whose duty it was to watch the Governor and to report to the King all that went on in the colony. Seldom did harmony exist between the two colonial officials, nor, indeed, did the King desire it. They were assisted in the government of Canada by a Superior Council, the highest court of appeal in Canada. At first, the court exercised jurisdiction in all causes, even the most trivial. From 1663, the date of its foundation, to 1673, the sphere of its jurisdiction comprehended the most diverse matters, both great and small. Murder, infanticide, misdemeanors of servants, disputes about the price of a pig or of a coat, damages done by straying cattle; all these fell within its scope.[33] Besides this

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32. Parkman, *The Half-Century of Conflict*, vol. ii, p. 236-239.
33. *Conseil Souverain.*

Council, which sat at Quebec, judges were appointed by the King to try cases generally of a lighter character than those dealt with by the Superior Council. Then, too, there were Seignorial Courts and a Bishop's Court, to which reference has already been made—the former to try cases between tenants and the latter to settle ecclesiastical disputes. Above all these came the Intendant. He could demand to hear any case, and did hear all those cases in which the King was concerned, and also those between seignior and tenant.[34] From his decisions there was no appeal but to the King. Hs issued ordinances upon every subject, even those of little consequence, and all had the force of law. To all appearance he was the real ruler of the colony. His powers were great, and much was expected from him. Frequently he was blamed when matters went wrong, whether they were within human control or not. He was usually a clever, capable man, who would have succeeded in making the colony great if it had not been for the warlike spirit of such Governors as Beauharnois and Galissonière, or for the corruption encouraged by a Jonquière or a Bigot.[35]

Under Louis XIV, Canadians were not trained in self-government. What seems to have been an attempt of Frontenac to create an Assembly was speedily checked, and the same is true of a plan to give Quebec municipal government. Public meetings were restricted everywhere, it mattered not for what purpose they were called. Parish meetings regarding church matters did, it is true, take place from time to time, but they, too, were viewed with suspicion and eventually died out. Even the commercial section of the colony was not exempt from the ban of the King, for merchants were not permitted to meet for the discussion of trade.

Officials, seigniors, and *habitants* were alike subject to the royal will. Return to France was not permitted, nor could any *habitant* leave the colony without permission.[36] Politically, the colony was absolutely dependent upon France for all its institutions. Rules, regulations, and officials alike, were sent from France. There was no rebellion against this absolutism, as the desire for individual liberty did not take the form of a clamour for self-government. The one great evil

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34. Copy of Intendant's Commission, quoted by Garneau.

35. Bibaud, *Les Institutions de l'Histoire de Canada.*

36. Colbert à Talon, June 4th, 1670, wherein he says his instructions to Frontenac are to forbid the return of any Frenchman to France.

of the government was the extreme paternity of the King. From his point of view, he gave every encouragement to trade and to agriculture by gifts of land, money, and material. Talon, the first Intendant, loyally and strenuously endeavoured to carry out the plans of his royal master. In spite of his ability, which was great, Talon failed to awaken the spirit of national progress. He came to Canada in 1665, and at once sought every possible means to improve the finances of the colony and colonists. He endeavoured to open new channels of trade in various directions. Ship-building, the working of mines, the development of manufactures—all these absorbed his attention and effort. Among the industries he established or fostered may be mentioned the making of cloth from wool, the manufacture of soap and potash, and tanning. Noticing the consumption of brandy, he built a brewery to save the colonist expense. As a proof of his zeal, he visited the houses of the people, and reported upon the manner of life in Canada.[37] Though interested in every feature of colonial life, he found his position difficult, and was glad to be recalled.

Again and again financial aid was given to intending promoters of industries, until the requests seemed but a pretext for obtaining money.[38] The amount of aid given by the King and Intendant was very great, and on surveying the whole subject the only possible conclusion is that the colonists were enervated by official bounty. Such was the condition of things in New France, where trade restrictions and monopolies seemed almost native to the soil. Some curious details are to be found in connection with these restrictions, of which mention has been made hitherto only in general terms. Three prices, fixed by law, existed so far as imported goods were concerned. The dearest price was paid at Montreal, the cheapest at Quebec, while Three Rivers showed an intermediate value.[39] Trade was much hampered. A merchant not residing in the colony, who wished to trade with the Indians, was strictly forbidden to do so, and this enactment was obviously aimed at both English and Dutch. In order to check trade with the neighbouring English plantations, no merchant was allowed to trade with them without having obtained a passport from the Intendant.[40]

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37. Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal*, A.D. 1666-1667.
38. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 272.
39. Tariff, dated November 14th, 1665. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.
40. *Edicts and Ordinances.*

In connection with trade and commerce naturally arises the question of currency. In the absence of metal, financial transactions were at first carried on in kind. Beaver and moose skins, wheat, and other articles were accepted at various periods in the life of the colony as currency. Money, indeed, entered the colony from France, but it quickly found its way back again to pay for necessaries and luxuries—for luxuries, because, as a matter of fact, the colonist possessed more of them than his equals in France. To remedy this state of affairs, a special coinage was issued, one-fourth less in value than that of France; but the scheme failed. In 1685, the Intendant Meules, in order to pay the soldiers, issued card money, a device readily adopted by succeeding officials. It was redeemable in bills of exchange, but the bills were often dishonoured; and, in 1714, Pontchartrain, the Minister, promised to redeem all paper money at half its value. Eventually all payment was made by bits of paper which were really worthless. In 1759, the amount of paper money was so large that the government was compelled to stop payment for a time. Much money, therefore, was lost, and the Canadians feared the country was bankrupt.[41] One cause of bankruptcy, heavy taxation, had not to be feared, for the taxes were, as a matter of fact, extremely light.

That the administration of the colony was not above reproach from an early date, may be inferred from the attitude of the officials to the fur and brandy trades, already referred to. Throughout the old *régime* evidences of self-interest and peculation are abundant, but fraud and corruption reached their greatest depths during the last fifty years of the French sway, and centred more particularly about the Intendant Bigot and his friends. Bougainville's journal cites instances of fraud and peculation among the officials, both high and low, and another authority declares that, with few exceptions, all, from the Intendant to the lowest civil employee, were robbers.[42] Bigot, however, as Intendant, had almost unrestricted power to legalize the actions of his associates, and as he encouraged the robberies, his is the chief odium. First among his confederates was Cadet, a man of low birth, who was made Commissary-General by Bigot. In order to stock the store-houses for the troops, militia, and Indians, Bigot bought

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41. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, pp. 362-363.
42. Abbé Gabriel, Editor of Desandrouin's journal, quoted by Parkman.

supplies at a low rate, and resold them to the King at an immense profit. Sometimes the goods passed through several hands, until the price rose to double or treble their cost. At times they were bought for the King by secret contract, or, when they arrived at Quebec, favourites were permitted to buy them, and the trade became quasi-exclusive.[43]

Every official position in the colony was made the opportunity for obtaining money. The command of a fort afforded great opportunities for amassing riches, and the appointment was eagerly sought. It is said that Le Verrier, a step-son of Governor Vaudreuil, amassed a vast sum of money while he was in command of Fort Michilimackinac.[44] The transportation of military stores furnished another opening for plunder. Montcalm mentions that Le Mercier, who came to Canada a poor recruit, was worth a million of francs in a few years. Péan was another speculator in military materials, as was also Pénisseault; and both became very wealthy. Under an assumed name, Bigot built a store-house at Quebec, and collected therein goods of all sorts, which were to be sold in retail to the citizens and wholesale to the merchants or to the King. This establishment was popularly known as "La Friponne." At Montreal the Commissary of Marine, Varin, was prominent in knavery. When inquiry was made into the financial expenditure, this man Varin turned informer and made public the acts of his confederates, prominent among whom were Déschenaux, Martel, Maurin, and Corpron, each of whom had become possessed of a large fortune.

From all accounts, therefore, it is clear that Canada was the victim of official knavery. Honesty could scarcely be expected from a body of men who held a power almost despotic at a great distance from all superior authority. The government is bad, says an unknown writer. It is a country of abuses, prejudices, and of all that is monstrous in politics.[45] The church, powerful though it was, could do nothing. The Governor, Vaudreuil, either could not or would not try to take a firm stand against the dishonesty of his subordinates. Probably he was entirely under the influence of the company of de-

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43. Montcalm à Belle-Isle, late in 1759. In *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.
44. Mémoire sur l'état de Canada, 1749-1760. *Quebec Historical Society*..
45. Ibid.

spoilers. Evidences of his weakness and mal-administration are not wanting from both Canadians and French, but the greater number of complaints come from French officers. They are, therefore, accused of exaggeration and of jealousy. That there was friction is quite evident from the correspondence of the Governor and of the General with the French government. The Canadian prejudices of Vaudreuil made him accuse the General and his staff of harshness and severity, in order to excuse the behaviour of the Canadians and the Indian allies. Paulny, the Minister, advised Montcalm not to treat the Canadians with hauteur and harshness, whereupon the General hastened to assure him that no one rendered justice to the Canadians more readily than he himself did. His correspondence, as well as other evidence, shows that the colony was in a very bad way indeed when Montcalm came to Canada. He says that food, ammunition, and other materials were often wanting when an expedition was organized; that the forts were only fit to dishonour the officer who commanded them. Ineptness, intrigue, lies, and cupidity are some of the qualities the French officers found in the colony. Among the troops they found too much money and too little discipline. They were brave, but hated restraint; they were boasters, cruel and independent; in general, therefore, the Canadians were not given a good reputation by their French officers. The Indians, too, were a source of annoyance to the French officers, particularly when they saw their cruelty in war. Living in the colony was very expensive, and the officers may have viewed life rather sadly, as they found their pay insufficient, and could not get any assistance from home, as did the Canadians. They had to spend their private means for necessities or ask the colony for more pay, and they relished neither course.

This inordinate desire for wealth influenced the social condition of the colony very greatly. At first the colonist was poor, hardy, industrious, and pious. Gradually the *habitant* became desirous of wealth, position, and power, until, at the end of the old *régime*, his outlook on life assumed a very different complexion. The *habitant* suffered at this time because he had not the power to grasp as had those in authority, but he tried to get all he could. He endured, but when endurance was ended there were riots at Montreal and cries for bread at Quebec. Those who had little wanted more; those who had much were not yet satisfied. It was only the common people and the

very poor who felt the scarcity and the want, and endured the wretchedness entailed upon them by their government. Among the wealthier inhabitants who lived in country and town, especially in Montreal and Quebec, life was apparently one round of gaiety and dissipation. Balls, dinners, *fêtes* of every description, followed each other in quick succession, and Bigot outshone all others by the magnificence of his assemblies. In his palace, too, gambling was pursued recklessly, so much so that an ordinance was issued against it.[46] It continued, however, and at both Quebec and Montreal high play was viewed quite complacently, and many an officer and young seignior found themselves on the verge of ruin.[47]

Montcalm was much impressed by the magnificence of the Intendant's palace, by the brilliant tone of society, and by the pleasures of the people. He found that they spoke French well. Their manners were sweet and polished, awkardness being unknown. He found the troops zealous, valorous, and intelligent, but they respected neither their officers nor their orders. In appearance they were strong and vigorous, enjoyed perfect health, and were very fine-looking.

The fashionable life of Quebec has been likened to that of Versailles, and very truly so. It was the Versailles of Madame de Pompadour's reign, in miniature. In amusements, in social life, in the tone of society, in their dissipations, the Canadians copied old France. In nothing is this more clearly seen than in the attitude of the youth *(la jeunesse dorée)* to each other. They gambled, and were dissipated. But they were courtiers with all the polish and grace of their prototypes. Trivial disputes caused swords to be drawn, and a duel was something to be proud of.

Kalm, a Swedish traveller, was in Canada about 1749, and he speaks of the people as he saw them, and of the conditions of the country generally. He mentions the beauty of the women, and comments favourably on their manners and speech. They were extravagant in dress, he thought, took much care of their appearance, and were much given to gossiping, as well as being fond of pleasure. In the country he found the housekeeping far from clean. Floors were cleaned about once in six months, both in the town and in the

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46. Ordinance, dated 1744.

47. Montcalm mentions Captain de Maron as having lost 12,000 *livres*, which he had to borrow in 1757.

country, and when the dust rose from the floor, water was sprinkled around. The common people he found very poor. They seemed, however, to be contented even if they had but dry bread and water, so long as they could sell everything else in order to buy brandy, clothes, and gowns for the women. He apparently found the Montreal girls more industrious, modest, and polite, as well as more handsome than the young women of Quebec, who were, however, better trained in the social arts and graces. The men were polite—the peasant as well as the seignior. The men of position dressed very well, and some of them even wore wigs, then the prevailing fashion. In general, Kalm seems to have found them a very agreeable people.

When the peasant of Old France came to the New World, he became the *habitant* of the new land, but he brought with him the memories of his home, the legends of his parish, and the songs of his province. In New France these bits of folk-lore underwent a change and took on something of the New World. Each settlement had its own particular legend, and where it met and touched Indian life closely, Indian beliefs and stories became mingled with the French legend. The ordinary fireside conversations and the gossiping of the women seem to savour largely of religious feeling, and miracles of faith and devotion were repeated in a hushed silence as the *habitant* crossed himself. Chief among the stories at "husking-bees" and at "apple-parings" was that of the *loup-garou*, akin to the werwolf legend of European literature. Husking-bees were gatherings of country people for the purpose of stripping the husks from Indian corn. There were other occasions when the help of neighbours was given, and one of these was known by the name of apple-parings. As the name implies, the object of the company was to pare apples. Each apple, after being pared, was cut into eight pieces, which, with a number of similar portions, were threaded on a long string, and then hung up to dry. But of all stories told by the French-Canadian the strangest, perhaps, is that of *la chasse galerie.* The legend describes how evil-doers who had pledged themselves to Satan were, by demoniacal power, enabled to pass rapidly through the air in a large *bateau*, which might be seen skimming along, high enough to clear the tops of trees. The *bateau* rose in the air as soon as its occupants had uttered an incantation. If any of the party uttered the name of God or thought of holy things, the *bateau* refused to move.

In closing, some reference must be made to the songs of the French-Canadian, which at first sight seem to have a native atmosphere and colour. As a matter of fact, most of them belong to Old France, every province of which is represented in them. Quaint in language and often sweet in melody, they breathe the spirit of that land to which the French-Canadian is devotedly attached; they are, indeed, a portion of a heritage held dear by grave and gay alike.

HELEN RORKE.

HAMPSTEAD, 1819.

[Charles (Armitage) Brown's account of the writing of Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale* is the one usually given. "In the spring of 1819 a nightingale had built her nest near my house. Keats felt a tranquil and continual joy in her song; and one morning he took his chair from the breakfast table to the grass-plot under a plum-tree, where he sat for two or three hours. When he came into the house, I perceived he had some scraps of paper in his hand, and these he was quietly thrusting behind the books. On inquiry, I found those scraps, four or five in number, contained his poetic feeling on the song of our nightingale." In the Monthly Review for March, 1903, will be found an interesting article entitled *A Morning's Work in a Hampstead Garden*, with a fac-simile of the manuscript of Keats's Ode.]

Thou nightingale upon the lowly crest,
Fringing the stretches dim of peopled plain,
What spirit wooed thee so, to build thy nest
Where northward breezes whisper fret and strain?
Balmy and fresh the air mid-April breathes,
Ruffling the cowslips, loved of thee, in glen
And way whose hedge-tops flaunt the pearly zone
Of cloud with tangled wreaths
Of rose new-flushed. Why pass them and the fen
Where Thames, dark-rimmed with willow, glideth lone?

Whence didst thou come? Perchance on Latmian mount
A midnight joy or requiem fancy-sad
Thou all unwitting warbled near the fount
Where, as he homeward turns, the shepherd lad
Pauses, and stares with large eyes at the cave
Whose darkness hides Endymion asleep,

Untouched for ever by Selene's kiss.
Borne o'er the eastern wave,
Didst thou alight and flood with song the steep
Whose ruined glory looks toward Salamis?

Ruined, yet still the triumph of our race,
With carven friezes ever waxing dim;
Silent the hand of Time smooths every trace,
And gives to formless dust the sculptured limb.
When the last stone shall leave no relic there,
And splendour be a long-forgotten dream,
Shall new-born Beauty come upon the earth,
And exquisitely fair,
A fane arise whose tinct and marble gleam
With line and hue unknown before her birth?

Beyond the double gate Colonus near
Asks for thy song on its immortal brow:
Scant are the olive groves in which the seer
Of old once hymned thy race, O bird, and thou,
Ceasing awhile thy western flight, didst stay
Beside the spot where, guided to his doom,
The aged king and blind, with parting hand,
Soft in its trembling play,
Caressed those faces dear all set in gloom,
Heard the dread voice, and passed from off the land.

And thou wast here upon our Hampstead height,
And deathless made in one brief spring-tide morn
By him who, wasting with a hidden blight,
Had felt the icy touch of mock and scorn.
Within the plot of garden, girt with walls
And bathed in calm pure light of vernal prime,
Where the loved plum-tree's shade the sward along
With green encircled falls,
'Twas there he sat and wrote the wizard rhyme
That gave to immortality thy song.

Many a voice is ours; to him alone
The soul of Nature whispered secret things
Unsung before he came, unheard, unknown—
Secrets of earth's sleep and her murmurings.
Ah, all too soon, in fuller flood, decay
The ebbing waves of song to silence brought,
Brought pain and death beneath a foreign sky.
And didst thou wing thy way
To where by Tiber's stream his grave is sought,
And from the cypress sing his dirge, then die?

CHAS. E. MOYSE.

GREEK HEROINES.

The heroines of Greek literature are not, any more than those of more modern writers, invariably heroic. Nor in that literature must we look for stories in any high degree similar to the annals of to-day. Indeed, one of the most striking differences between ancient and modern literature is the dominance of what may be called the love-motive in the great mass of modern imaginative writing. In spite of certain notable exceptions, including some of Stevenson's best work, the type of modern fiction remains a story of two persons—man and maid—whose mutual understandings and misunderstandings, more or less interestingly set forth, lead the reader to a finale of wedding-bells. In the classical literature there is none of this; it is not until long after the classical period that the germ of the modern novel is first seen. It would carry the reader too far afield to investigate fully the causes of the difference. Suffice it to say that the social conditions of Greek life were so exceedingly different from our own, that the environment which such a character of writing as the modern novel presupposes was entirely lacking. Even when we do get, long afterwards, the first germs to which allusion has already been made, we find what is more nearly a prose-idyll than a novel in the modern sense—hero and heroine live and move in an Arcadia of their own, not in the work-a-day world. It has been remarked that women, and the influence of women, play a comparatively small part in ancient literature; and in a sense this is true. It must be remembered that at Athens, the centre of all that was greatest in Greek literature, women of the better classes lived to a great extent in almost Oriental seclusion, and had no part in general

society, and consequently no influence upon it. These facts may serve to explain to some extent why Greek literature of the classical period is so completely lacking in just that kind of writing which is to-day many times as prolific as any other.

And there is a further reason. When we consider the developement of Greek drama, when we see how Euripides makes a primitive myth the vehicle for the discussion of all kinds of problems, religious and moral, when we study the remarkable liberties which he takes with his plots—interweaving under-plots, adding detail, and often varying the main story itself—we cannot help feeling that it is pre-eminently in the drama that we should have expected to find the fictional study of human character. To some extent we do find this: in the lost comedies of Menander and others, known to us, alas, only through Latin versions, contemporaneous human nature was doubtless pourtrayed in its ordinary aspect, a pourtrayal not devoid of humour. But the more serious sides of human life lack an exponent. Tragedy, though it might touch modern questions under the guise of ancient myth, was forbidden to be definitely and avowedly contemporary. Its religious character was still strong enough to restrict the dramatist to the ancient and mythical. There were certain exceptions, such as the Persæ of Æschylus, but the rule was fairly closely followed.

For these, among other reasons, we have in Greek literature no romances of contemporary life, and for heroines we must go back to an earlier epoch. A scientific treatment of the subject would perhaps demand a chronological arrangement of the female types of different epochs. We should have to analyse the women of Homer, find what are their qualities and their characteristic excellences, and so trace downward through literature the various ideals of women held at different ages. We should have to study, in the varying portraiture of the same persons at successive periods and in various authors, the growing sense of the complexity of human nature. Such a study would be intensely interesting and instructive—to the special student. To compare and contrast the Helen of Homer with that of Stesichorus (so far as we know of it) and with that of Euripides—the Medea of early legend with that of Euripides and that of Apollonius—would be a study of considerable value in regard to the changes in psychological standpoint and literary treatment. The object, however, of the present article is a different one—to give some picture of the notable

women of Greek literature, not contrasting the treatment of different writers, but rather blending and combining touches from this and that, where such a method may give a more vivid presentation of character.

The history of Greece, even if we carry back the history of Greece to include the period of the Trojan war and the yet earlier age of Œdipus, has still a dim and shadowy background of mythical dames. For the most part (two of the exceptions I hope to deal with later) these have, in the phrase of Horace, "lacked the sacred bard." In some cases the legends that are chronologically earliest seem not to have been selected by the great poets for treatment; in a larger number we have records of dramas on these legends, but the dramas themselves have perished. Of the seven plays of Sophocles remaining out of more than a hundred, only one deals with a period earlier than that of Œdipus. Allusions to the earlier myths are of course plentiful enough, but this is a very different thing from the full presentment of drama. Certain characteristics these dames have in common; they are all *ex officio* beautiful; Gods are their lovers and heroes their sons; and in some cases that is about all we know. Genealogical lists of noble dames were especially the favourite themes of Bœotian bards, and a list of this sort is enshrined for us in the eleventh Odyssey; and most great houses loved to trace back their pedigree to a divine ancestor. Some few, however, out of the number stand out with a certain note of personality. Danae, with the flowing hair, imprisoned in her tower, and even so not escaping the wooing of Zeus; Io, driven in madness to wander over the waste places of the earth, meeting Prometheus, a victim, like himself, of the wrath of the gods, and comforted by him with the prophecy of the mighty hero that is to spring, generations later, from the sons of her son; Niobe, vaunting with proud mother's heart the glories of her children against those of Leto, seeing them slain before her eyes, and then turned herself to everlasting stone with trickling tears flowing forever in memory of her sorrow; Atalanta, stooping down to pick up the apple and losing the race to her lover;—these live in the memory with a certain note of individuality. From among the treasures of Greek lyric poetry, I cannot forbear to quote Simonides' Lament of Danae. She and her son Perseus had been cast forth in a box on the sea:—

"When in the chest of cunning workmanship the breeze as it blew and the heaving sea brought fear into her heart, and her cheeks were

bedewed with tears, she cast her loving arms around Perseus and spake: 'My babe, what trouble have I! But thou, thou dost slumber; thy tender heart knows only sleep, even amid these cruel timbers and the nails of bronze, while thou art girt about with murky darkness, with naught save night to lighten thee on thy way. All unkempt is thy thick hair, and thou heedest not the wave as it passes, nor the soughing of the wind, as thou liest in thy crimson cloak, dear baby-face.' "

As soon as we pass beyond the early mythical period, we leave behind the epoch when gods wandered about the earth, wooing mortal maidens, and we find ourselves in a period which may, by comparison, be termed historical. We are confronted at once with two sets of legends, each fruitful in poetic material: those of the Trojan War and those dealing with Oedipus, who was placed by legend three generations earlier. The Trojan War gives us some very notable women. First and foremost none can fail to think of Helen:—

> "Is this the face that launched a thousand ships
> And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?"

So our own Marlowe, and the fame of Helen has fired the imaginations of poets for two thousand years. Let me give some pictures of her. This is how Æschylus describes her flight from Menelaos's palace:—

"She left to her fellow-citizens the clash of shield and spear and the arraying of ships of war. She took with her to Ilium ruin for her dowry; lightly she stepped through the doors, courageous in her crime." And again, of the effect on Menelaos: "In his longing for her that is gone over-seas, a phantom will seem to rule the house. To the husband's gaze the beauty of fairest statues grows hateful, and for lack of answering eyes the joy of Love is dead and gone."

This is how Homer depicts her in Troy in a repentant mood: "Would that evil death had been my portion, when I came hither with thy son, leaving behind my bridal chamber and my growing child and the friends of mine own age! But this was not to be; therefore, now I weep and pine in sorrow." Then she meets Paris returning from doing battle with Menelaos. At first she is cruel to him, afterwards the old love resumes its sway: "Then sat down Helen, daughter of Zeus, lord of the aegis, turning her eyes aside, and rebuked her hus-

band with words: 'Thou hast come back from war; would thou hadst perished there, slain by a mighty warrior who of old was my husband! Of a truth aforetime thou didst vaunt that thou wast mightier than the warrior Menelaos, in strength and might of hand and skill with spear. But go now and challenge the warrior Menelaos once more to fight with thee face to face. Nay, but I, I bid thee cease and wage not battle contending with Menelaos the golden haired; fight not so recklessly, lest thou be overcome by him with his spear.'"

Then again, in later years, we have a picture of her at Sparta, once more with Menelaos, the gracious mistress of the household, recalling past sin and sorrow, "when for the sake of my shameless self ye Achaeans came to Troy, stirring up bold fights." Homer tells how "into the wine she cast a drug, into the wine whence they drank, a drug to make man forget all sorrow and wrath, bringing oblivion of all ills. Whoso drank thereof, when 'twas mingled in the bowl, not all that day could he let fall a tear down his cheeks, not even if his father and mother lay dead, nor if before him they slew with the sword his brother or his son, and he beheld it with his eyes." These pictures give us the woman, infinitely winning, ready to be carried away with a strong passion, and retaining her love even in spite of a growing sense of contempt; ready also to return to her husband, and grow old in the peaceful happiness of home and children.

Very different in character and in destiny is Andromache, wife of Hector—the true and faithful wife. Homer gives us an immortal scene of farewell on the walls, when Hector bids good-bye to his wife and to his child, half frightened with the plumes on his helmet. These are some of Andromache's words: "Dear husband, thy courage will be thy ruin, nor hast thou any pity for thine infant son and for me, hapless that I am, who shall soon be thy widow; soon shall the Achaeans slay thee, all rushing upon thee. Far better were it for me on losing thee to go to my grave, for I have no other comfort left, when once thou shalt have met thy doom, but only sorrow........ Hector, thou art to me father and mother and brother, and thou art my stalwart husband. Come now, have pity and remain by the walls, lest thou make thy boy an orphan and thy wife a widow." Hector's reply, and indeed the whole scene (unfortunately too long to quote here) form one of the most beautiful portions of the Iliad, and give us an ideal picture of husband and wife.

With the later Euripidean presentations of Helen and Andromache we need not greatly concern ourselves. Whatever their merits, they fall greatly below the lofty level of Homer and Æschylus. In the history of the Trojan War other figures emerge of minor interest. Briseis, the original cause of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles; Cassandra, the Trojan princess, cursed with the power of prophesying truth that none shall believe; afterwards carried home to Argos by Agamemnon, she struggles to warn the people of his coming murder, but in vain, and is herself killed. Polyxena, slain after the war is over as an offering on the tomb of Achilles; the aged Hecuba, her mother, struggling to die in her place, or at least to die with her;—these are some of them; tragic figures enough. We shall, however, consider rather some other characters of the Trojan legend, not so directly in all cases connected with the war, but perhaps none the less interesting on that account.

And first we have three noble dames of the house of Atreus, Clytaemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, and Iphigenia and Electra, his daughters. The sacrifice of Iphigenia was part of the price of the Trojan expedition. Artemis held the gathered fleet at Aulis with contrary winds. Calchas the seer, on being appealed to, announced to Agamemnon that the sacrifice of Iphigenia was the one condition on which the goddess could be appeased. "So then he nerved himself," says Æschylus, "to be the slayer of his daughter, in furtherance of a war of vengeance on a wife, a sacrifice that was to be the first rites of the fleet. And the warlike princes counted for naught her prayers, and her cries on the name of 'Father'; counted for naught her maiden life. And the father made prayer, and then bade the attendants to lift her like a kid for sacrifice high above the altar; her robes were wrapped about her, and desperately bowed she down; and he bade that a guard on her fair lips should restrain her voice from curses on the house, should restrain her with power and with the silent strength of the gag. She let fall to earth her saffron robes; she smote each man of her slayers with a dart from her eyes that prayed for mercy; with the dumb beauty of a picture, she craved to speak, since oft by her father's festal board had she sung, and with pure virginal voice had lovingly given honour to the hymn, in prayer for happiness, at the last libation. What happened then I know not, nor can tell, but the auguries of Calchas went not unfulfilled."

Landor gives us a picture of Iphigenia, when first she heard her fate:—

"Iphigenia, when she heard her doom
At Aulis, and when all beside the king
Had gone away, took his right hand and said:
'O father! I am young and very happy.
I do not think the pious Calchas heard
Distinctly what the Goddess spake. Old age
Obscures the senses. If my nurse, who knew
My voice so well, sometimes misunderstood
While I was resting on her knee both arms,
And hitting it to make her mind my words,
And looking in her face, and she in mine,
Might not he also hear one word amiss,
Spoken from so far off, even from Olympus?'
The father placed his cheek upon her head,
And tears dropt down it, but the king of men
Replied not. Then the maiden spake once more:
'O father! sayest thou nothing? hear'st thou not
Me, whom thou ever hast, until this hour,
Listen'd to fondly, and awaken'd me
To hear my voice amid the voice of birds,
When it was inarticulate as theirs,
And the down deadened it within the nest.'
He moved her gently from him, silent still."

In the later play in which Euripides has treated this theme we see a subtle change from the standpoint of Æschylus. Iphigenia is no longer throughout simply the victim. At first the horror of death comes full upon her; later she sees the chain of fate, and herself but as one link, and accepts her destiny as noble: "Now I am resolved to die: 'tis my very wish to do this gloriously and put aside all dishonour. Consider, mother, with me how right I am. The mighty land of Greece turns now all eyes toward me; in my power lies the crossing of the fleet and the destruction of Troy. All this shall I win by death, and my glory, in that I freed Greece, shall be called divine. 'Tis not right that I should be over-careful of life; 'twas for Greece

thou didst bear me, not for thyself alone. A thousand men armed with shields, a thousand with oar in hand, now that Greece has suffered wrong, will be ready to do and dare against the foe and die for Greece—and shall my single life hinder all this?" We have here the picture of a heroic soul, for it must be remembered that the Iphigenia of Euripides has Achilles ready to aid and save her. Later additions to the original legend, growths of a time when human sacrifice had become a thing intolerable, tell us that Iphigenia was not really killed, but was carried away to Tauris, and ultimately brought back by Orestes and Pylades. This was the subject of Iphigenia in Tauris and Goethe's adaptation of it. One must confess that the few touches in Æschylus' account gives a far fuller and deeper pathos than any thing in the plays of Euripides, and that this pathos strikes more nearly on human sympathies than the very striking heroism of the later Iphigenia.

The next figure in the Atreus legend is of a very different order. Clytaemnestra, the Lady Macbeth of antiquity, is one of the most magnificent characters in the whole range of Greek tragedy. Sister of Helen, and wife of Agamemnon, she proves faithless to him before the Trojan expediton has been long gone. Throughout the long years of the siege of Troy, she and her lover Ægisthus, cousin of Agamemnon, live and reign at Argos. Argos in the Æschylean legend represents the Mycenæ of Homer, and, we may add, History. It is not necessary here to set forth the long story of bloodshed and crime that had distinguished the royal house of Pelops, to which Agamemnon belonged, for generations: "For there is a band that never leaves the roof, a band that chants in unison most discordant, for all of ill is their song. They have drunk of man's blood, so as to gain boldness the more, that rout of Furies, avengers of kinsmen's slaughter. They abide in the house, and none can send them forth. And they sit in the palace and hymn their strain, the strain of the primal doom."

According to Greek beliefs, a curse of murder rested on the family from generation to generation, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia by her father was merely a link in the chain. When the Trojan War was over, Clytaemnestra and Ægisthus conspired to kill him and seize the throne. The main motive is of course the continued safety of the lovers; there is added the desire to avenge the death of Iphigenia. In

a speech of elaborate flattery she welcomes him: "A husband call I the watch dog of the fold, the forestay that saves the ship, the grounded pillar of the lofty roof, a father's only son, yea, the sight of land to seamen beyond all hope, dawn as it looks the fairest after storm, a fount of water to the thirsty way-farer." She persuades him to incur the further wrath of the gods by entering the palace along strewn carpets, and then she slays him in the bath, having wrapped him in the robe. While the murder is being accomplished, Cassandra, in a scene of unexampled power, is struggling to make clear to the king's faithful followers exactly what is happening.

Unlike Lady Macbeth, Clytaemnestra vaunts in and justifies her deed: "What shame should he feel who plots as foe against foe. . . Twice I smote, and with two shrieks he fell dead, and when he had fallen I gave him yet a third stroke, an offering of thanks to the nether god, and Hades, safe keeper of the dead. . . And as he blew the spurts of his remaining blood he rained upon me a crimson gory dew; and I rejoiced no less than beneath the sweet rain of heaven doth the corn when it bursts from the swelling sheath. So stands the case, nobles of Argos; be glad of it, if ye will. For me, I triumph in it." Later we find this grim note of triumph carried even further with fine touches of irony: "Darest thou say the deed was mine? Imagine not that I am Agamemnon's spouse. Nay, in the shape of this dead man's wife, the bitter avenging fiend of the race, long since provoked by Atreus, the cruel feaster, hath made by this full-grown victim payment for those slain babes." And again: "By my hand he fell, he died; and we will bury him, not with weeping of his household, no, but Iphigenia his daughter, as is fit, will meet her father with joy at the swift passage of the sorrowful ford, and fling her arms about him with a kiss." There is no moment of remorse, no hint of hesitation about Clyaemnestra. Ruthlessly she carries out her plans and exultingly she justifies it.

Such a murder could not go unavenged. According to the legend, Orestes, Agamemnon's son, absent from home, a mere boy, at the time of the murder, returns in due time, kills his mother and Ægisthus, wanders for a time pursued by the Furies, and is ultimately purified by a meeting of the court of the Areopagus at Athens, a meeting at which Athene presides and at which Apollo acts as counsel for the defendant. In his revenge he is greatly aided by his sister Electra,

who, in the Sophoclean version, has been the means of conveying him into safety at the time of the murder. To the student of comparative drama, Electra and the plots of the plays in which she appears form a peculiarly interesting study, this being the only subject in regard to which plays of all three dramatists have survived. As a human personage perhaps she is less interesting. Wrapped up as she is in the memory of her father, keenly alive to the need of revenge, in an attitude of necessary and constant antagonism to her mother, she lives an embittered life, and to the modern reader is apt to seem somewhat hard and unlovely. A weaker nature would have given in to the usurpers, as her sister Chrysothemis does; a stronger one might have taken vengeance into her own hands, or sought relief in flight or death. Her part (and it was not open to the dramatists to vary this) was to wait, a part made all the more difficult by her contempt for her sister Chrysothemis, by the trivial and sordid hardships to which she was exposed, and which her sister by yielding had escaped; and (a thing which a Greek woman felt keenly) by the feeling that youth was slipping by without the opportunity of a suitable marriage. The Sophoclean play is to modern taste disfigured by wordy and not very dignified recrimination between mother and daughter, largely concerned with the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The Euripidean plot is vulgarized by the fact that Electra has been forcibly married to a peasant as the surest way of keeping her out of mischief. In Æschylus alone, Electra's attitude of religious exaltation, of waiting on the will of heaven, enables her to wait with dignity. Yet, if we look below the surface, we shall find that there is something very heroic in this waiting. To endure the daily slights and insults of her mother, to find her sister, who should have felt her father's death no less keenly than herself, deserting her, to suffer the feeling in moments of despondency that she was wasting her life for a chance that might never come—all this requires a strength and nobleness of character of no common order. "Where," she cries in her despair, "where are gone the powerful lords of the dead? Behold, ye powers of vengeance invoked by the slain, behold how the fortunes of the house of Atreus are now for ever desperate, behold the dishonour of their palace! O Zeus, whither can one turn?"

Leaving now the somewhat gloomy chronicles of Agamemnon and his kin, let us seek the breezier atmosphere of the other group of the

legends connected with the fall of Troy, those which centre around the name of Odysseus. A mere mention must suffice of the minor characters concerned in this fascinating story;—of Ino, who throws Odysseus her wimple to save him from drowning; of Calypso, the island goddess who keeps him prisoned in her island, "longing that he should be her husband"; of Circe, the enchantress who had beguiled all previous comers with her spells and turned them into beasts, but was mastered by Odysseus; of Eurydice, the aged nurse who recognized him, in spite of his disguise, by the scar on his leg. Penelope, however, deserves more than a passing word. Waiting wearily through ten years, faithful to her absent husband in spite of the solicitations of many wooers, finding her own son Telemachus turning against her and bidding her marry one of the many, to put an end to the intolerable state of things in the house—she has been in all ages the type of constancy. The story of her web is one of the best known in all literature, how she wove it during the day and undid it at night, having promised to give a definite answer as soon as it was finished. Not less indicative of character is the way in which she received and listened to wanderers and soothsayers in hope of some news of her absent lord, her eager woman's heart half-believing even when her reason warned her of the fraud. Yet when Odysseus does come and slays the wooers, she is the last to accept him as being really he, and to test him she tells Eurydice, "Come, lay him his strong bed without the stablished chamber which he himself did build. Take forth the strong bed and lay the bedding thereon, the rugs and the blankets and the bright coverlets." And Odysseus replies, reminding her how the bed had been built into the stump of a tree, so that it could not be moved. "Thus he spake, and straightway her knees and her heart did yield, and she recognized the tokens, those dear tokens whereof Odysseus spake. And then she burst into tears and ran straight towards him, and cast her arm about the neck of Odysseus and kissed his head."

The last of the Homeric dames which I propose to mention is also to my mind the most charming, indeed one of the most charming women in Greek or in any literature. Her name is Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinous the Great-hearted. There is nothing heroic about her; she does not murder her husband, or desert him, or wait ten years for him. She does nothing more heroic than taking out the family linen to the wash, and confronting a very unclothed Odysseus in the process. For

all that she is a very delightful person. Odysseus has been shipwrecked, or rather raft-wrecked, in Scheria, the land of the Phæacians. Athene, always his friend and guardian, contrives a welcome for him: "And she set forth to go to the chamber daintily dight, wherein slept a maiden like unto the deathless goddesses in beauty and stature, even Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinous the Great-hearted; and beside her were two hand-maidens, dowered with beauty from the Graces, on either side of the door-posts; and the glowing doors were shut. And she, like a breath of wind, sped unto the maiden's couch, and stood above her head and spake a word unto her, taking the form of the daughter of Dymas, that mariner renowned, a maiden of her own age who was the joy of her heart. In likeness of her spake Athene the bright-eyed: 'Nausikaa, how is it that thy mother hath so careless a daughter? The glorious raiment thou leavest lying all unheeded, and the day of thy marriage is nigh at hand, that day when thou must needs be fairly robed thyself, and find fair raiment also for those that bear thee company; for from these things goeth forth good report among men, and thus doth thy father have joy, and thy noble mother. Nay, let us go forth to wash the clothes at dawn of day.' As soon as day breaks, Nausikaa goes to her father: 'Papa, dear, wilt not harness me the waggon, the lofty waggon with fair wheels, that I may take the glorious raiment unto the river to wash it, all the raiment that lieth soiled? And for thyself, 'tis fitting that, when thou are among the princes, thou shouldest hold council wearing clean raiment. And thou hast five sons within the halls; two are married, three are lusty bachelors; and they do ever desire to wear new-washen raiment when they go to the dance; and all these things are a care to my heart.' So she spake for she felt shame to name outright joyous marriage to her dear father; but he saw it all, and made answer, 'I grudge thee not mules, dear child, nor aught else.'" So she and her hand-maidens go out a mile or two to the washing-troughs, flat basins of stone let into the course of the stream. Then they fall to playing catch. Nausikaa throws the ball to one of her maidens; she misses it, and it falls into the stream. A cry is raised, and Odysseus, who has passed the night curled up among dry leaves, awakes. He strips off a bough of a tree for clothing, and in this somewhat unconventional costume presents himself before the princess. The hand-maidens fly in terror, but "Athene put courage into the heart of the maiden." She stands her

ground, and Odysseus begs raiment of her and asks for directions. She takes him with her till they get near the town, and then bids him follow by himself, fearing the reproaches of the people: "And I myself should be wroth with another maiden who did such things, who held converse with men without the will of her father and mother." Afterwards Odysseus is received into the palace; the Queen recognizes the make of the cloth he is wearing, and the previous meeting is explained. After some athletic games and dancing, King Alkinous gives him a ship and crew to take him home, and thus the princess bids him goodbye: "Fare thee well, stranger, that one day when thou art in thine own fatherland thou mayst remember me, that unto me first thou dost owe the price of life." And to her in answer spake Odysseus the Crafty: "Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinous the Great-hearted, may Zeus thus appoint it, the thunderer, the husband of Here, that I may come home and see the day of my return. So even there will I make prayer unto thee as unto a goddess, all my life for ever; for thou didst give me life, lady." We seem to see her gazing wistfully after him, such a man as she had never known, a man who for the sake of home and Penelope could refuse even her father's offer of her hand.

Turning now aside from the Trojan cycle, let us consider some of the other heroines of Greek Tragedy. Two are connected with the Heracles legend, Alcestis and Deianira. Alcestis is one of the best known names in all Greek legend. The story tells how Admetus, having won the boon of escaping death if he could find another to take his place, asks first his father and his mother, but can find none to go down to death in his stead but Alcestis, his wife; how Heracles comes, wrestles with, and overcomes, death and restores Alcestis to her husband. To a modern reader the extraordinarily mean and pusillanimous conduct of Admetus is apt to detract so far from the beauty of the legend that we can hardly do justice to the heroism and devotion of Alcestis. It is, however, a devotion almost unsurpassable. To leave the light of day and the joy of life, to leave her own children to grow up without a mother's care, and all this without hope of a life hereafter—this constitutes her a heroine indeed. Our sole literary authority is the play of Euripides, which Browning has given us in English, enshrined in "Balaustion's Adventure."

Deianira is a figure almost more pathetic. Carried off to be the wife of Heracles, she has lived with him many happy years. At last

an unusually long absence of her husband from home rouses her fears; a messenger comes that Heracles is returning bringing with him some captive maidens. The maidens come first; Heracles tarries behind to offer sacrifice. Deianira's joy in the return of her lord is dashed with the fear that such a fate might some day be that of children of her own. One of them especially attracts her notice; she learns at last that it is Iole, daughter of Eurytus, and that Heracles' passion for this girl had led to the whole war. She sees herself supplanted, and her joy in her lord's return is gone. "Now we twain are to share the same husband; such is the reward that Heracles has sent me, he whom I called true and loyal, for guarding his home through all that weary time. With him I have no thought of anger, but to live with her beneath the same roof—what woman could endure it? For I see that the flower of her age is blooming, while mine is fading; and the eyes of men love to cull the bloom of youth and turn aside from the old. But anger ill beseems a woman of understanding. I will tell you, friends, how I hope to find deliverance and relief." To her sweet womanly soul comes no thought of revenge. "Iole is beautiful and Love is all powerful, and no one is to blame"—thus runs her thought. But could she not in some way win back his love? Yes; she has a charm, the blood of the Centaur shot by Heracles for insulting her, a philtre, he told her, to win back a husband's love. She smears a robe with this and will send it to Heracles, bidding him wear it as he offers sacrifice. "May deeds of wicked doing," she says, "be ever far from my thoughts and from my knowledge, as I abhor the women who attempt them. But if in any wise I may prevail against this girl by love-spells, the means are ready unless ye deem I act too rashly; if so, I will desist." Reassured by the women of the chorus, she does send it. Then a tuft of wool, which she had used to anoint the robe, shrivels up when exposed to the sunlight, and she grows afraid: "I see that I have done a fearful deed. Why should the monster, in his death-throes, have shown goodwill to me on whose account he was dying? Impossible. No, he was cajoling me in order to slay the man who had smitten him, and I gain the knowledge of this too late. Yes; I alone, unless my foreboding proves false, I, wretched one, must destroy him. For I know the arrow which made the wound did scathe even to the god Cheiron, and it kills all that it touches. And since 'tis this same black venom in the blood that hath passed out through

the wound of Nessus, must it not kill my lord also? I ween it must. Howbeit, I am resolved that, if he is to fall, at the same time I also shall be swept from life." Then comes Hyllus, their son, with the news that Heracles is dying, and accuses Deianira as a murderess. She goes forth to her chamber and then (the aged nurse tells the story) "she sprang up and sat in the midst of her bed; her tears burst forth in burning streams, and thus she spake, 'O bridal chamber mine, farewell now and for ever, never more shall thou receive me to rest.' She said no more, but with a vehement hand loosed her robe, where the golden-wrought brooch lay above her breast, baring all her left side and arm. Then I ran with all my strength, and warned her son of her intent, but lo! in the space between my going and our return, she had driven a two-edged sword through her side to the heart." And so the tender, pathetic life is over.

In Medea we see the workings of a fiercer and more savage jealousy. Jason, whom she had aided to win the Golden Fleece, at length brings home a younger bride—Glauce, daughter of Creon. No thought of winning back his love is hers, no thought of the overmastering power of passion. Revenge she must have—revenge on both Glauce and her lover. First she secures a place of refuge with Ægeus, King of Athens. Then she persuades Jason that she is completely reconciled to his new marriage: "Why should I be an enemy to the lords of the land, and to my husband, who doth what is best for me, marrying a princess and rearing new children to be brothers to mine?" Then she bids farewell to her children, whom she resolves, after much hesitation to kill to complete her revenge: "No more will ye behold me with your loving eyes. Ah, why gaze ye on me, my children? Why do you smile thus for the last time? Ah, what can I do? My heart fails me as I behold my children's merry eyes. Nay, I cannot do it. Farewell, my old resolves. I will take my children with me from the land. . . Yet do I wish to let my foes go unpunished, and myself gain but scorn? I needs must dare the deed." (She has already sent to Glauce a present of a rich robe smeared with burning poison). She continues: "All is resolved and there is no escape. The princess hath even now the garland upon her head, even now she perishes wrapt in the robe; this know I well. Now I go a most woeful journey, and shall send these my children on a journey yet more woeful. My children, grant that your mother may embrace you. O darling

hands and darling lips, noble faces and noble forms, fare you well. But be your faring well in another world; all happiness in this world hath your father wrested from us." So the children are slain. Glauce meanwhile has died a miserable death through the poisoned robe, which Medea has sent as a present by the hands of the children. Medea departs to Athens exulting to Jason in her deed: "Father Zeus knows well all that thou hast done and what thou hast suffered. It was not to be that thou shouldst do dishonour to our marriage and live a happy life, mocking me." The contrast between the two, Medea and Deianira, comes out perhaps all the more clearly from the similarity in some of the circumstances of the plots of the two plays. One is fierce, passionate, revengeful, caring not what she suffers, if she can but inflict harm; the other has no thought of anger or revenge; she longs merely to win back her husband's love, and finds life intolerable when she learns what a cruel fate she has unwittingly inflicted upon him.

The last of these Greek heroines is also the greatest, the greatest in the heroism of her deed, and greatest, too, in having had one of the matchless masterpieces of the world's literature consecrated to her—Antigone. When Oedipus, discovering the horrible deeds which he had unknowingly committed, had blinded himself and went wandering over the earth, it was Antigone, his daughter, who went with him, to guide his blind steps and share his life among the rough woodland ways. When the end came, when the gods led him to the grove of the kindly Goddesses, and thus signified that his purification was accomplished, then only did she leave him to pass on his mysterious way to the underworld. Then followed the strife between the two brothers, Eteokles defending Thebes, Polynikes attacking it. The invaders were repulsed, but the brothers fell by the hands of each other. Antigone and her sister Ismene had meanwhile returned to Thebes. Creon issues a proclamation that no one is to bury Polynikes. Antigone determines to do so, and announces this intention to Ismene, asking her to join. On her refusal, Antigone does the deed alone. We must remember that the rite of burial was regarded by the Greeks as peculiarly sacred, as a duty that could under no circumstances be omitted. Antigone knows well that she is braving the laws of her country, that she is sacrificing her young life and all the promise of a happy union with Haemon, Creon's son. Yet she sees her duty clear

before her. "Carest thou not," says Creon, "for the laws of the state?" "I heed not man's law but the eternal laws of God." "But he was an enemy to thee and thine." "It is not mine to share in hate but to share in love." In spite of the pleadings of Haemon, Creon is fixed in his resolve. Antigone must die; "I will take her where the path is loneliest, and hide her in a rocky vault, with so much food set forth as piety prescribe, that the state may avoid a public stain. And then praying to Death, the only god whom she worships, perchance she will obtain release from her fate; or else will learn at last, though late, that it is lost labour to revere the dead." And so Antigone is led out to death. "See me," she says, "citizens of my fatherland, setting forth on my last way, looking my last on the sunlight that is for me no more. No; Death, who gives sleep to all, leads me living to Acheron's shore. No portion have I had in the chant that brings home the bride, nor hath any song been mine for the crowning of espousals; my spouse shall be the Lord of the Dark Shore." The chorus made some effort to console her, by dwelling on the glory of her deed, but the thought of impending death has overshadowed such comfort. "My tomb," she says, "my bridal chamber, eternal prison in the caverned rock, whither I go and find mine own, those many who have perished, whom Persephone hath received among the dead. Last of all shall I pass thither, wretched above them all, before the term of my life is spent. But I cherish good hope that my coming will be welcome to my father and pleasant to thee, my mother, and welcome, brother, to thee. For when ye died, with mine own hands I washed and dressed you, and poured drink offerings at your graves, and now, Polynikes, 'tis for tending thy corpse that I win such recompence as this. . . Behold me, princes of Thebes, the last daughter of the house of your kings; see what I suffer, and from whom, because I feared to cast away the fear of Heaven." And thus Antigone goes to her doom. What matter that an attempt is made later, owing to the warnings of the seer Teiresias, to rescue her; that she is found to have committee suicide; that Haemon shows the strength of his love by first striving to slay his father, and then by slaying himself; that Eurydice, his mother, can then bear life no longer? To us the picture that abides in the memory is that of Antigone led forth to her death, lamenting her fate, yet justifying "her holy crime," defiant, sorrowing, strong and piteous, and infinitely noble.

FRANK CARTER.

HOLIDAYS.

Four days will I remember,
  Whatever time may bring,
Four days set in September,
  Like jewels in a ring.

That perfect golden setting,
  Wherein those jewels lay!
No time can bring forgetting,
  Though time should last for aye..

O sweeter than all flowers,
  Is one who walked the fields,
And brighter than all dowers
  Of gems, the smiles she yields!

Each month will be September,
  Each day a jewel rare,
So she but still remember,
  And wish we both were there.

BARRY DANE.

LAWRENCE BINYON.

That wise and liberal thinker, Mr. Walter Bagehot, has left us, among other literary legacies, the comfortable saying, "Art has many mansions." It is an assurance for which we are grateful, because it forms a way of escape from the more rigid doctrines of the exclusive school of critics. Many times these judicial persons have tried to restrict the path of the artist, and to lead him in the way of tradition and correctness. Many times the aspiring young poet has disregarded counsel and followed his own capricious way—sometimes to oblivion, but sometimes to the heights of fame.

Nowhere can we find better illustrations of this opposing attitude of critics and poets than in the literary history of the last century. Fifty years ago, Matthew Arnold prefaced the second edition of his own poems with a didactic essay for the guidance of young poets. In it, he urged as the best discipline and preparation for writing, thoughtful study of the classics and imitation of their great models. He vehemently opposed the idea, to him an upstart one, that a state of mind presents a legitimate object for the poet's art. Like the Greeks, he conceived that action is the true theme for imitation in verse. And in order that action may lend itself to treatment in "the grand style," it should be far removed from what is "accidental and passing." The ideal of a remote object treated in the grand style is of course not applicable in the case of lyric poetry, but that also was included in Arnold's final word: "If we must be dilettanti; if it is impossible for us, under the circumstances amidst which we live, to think clearly, to feel nobly, and to delineate firmly; if we cannot attain to the mastery

of the great artists—let us, at least, have so much respect for our Art as to prefer it to ourselves; let us not bewilder our successors; let us transmit to them the practice of Poetry, with its boundaries and wholesome regulative laws, under which excellent works may again, perhaps, at some future time be produced, not yet fallen into oblivion through our neglect, not yet condemned and cancelled by the influence of their eternal enemy, Caprice."

Matthew Arnold, in uttering this note of warning, may or may not have been thinking of Browning, whose earlier volumes were at the time slowly gaining notice. He lived to admire Browning, but he never ceased to deplore his tendency to ignore the boundaries and wholesome regulative laws of poetry. For half a century Browning continued to ignore them; to treat actions which were not great in a style which was frequently not grand; to perversely choose to write of states of mind as readily as of actions; to mingle past, present and to come in his multitudinous themes; and in all this bewildering eccentricity to bear to his gradually gathered readers the conviction that his intellect and genius were sufficient to be a law unto themselves.

It cannot be said that Browning has had many imitators. The paths which he followed were too rough for unaccustomed feet, the heights to which he attained, too far for ordinary ambition even to aspire to. But his principle—the principle of individuality—was followed again and again. Matthew Arnold had spoken well and truly, but he spoke as a purist and he shared the fate of purists—his words were read and commended, and—set aside. Not only did transcendent genius like Browning's choose its own path, but lesser poets also went waywardly. There must have been much to try Mr. Arnold's patience, in the art, beautiful as it was, of Rossetti and William Morris; still more, had he lived to see it fully, in the uneven performance of Mr. Kipling. All the austerity and restraint of classical tradition, restriction of subject, scrupulousness of manner were thrown to the winds; and it seemed as though exclusiveness itself were to be the only thing excluded from the catholicity of the new standards. But in the many-mansioned house of Art every school finds a place. The classical tradition has never really died. If the age has indeed followed "misbegotten, strange new gods of song," it has not failed also to keep alight the flame on the shrine of the orthodox faith.

The classical school, represented in this latest day by such poets

as Mr. William Watson, Mr. Stephen Phillips, and Mr. Lawrence Binyon, has not broken through the limitation so sadly recognized by Matthew Arnold. It is plain that its followers are still, in a sense, dilettanti. They have not yet produced the great works which Arnold longed to see. But within narrower bounds than his, they yet share in his vision, and they are doing, to the measure of their ability, what he did with so much distinction. "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do," Matthew Arnold's lyrics and elegies had been dramas and epics; but, with an excellent restraint, he did what he could, and did not attempt too much. He was true to his principle of not bewildering his successors, and he has transmitted a practice of poetry which some of them have been not slow to follow. In such a poet as Mr. Lawrence Binyon one seems to recognize a descendant of Matthew Arnold in direct literary lineage.

Born the son of an English clergyman, educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Oxford, Mr. Binyon has by natural right inherited the classical tradition. While at Oxford, he joined with three friends in publishing "Primavera," a little book of lyrics which, both on its first appearance and on being recently reprinted, received tributes of praise more decided than those usually accorded to undergraduate verse. Of his collaborators in "Primavera," one was Mr. Binyon's cousin, Mr. Stephen Phillips, who soon forsook the university for the stage, the lyric for the dramatic muse, and in so doing has gained for himself fame. Mr. Binyon stayed on to win the Newdigate prize—following again the excellent practice of the predecessors whom he emulated. The prize poem, in accordance with another tradition, passed from the mystery of academic approval to the deeper mystery of oblivion.

On leaving Oxford, Mr. Binyon found a post in the British Museum, and from there during the last ten years, in the intervals of arranging catalogues and administering the affairs of prints and drawings, he has issued fairly frequent little volumes and single pieces of verse. Some of these found a place in the "Shilling Garland," of which Mr. Binyon was at one time editor, others are scattered here and there in magazines. There are enough now to fill a good-sized volume as soon as a collected edition shall be deemed advisable. The poems are chiefly lyrical, but there are not wanting ventures into larger territories, and in one of Mr. Binyon's latest productions, "The Death of

Adam" (The Monthly Review, February, 1902), we have something after Matthew Arnold's own heart: a great subject—surely remote enough—and treated after the models of the grand style.

The lyrics, with a few exceptions, are in a minor key. Whatever the subject may be—and the range of subjects is fairly wide—a strain of pensive reflection is almost sure to come into the song sooner or later. It is perhaps inevitable that the poetry of this age should have for its burden "the still, sad music of humanity." In Mr. Binyon's "London Visions," we have it, naturally, strongly emphasized; but it pervades other themes as well. Occasionally, indeed, the sheer beauty of Nature is celebrated in lines as fresh and spontaneous and unfreighted with sad philosophy as any that earlier ages can show. Such are the following simple couplets on "An April Day."

"Breezes strongly rushing, where the North-West stirs,
Prophesying Summer to the shaken firs;
Blowing brows of forest, where soft airs are free,
Crowned with heavenly glimpses of the shining sea;
Buds and breaking blossoms that sunny April yields;
Ferns and fairy grasses, the children of the fields;
In the fragrant hedges' hollow brambled gloom
Pure primroses paling into perfect bloom;
Round the elm's rough stature, climbing dark and high,
Ivy-fringes trembling against a golden sky;
Woods and windy ridges darkening in the glow;
The rosy sunset bathing all the vale below;
Violet banks forsaken in the fading light;
Starry sadness filling the quiet eyes of night;
Dew on all things drooping for the summer rains;
Dewy daisies folding in the lonely lanes."

Again, the very exuberance of youth breaks through the lines in the fragment—

"O Summer sun, O moving trees!
O cheerful human noise, O busy glittering street!
What hour shall Fate in all the future find,
Or what delights, ever to equal these;
Only to taste the warmth, the light, the wind,
Only to be alive, and feel that life is sweet?"

But these are scarcely typical examples of the collection. Much more characteristic are those which breathe a latter-day weariness, such as the one beginning—"The Shrines of Old are Broken Down"—a sigh of regret voicing the feeling of a sophisticated age:

> "Tired of Knowledge, now we sigh
> For a little mystery."

Perhaps the most appealing verses are those simple but carefully fashioned pieces in elegiac or lyric form, which commemorate some love or friendship, set forth with the tenderness and delicacy of genuine but carefully guarded emotion. Such are the dedicatory verses, "In Carissimam Memoriam," prefixed to the Collected Lyrics of 1894. Such is also the single stanza, beginning—

> "O world, be nobler, for her sake!"

At times the influence of the master who has done most in forming the poet's stlye is very strongly shown, as in the poem which opens:

> "How dark, how quiet sleeps the vale below!"

The impression of the poem is scarcely to be transferred except by citing it all, but the most characteristic stanzas partly serve the purpose:

> "Alas! and can sweet Night avail to heal
> Not one of the world's wounds? Must I, even here,
> Still listen with the mind's too wakeful ear
> To that sad sound, which in my flesh I feel;
> Sound of unresting, unrejoicing feet,
> With feverish steps or slow
> For ever, to and fro,
> Pacing the gay, thronged, friendless, stony street?
>
> Nature is free; but Man the eternal slave
> Of care and passion. Must I deem that true?
> With fields and quiet have we nought to do,

Because our spirits for ever crave and crave,
And never found their satisfaction yet?
World, is thy heart so cold,
So deeply weary and old,
That thy sole business is but to forget?

No! No! these perfect trees, with whispering voice,
These flowers that have to thee a solace been,
And yet an alien solace, so serene
They live, and in their life seem to rejoice.
Life how unlike to thine! These flowers, these trees
Are children of one birth with thee, O man."

Consciously or unconsciously, poetry of this strain is surely inspired by the poet who wrote:

"And with joy the stars perform their shining,
And the sea its long moon-silver'd roll."

Echoes not only of Matthew Arnold, but of Wordsworth, Tennyson and Shelley occur, but Mr. Binyon is in no sense a copyist. He simply shows his ancestry.

The somewhat austere ideal imposes its own limitations. In choosing it, Mr. Binyon has cut himself off deliberately from the possibility of making direct appeals to popular sentiment. He has not attempted to be the poet of imperialism like his contemporaries, Mr. Kipling and Mr. Newbolt. His observation and sentiment are academic, and his verse seldom reflects the glow of passion. To such a temperament and genius, the remote classical subjects suggested by Matthew Arnold are the most attractive, and to such themes Mr. Binyon turns most naturally. Even when he writes on contemporary subjects, he is quick to seize upon classical analogies and illustrations. Among the "London Visions," he has a sketch of a Salvation Army group, of whom he says:

"Not of to-day nor yesterday your home:
Your feet have danced on old Cithæron hill
Mad, leafy revels at the Wine-God's will,
And your flushed bosoms panted in the gloom."

Ever-new old stories, like those of Niobe and Porphyrion, furnish material for some of his most serious efforts. In the "Niobe" are some rememberable lines:

> "Wise Gods, learn one thing from ephemeral breath;
> They only love, who know the face of Death."

And these that wear the still beauty of a sculptured tale:

> "But on the tenth day the high Gods took pity,
> And in the fall of evening from their seats
> In heaven, came down toward the silent city,
> The still, forsaken ways, the unechoing streets:
> And through the twilight heavenly faces shone,
> But no man marvelled; all yet slumbered on."

For the subject of his most ambitious poem, Mr. Binyon has chosen something which is indeed far removed from what is "accidental and passing." "The Death of Adam" is, by comparison with the earlier pieces, a long poem—some seven hundred lines of admirable blank verse. Not only in length, but in sureness of touch, in smoothness of form, it far excels the earlier poems. The choice of such a theme and such a form at once provokes the criticism that the poet is rash so to challenge comparison with his mighty predecessor who wrote of the fall of Adam. But Mr. Binyon has saved himself from such comparison by producing something so utterly dissimilar from Milton's epic that the two poems can hardly be thought of together.

In "The Death of Adam," there is no theology, no allegorical imagery, no weight of classical learning. The scriptural statement of the length of Adam's days is literally accepted, and it is tacitly assumed that from the day of the murder of Abel, death was unknown in the human family until Adam died. These facts being secured, the scriptural authority is lost sight of. The situation is put before us—of Adam, a patriarch, old beyond our power of imagining age, yet possessed of strength and faculty to address and direct his immense family of sons, aged and young. He feels the approach of death, and longs once more to behold his first-born, so long lost to him. Obedient to his wish, his sons try, but unsuccessfully, to gratify him by sending

an expedition in search of Cain. On their return without the wanderer, Adam resigns himself, takes a solemn farewell of his children and of Eve, and is borne away to die within sight of the gates of Paradise. The Hebraism, the glowing colour, the elaborate workmanship and wealth of gorgeous ornament which make "Paradise Lost" the astonishing monument that it is, are conspicuously lacking here. "The Death of Adam" is almost severe in its simplicity; and this simplicity is in perfect harmony with the writer's conception of the situation. The children of Adam are represented as a primitive tribe, living peacefully by their toil in a broad valley. No shadow rests on them, apparently, of the wrath of God for their parents' disobedience. They have forgotten, or they never knew of the tragedy of their brother's death, and the doom of his slayer. They have no apprehension for the future. The picture is too peaceful, but it is startlingly suggestive of what life might have been to a people unweighted yet with experience or responsibility. To this unthinking tribe of hunters and husbandmen the approach of death brings vague trouble and a sense of mystery, but from active terror they are preserved by happy ignorance:

"But understanding nothing of his speech,
That yet seemed opening some mysterious door
Disclosing an horizon all unknown,
His children listened, touched to trouble vague
And longing without name; like travellers
Who in a company together pass
On some spring evening by an upland road,
And as they travel, each in thought immersed,
Rich merchants, wise in profitable cares,
Adventurous youths, and timorous old men,
Through deepening twilight the young rising moon
Begins to cast along them a mild gleam,
And shadows trembling from the wayside trees
In early leaf steal forward on the ground
Beside them, and faint balm is past them blown;
Stealing their thoughts away; so tenderly
Were Adam's children troubled when they heard."

The long-drawn simile in the above passage exemplifies one point in which Mr. Binyon has followed Milton, and, through Milton, the classical traditon.

Contrasted with the uncomprehending childishness of his sons, is the unique wisdom of Adam, finely indicated in the words given to him:

"Look well on me, my children, whom ye lose!
Behold these eyes that have wept tears for you,
Behold these arms that have long toiled for you:—
These hands in Paradise have gathered flowers;
These limbs, which ye have seen so wasted down
In feebleness, so utterly brought low,
They grew not into stature like your limbs.
I wailed not into this great world a child
Helpless and speechless, understanding nought,
But from God's rapture perfect and full-grown
I suddenly awoke out of the dark."

Enlightened still further by the prophetic vision of the dying, Adam suffers, and imparts to his sons some of his suffering of apprehension on their behalf. Weakness and dissension will break the tranquillity of the children of men. Yet his latest vision is one of hope, and the poem ends, as it should end, in order to preserve its calm effect, with a strain of lofty assurance.

"At last his eyes were closing, yet he saw
Dimly the shapes of his departing sons,
Inheriting their endless fate; for them
The world lay free, and all things possible.
Perchance his dying gaze, so satisfied,
Was lightened, and he saw how vast a scope
Ennobled them of power to dare beyond
Their mortal frailty in immortal deeds,
Exceeding their brief days in excellence,
Not with the easy victory of gods
Triumphant, but in suffering more divine;
Since that which drives them to unnumbered woes,

Their burning deep unquenchable desire,
Shall be their glory, and shall forge at last
From fiery pangs their everlasting peace."

That this, the most severely classical of all his poems, is also the most original, the most nobly conceived and happily executed, is the best earnest for Mr. Binyon's future work. And those who, like Matthew Arnold, wish to see the practice of poetry maintained in its dignity and excellence, have here something on which to build their hope.

SUSAN ELIZABETH CAMERON.

AN ADVOCATE.

The Judge's hand was poised to stay
The sinner's abject pleading;
A radiant shape, in gemmed array,
Came boldly interceding.

"And who are you?" the Mighty cried,
On her His anger turning.
"I loved him once—and still—" replied
The spirit, fondly yearning.

Then on them twain His hand He laid,
Forgiveness full bestowing,
And from the Presence forth they strayed,
With gladness overflowing.

E. T.

SOME RELICS OF AN ANCIENT FLORA.

The *Beitrag zur Flora der Vorwelt*, by Schlotheim in 1804, gave the first impulse to the study of fossil plants. During the next quarter of a century the researches of Sternberg, Brongniart and Witham served to arouse a keener interest in this branch of knowledge—an interest which steadily increased until the time of what may be called the modern period in botanical science.

The revolution in methods effected by Sachs and his school some forty-two years since, found expression in a remarkable activity, due to the attractive aspect which the science presented in its new dress. Young men fresh from college and fed to repletion on the dry bones of the older science, which gave an undue prominence to mere terminology, were quick to see the possibilities of the new science as then presented to them. From that time advancement in all directions—Morphology, Physiology, Pathology, and, more recently, Ecology—has not only been rapid, but founded upon an enduring basis. Interest in the remains of plants buried in the rocks lagged apace, however. This was a necessary consequence of the imperfect character of the material collected, and the fact that it consisted chiefly of leaves and other organs of slight biological value, or of dissociated fragments of structure which, taken separately, could reveal but little of the true history of the organism. It thus came about that the botanists were content for the most part to leave the study of fossil plants in the hands of the geologists, who were able to utilize them in their own way and for their own special ends, but without particular reference to the requirements of biological laws. With the gradual accumulation of material,

however, it became possible to restore a large number of plants and to determine a fairly connected account of their life-histories and places in the great scale of life. Thus a new interest was excited, and it has since grown apace, as the possibility of securing material which shall reveal facts of biological value became greater. It thus happens that within the last decade botanists have commenced to turn their eyes in this direction as a field rich in the promise of fruitful results of the highest importance, and there is therefore an increasing disposition to claim as their own a field which they have too long been content to leave in the hands of those whose special qualifications lie in widely different directions, but to whom, nevertheless, they must ever remain under a deep sense of obligation for the extent and importance of what they have accomplished in paving the way for the work which now lies before us.

The application of modern biological methods to the investigation of fossil plants has invested the science of palæobotany with an interest which was quite unknown ten years ago, and already results of the greatest value, as bearing upon the law of evolution, have been obtained.

In adopting the evolutionary hypothesis, one commits himself to the belief that the great natural groups of plants are not separate creations, but that, like their individual members, they continually approach one another in their backward extension until separate identity becomes merged in a more primitive organism, which occupies the position of a common ancestor. It is in accordance with this law that the spiral generative nuclei of certain grasses and liliaceous plants, or the motile sperm cells which Hirase, Ikeno and Webber have observed in the cycads and yews, come to have a deep significance, and afford convincing proof that such vestigial organs represent a line of descent, which must have had its origin in the remote past, in organisms of an aquatic habit.

But to reverse the figure. Starting with the assumption that the primitive plant was a unicellular alga, it becomes possible to conceive that, through a series of polymorphic transitions, there has arisen a central line of descent, which, though nowhere perfectly continuous, nevertheless gives off, at frequent intervals, numerous branches or side lines in such a way that the whole may be compared, in general outline, with a deliquescent tree, in which the original trunk finally dissolves

into the various branches. From this point of view it becomes obvious that, while the general direction of development is maintained, and while the series as a whole continually enlarges, individual members—branches—may attain full development at a comparatively early age and terminate growth in their particular directions, while other branches may atrophy and disappear altogether, the energy thus released contributing to the further development of the surviving members. As the relations of members are always established through their more primitive forms, it follows that the disappearance of any one member of a series may break the continuity, and thus destroy all evidence of the exact succession. Existing groups of plants are in precisely this position. The gradual extinction of more primitive forms of intermediate types has so far isolated them that, while their study generally reveals important characters from which inferences may be drawn as to their origin and mutual relations, it is impossible to complete the details essential to a correct interpretation of the laws of succession. On the other hand, fossil plants generally—perhaps we may say all except those of the later Tertiary, which are in most cases identical with existing species—represent just those members which have disappeared from the biological tree through the lapse of time, and it is therefore through a study of them that we may expect to obtain the information required to determine the real origin and development of plants. It is from this particular point of view that the study of palæobotany acquires the exceptional interest now coming to be recognized. It is not alone the possibility of discovering new and important facts, but it is also the obscurity of the facts and the difficulties surrounding their acquisition which imparts such a zest to the search.

The possibility that the modern Gymnosperms had their origin in the Pteridophytes has long been entertained as a working hypothesis, and many detached facts have from time to time given colour to this belief. But opinion has been divided as to whether they were of simple or multiple origin. While their general aspect, habits of growth and other features suggested that the cycads might have had their origin in the ferns, similar facts suggested the club-mosses as the ancestral line for the pines and conifers generally.

For many years palæobotanists have been familiar with certain leaves of a fern-like aspect, as found abundantly in the Palæozoic for-

mations. From their general aspect and structure, they were generally referred to the ferns, to which they were also related by certain characteristics of their reproductive structures. In the same beds fragments of stems, well known since the time of Corda and Witham, have been recognized as presenting a structure with a remarkable combination of cycadean and filicinian characters. It is only within the last decade that it has been possible to find the various parts in such relations as to establish the connection between stems, leaves and fruit. On such a basis it became possible for Potonié to summarize the results in such a way as to establish the fact that during Carboniferous time there was a great family of plants now extinct, combining the characters of the ferns and the cycads, and standing toward these groups in the relation of an intermediate step in their development. This achievement is expressed in the name cycadofilices which Potonié applied to this group of plants, and it stands as one of the most remarkable and important in the entire history of palæobotany, inasmuch as it now establishes a definite sequence between the lower forms of ferns and those gymnosperms which are represented by the cycads. More recently, the exceptionally large and valuable collection of jurassic and cretaceous cycads now to be found in the collections of the United States National Museum at Washington, and of Yale University, have been brought under observation by Dr. Wieland, with the result that additional facts of great significance have been obtained, and, by the aid which they afford, it is now possible to gain a complete conception of the general sequence in the various phases of development, so that the origin and development of the cycads has been removed from the position of a working hypothesis to that of ascertained fact. Finally, the significance of the motile sperm cells of the cycads becomes clear, as it is now possible to trace them back step by step to the lower ferns, where such motile organs are not only characteristic features, but where also they are developed under conditions which correctly indicate their aquatic character.

A study of the Carboniferous flora of the Loire in France enabled Grand Eury and Renault to complete an accurate and fairly full knowledge of the genus Cordaites in all its parts, and to confirm the previous observations of Williamson, that the problematical Sternbergia is in reality the pith of these plants. Subsequently it became possible to identify most of the various species of Dadoxylon with Cordaites, and

thus to reduce to one group a series of forms of hitherto unknown relationship. It is thus possible to now view this genus in the light of a line ancestral to the modern Coniferae, which reaches back through the Permian and Carboniferous ages into the Devonian, where there is good reason to suppose it had its origin in some of the primitive ferns not far from the starting point of the Cycadofilices, so that it and the latter may be taken to represent divergent lines of descent from the same or very nearly related ancestral forms.

By reason of these successive steps which have followed one another rapidly during the last few years, speculation as to the origin of the Gymnosperms has been reconciled, with the result that this group of plants, as a whole, may now be regarded as having had its origin in the more primitive ferns.

Interesting as these lines of thought may be, it is not the purpose of the present paper to follow them into the numerous channels to which they naturally lead, but rather to utilize them in giving emphasis to certain facts of interest as obtained from investigations carried on at this University during the past ten years.

Among the many factors which influence the dispersal of plants and their ultimate extinction, changes of climate, as induced by physical alterations of the earth's surface, and the intense struggle for existence which is developed wherever plant communities are to be found, are probably among the most important. In the course of a series of investigations into the Interglacial deposits of Canada, it has been found that, out of a total of eighty-one species of plants so far found, all could be identified with species now living. It was nevertheless observed that only a portion of them are now to be found within same geographical limits; that a second portion may be found only in more northern regions, while yet a third portion may only be found living in more southern localities. As these three groups of plants are peculiar to beds laid down at different times, it became evident that there had been a migration during glacial times in such a way as to indicate important climatic changes attendant upon movements of the great ice sheet. So far as the evidence goes, it shows the vegetation to have been, at first, that of a mild climate, such as now exists in the middle United States. As the ice sheet subsequently advanced toward the south, the plants were driven out and succeeded by more boreal types, such as now occur in Labrador and Quebec. As

the ice sheet finally receded, these northern types also retreated, and gave place to more southern forms, such as now flourish in the same locality, and of a character which is intermediate between the first two floras. The present flora thus occupies a middle position between that of the warmer and that of the colder climatic periods. One of the characteristic plants of these beds is the common American larch (Larix Americana). Within a few weeks, specimens of this plant have been identified from the black clays of Georgia, but as the tree does not now exist south of Pennsylvania, it affords conclusive proof as to the extent to which the more northern flora was pushed southward by the glacier. It is in the progress of these and similar physical changes that species are likely to disappear, or to leave behind but scanty remnants of their former luxuriance, to remind us, like the buffalo, of the prodigality with which Nature bestows her gifts, and the apparently relentless manner in which she removes them when they no longer fill an appropriate place in the great scheme of life.

The great task which the palæobotanists of the future have set before them is not the mere massing of isolated facts descriptive of fragmentary material, but rather the interpretation of facts in such a manner as will admit of a complete knowledge of the life history of each plant or the type to which it belongs. In this way it may eventually be possible to reconstruct the entire series of phases in plant succession in such a way as to bring out the exact points at which divergences have arisen and new types have been formed, and thus to bring into their true sequence the various groups of extinct and existing forms, and to correlate them with a time series for geological succession in such a way as to give to plants the real value they possess for stratigraphical purposes, not now recognized.

It is from these points of view that a consideration of certain remarkable survivals appeals to us at the present moment, since they appear to have nearly, or quite, run their allotted time, and it cannot be many generations before the natural course of events, joined to the ruthlessness of man, brings about their complete obliteration.

Among existing ferns, there are few representatives possessing a greater degree of interest, from a biological point of view, than the very small group comprised in the family Osmundaceæ, which, as now known, embraces only two genera and about ten species. Of these, the genus Todea is undoubtedly the older, and it likewise represents

the more primitive stock, its remains being found in rocks of far greater antiquity than any of the true Osmundas. Lipold's Todea carries our knowledge of these plants back to the time of the earlier Coal Measures, and near to that point in the development of the ferns as a whole, where a great divergence of forms was initiated, leading, on the one hand, to the continuation of the main line through a diminishing series, now represented by the Marattias and a few allied forms, and on the other hand to the development of the branch which, with the progress of time, was continually augmented, and has led to the development of the greater number of ferns as they are known to-day. It is to this branch that the Todeas belong, and their remains are to be found more or less abundantly scattered all through the Carboniferous and Permian periods, extending into the Mesozoic age, where a great diversity of forms appears. This genus seems to have been greatly restricted in the number of its species, so far as our earlier knowledge of it will permit us to judge, but the individual representatives were numerous, and distributed over a very wide area both in Europe and America. During Jurassic time in Europe, this wide dispersion was particularly noticeable, and the same fact was also true of its occurrence in America; while species common in this period also extended into the Cretaceous, where the type appears to have reached its highest development, for all the remains so far brought to notice seem to indicate beyond much doubt that a very marked decline must have occurred about the close of the Cretaceous or early in Tertiary time, leading to the present status of the genus as one of the smallest known among ferns.

It is a noteworthy fact that, notwithstanding the abundance of material representing this genus, we have yet to find any remains of stems. Our knowledge of them is entirely based upon the characters of the foliage and fruit, and we have yet to gain that insight into the internal structure of the most important parts of the organism, through which alone we can secure a clear insight into the relations in which it stands to other ferns. Nevertheless, so far as the facts now in hand will permit us to form conclusions, they inform us that the plants were chiefly of the type of that mammoth Australian species which we know to-day as Todea Barbara, and through which it is possible to gain an approximate knowledge of the general form, size and habits of growth of the extinct forms. Within Tertiary time, the geographical limit of the genus had been narrowed down until it

was brought to occupy but a small region embraced in Australasia and South Africa.

Todea Superba is entirely confined to the limits of New Zealand, as is also the smallest and most delicate representative of the genus—Todea Hymenophylloides. Fraser's Todea is found in the New Hebrides and the Fiji Islands, and only rarely in Australia. The most remarkable representative of the group—the one which not only has the greatest geographical range, but which also represents the main line of descent—is the Todea Barbara. This plant occurs somewhat abundantly in New Zealand, Van Dieman's Land and Australia, extending to Cape Colony and Natal in South Africa, where, however, the conditions do not appear as favourable, and the plants never attain the gigantic size to be found in Australia. As known to-day, this plant consists of a series of short stems about six to nine inches in height, which are combined into a massive, trunk-like body of great weight and often of great age. A specimen of this plant was sent to the Botanic Gardens of McGill University some years since by the late Baron Ferd. von Mueller of Melbourne. It was the tenth of eleven similar specimens which had been found at various times and distributed among the Botanic Gardens of Europe and America. It had a reputed age of 300 years, and weighed nearly two tons. These specimens, giants among their kind, bear the same relation to their kindred that the Sequoias of to-day bear to theirs, not only with respect to relative dimensions and age, but as representatives of a race which has long since passed its prime, and is now on the way to gradual extinction.

The Todeas are regarded by some authorities as really belonging to the Osmundas, as stated by the late Baron von Mueller, differing from the latter in habit of growth, stature and certain details of their internal structure—differences of such a nature as to suggest that in the progress of development two slightly divergent lines were produced, and these culminated in the Todeas and Osmundas as we now know them.

Our knowledge of the Osmundas does not extend beyond early Mesozoic time, and it is chiefly indicated by the statement of Zeiller that the true Osmundas appear at the base of the Jurassic. From that time onward, there seems to have been a gradual augmentation until Cretaceous time, during which five species have been known to exist,

and it was undoubtedly during that period that the genus not only attained its highest development, but reached its greatest geographical extension. It is true that the total number of species known to-day somewhat exceeds that of Cretaceous time, but they are of depauperate form, as well as greatly restricted in geographical range, in both of which respects they give evidence of changes tending to extinction. Of the fossil forms found within Tertiary time, only two species are known.

Although now confined to comparatively narrow limits, the wide dispersion of these plants during the Cretaceous has left its impress upon existing types as expressed in their geographical distribution. One species is entirely confined to Hong Kong; another to Java and Ceylon, and another to Japan. The three species which are common to North America are also of very wide distribution, and they probably stand nearest to the main line of descent for the genus as a whole. Clayton's fern (Osmunda Claytoniana) is found in the Himalayas up to an elevation of 10,000 feet. In North America it ranges northward from Florida to Canada, where it finds its western limits in Manitoba. The cinnamon fern (Osmunda Cinnamomea) occurs in Japan, eastern Asia, the West Indies, Gautemala, New Granada and Mexico, while it also extends from Florida to Canada, with its western limits at Georgian Bay.

The most interesting of the North American species is the Royal fern (Osmunda Regalis), not only because of its very wide geographical range, but because it is generally regarded as that species which, as a whole, best typifies existing species and stands nearest to those which flourished in Cretaceous time. In North America it extends from Florida to Canada and westward to the Saskatchewan. It is also very widely distributed throughout north-eastern Asia, India and Africa, while in the New World it is also found ranging as far southward as Rio Janeiro.

The Osmundas are distinguished from the Todeas by their horizontal, half subterranean and branching stems, which form a more or less extensive, mat-like growth, from which the densely tufted foliage rises. The stems are also far less in their external diameter than those of Todea Barbara, due to the degree of divergence and persistency of the leaf stalks, which form a coarse outer envelope, but a com-

parison of the internal structure shows very slight differences in the dimensions of the stem proper, as represented by its central axis.

Our knowledge of the various extinct species, like that of the Todeas, has, until very recently, rested almost wholly upon the foliage and fruit. In only one case (Osmundites Schemnicensis, from the Tertiary of Hungary) has it been enlarged by a study of the stem. In 1895-97, some collections from the Upper Cretaceous formation of Queen Charlotte Islands brought to light the remains of plants which have proved of the highest value with respect to the structure and phylogeny of the Osmundas. The remains first studied proved to be fragments of a horizontal fern stem, which, in its general habit of growth, must have been similar to that of the North American Osmundas as we now know them. But a careful study of the internal structure gives a much more exact insight into the relationship of these plants in past times. It shows, in the first place, that there is a striking similarity in detail with existing types as found in Osmunda Regalis, while in a few details also the resemblance to Todea is more than suggested. A comparison of dimensions shows that the fossil plant—now known as Osmundites Skidegatensis, in reference to its discovery at Skidegate Inlet—must have been at least eight times larger than existing species now common to North America, of which the cinnamon fern is the largest. Additional fragments of this plant, derived from the same locality but through later collections, have given us a complete knowledge of the size and general character of the leaves and of the internal structure of their stalks, showing that these organs must also have been at least eight times larger than those of any existing species. Finally, it also gives a good conception of the fruit which was developed on the under side of specially modified and reduced segments of the fronds, the whole with the general aspect of the fertile fronds in the cinnamon fern. An important point of contact with existing species is to be found in the general character of the foliage. In the fossil the leaf is once divided with deeply cleft segments, or else twice divided, the ultimate segments bending down and joining together in the former case, as in either the cinnamon or Clayton's fern, or, in the latter case, simply bending down and remaining free. The contact is thus much closer with the cinnamon or with Clayton's fern than with the Royal fern, which has a twice divided

frond, with large, simple divisions. By the same characters also, it approaches Todea much more closely than the Royal fern.

From these studies it is now possible to effect a restoration of this plant in all its essential parts, and thus to compare it with existing species, and from them we learn that (1) the Skidegate fern was several times larger than any of the known species of Osmunda, though closely resembling them in general habit; (2) that the Skidegate fern, as shown by its internal structure, stands in the direct line of descent for the Osmundas, though exhibiting some characteristics which connect it with the Todeas; (3) that the foliage of the Skidegate fern was most nearly like that of Clayton's fern, though the fertile leaves were probably more like those of the cinnamon fern.

But a question of far greater importance, to which all these considerations are tributary, is to what extent this knowledge enables us to reconstruct the entire line of descent, and bring the various known species into such relations as to exhibit their real line of descent.

From the great antiquity of the genus, as now indicated by its fossil remains, as also from the simple character of its foliage, it is altogether probable that Todea represents the primitive stock of the entire family which had its origin in late Devonian or early Carboniferous time, not far from the time when the main line gave off that great branch through which the vast majority of ferns are represented to-day, and to the extreme base of which the Osmundaceæ as a whole belong. Todea thus originated in a side line of development, which at the same time formed the main line of descent for its immediate relatives—a line, the culmination of which is now found in the Todeas of Australia and South Africa. This line of descent appears to have attained its highest development during Jurassic time, when it became widespread, but the decline, which was already noticeable in the Cretaceous, became most pronounced in Tertiary time, and resulted in a contraction of the world-wide dispersion to comparatively narrow limits.

Our knowledge of the existing Osmundas and their mutual relations has been enlarged of late through the very carefully executed studies by Mr. J. H. Faull, of Toronto University, who has reached the general conclusion that of the three species which belong to North America, the cinnamon fern is probably the most primitive, and that

it stands at one end of a series in which the succession passes through the Royal fern and Clayton's fern in the order given. These conclusions appear to harmonize with results obtained by Campbell, who has shown that the cinnamon fern is also more primitive than Clayton's fern with respect to certain phases in its life history. The great similarity of structure presented by the Skidegate fern to that of the cinnamon fern again seems to indicate, without much doubt, that of the two the latter may be somewhat more recent—in fact, that it was probably derived from the former—and that it, together with Clayton's fern, constitutes the culmination of this line of descent, which thus embraces the Skidegate fern as the basal member, the cinnamon fern as the primary divergence, and Clayton's fern as the secondary divergence, embracing the highest form of development.

Our knowledge of the Osmundas in geological time commences with the early Mesozoic, but the appearance in the Jurassic of plants which already exhibited an important divergence from the type of Todea, justifies the belief that their origin is to be looked for at a considerably earlier period, although as yet there are no known remains to substantiate such a view. It is therefore altogether probable that during Triassic time, or possibly as early as the Permian, the central line of descent once more branched, giving rise to a side line in which the characteristics of the members were nearly like those of Todea. That the divergence of this line was not very great is abundantly proved by the very close relation between Osmunda and Todea, and that it was not of long duration is suggested by the absence of any existing representatives. Whatever its duration and ultimate fate may have been, it undoubtedly gave rise to two smaller branches at a very early period. One of these either represented the exact continuation of the parent branch, or constituted such a slight divergence as to preserve many of the characteristic features of the primitive stock, and in either case it culminated in the forms of which the cinnamon fern now stands as the survivor and sole representative. The other branch diverged somewhat more widely from the parent stock, and found its complete development in the Upper Cretaceous, as expressed in the Skidegate fossil, which has no existing representative, and which must have disappeared during the last of the Cretaceous or very early in Tertiary time. From it, nevertheless, there arose the last divergence of types for the entire series. While the succession was con-

tinued most directly through Clayton's fern, which forms a terminal member, the Royal fern was given off as a side line in such a way as to form an intermediate member of the series.

Among the higher seed producing plants, the Gymnosperms afford the most frequent and complete examples of development to be obtained, and while it is only possible to secure a complete insight into their descent through now extinct forms, it is nevertheless true that a study of existing species has of late years furnished many important clues to their ancestry. The important studies of Webber, Hirasé and Ikeno have shown that in the Cycads and also in the Yews a remarkable survival of primitive organs appears in the development of motile sperm cells, a fact which points with directness and force to the algoid origin of these plants at some remote period in the early history of the earth. While such facts indicate the lines along which further search should be made, they are not in themselves conclusive evidence as to the particular sequence of events leading to the development of the organisms in which they are found. They have nevertheless served to stimulate research and direct attention to a closer scrutiny of intermediate groups, through which it should be possible for the line of succession to pass. While it would be of great interest to follow out the course of those investigations which have resulted in enlarging our knowledge of the early history of these plants, our present purpose necessitates confining attention to a consideration of two very remarkable representatives of the group—remarkable because of their vestigial character, their very striking features and their relations to progressive development. I refer to what are known as the maiden-hair tree (Ginkgo Biloba), and to the "Big Trees" of California, as comprised in the genus Sequoia. The ceaseless war which Nature wages in the struggle for existence has left these two types the sole survivors of their kind—relics of a once abundant life, which, in its girdle of the earth, reached out far toward the North Pole, where now is a waste of perpetual snow and ice.

The Maiden-hair tree, or, as known to the Japanese, the Ginkgo tree, designated scientifically as the Ginkgo Bibola, has its chief external characteristics in the peculiarly two-lobed form of the leaf, which bears a close resemblance to the foliar segments of the Maiden-hair fern. The Japanese name refers to the peculiarly silvery aspect

of the seed (Gin=silver, Ko=seed or young) when divested of the outer fleshy parts which enclose it in the fruit.

As known to-day, this tree is represented by only one species, which is native to the islands of Japan, though for many centuries cultivated in China. It was first introduced to European gardens about 1785, since which time it has gained great favour, and has become widely cultivated as an ornamental tree of high value. One specimen at the Royal Gardens, Kew, now has a height of more than forty feet, and other specimens of smaller size are to be found in the Botanic Gardens at Berlin. Since the time of Commodore Perry, the tree has become more or less widely distributed throughout the United States, where it is highly appreciated as an ornamental tree, and one specimen in the grounds of the United States Department of Agriculture has a height of about forty feet. In Canada it has been found hardy as far north as Montreal, where trees have already been grown to a height of about eighteen feet. In its native land it attains a height upwards of 100 feet. It is peculiar among its relatives (the Yew family) as the only member of an otherwise evergreen group, which annually sheds its leaves. The seeds are reputed to be poisonous when fresh, but they possess astringent and tonic properties, which cause them to be employed in cases of indigestion, and when roasted they may be eaten with safety.

What the Bodhi tree (Ficus Religiosa) is to the Buddhists of India, the Ginkgo tree is to the Buddhists of China and Japan. Standing before the temple, the sole survivor of an ancient line from which there has gradually emerged the most perfect of its kind, it is a fitting symbol of enlightenment, of wisdom, and of that purification proceeding from an extinction of self, which finds its completion in "Nirvana." It epitomizes the "Karma" of the past, directing the thoughts of worshippers to the reflection that "the things of the world and its inhabitants are subject to change; they are the products of things that existed before; all living creatures are what their past actions made them; for the law of cause and effect is uniform and without exception." And as the man of to-day is what he is through a combination of his own experiences with those which have come to him through countless ancestors in the past, so he likewise, in dissolution, becomes resolved into countless atoms, which, entering into future beings, extend his influence for good or bad as the rays of light, emanating from their

source, penetrate to the most remote corners of the universe. Through the extension of truth he secures immortality.

It is the past then which we must search for the records of its ancestry, since a study of the one existing species can do little more than suggest the direction in which we must look. Unfortunately we are once more dependent for our information upon rather fragmentary material, which for the most part consists of leaves, in a smaller number of cases of fruit and flowers, and in a very few instances of wood. The characteristics of the foliage are such that the genus may be recognized without great difficulty, and a large number of species have been distinguished through their remains in the rocks. While such species are of value for geological purposes, it is a question whether they really represent actual species according to the scientific acceptation of that term. Certain it is that the forms exhibit numerous variations within a somewhat wide range, and they stand as undoubted evidences of the occurrence of the genus as a whole. The fruit, wherever found, is distinguished by the peculiarly two-valved form recognizable in the existing species. Wherever the wood is found, it is readily connected with that of existing species by reason of the striking similarity of detail which it presents, showing the persistency of the characters, or, from another point of view, the antiquity of the existing form.

If we adopt the view expressed by Zeiller, Saporta and Renault, that the problematical Whittleseya leaves—a Carboniferous genus established by Newberry in 1853—are those of a genus closely allied to Ginkgo, then we must look for the ancestral forms of this latter among the Middle Carboniferous rocks of the United States and Canada, within which geographical area nine species are now known. At present the remains are of such a nature as to afford no very reliable information in this respect, and it may therefore be said that our real knowledge of the type does not commence until the close of the Palæozoic, when Salisburia Primigenia makes an abrupt appearance in the Permian formation of Russia, and, according to Saporta, who first described this species, it represents the true Ginkgo. Of the genus Salisburia, or, as more correctly known at the present time, Ginkgo, there are at least twelve species known in the Permian of Europe and Asia, two species in the Cretaceous of Greenland, six in the Cretaceous of North America, six in the Tertiary of North America and numerous other representatives throughout the Tertiary of England, Greenland,

Siberia and the Island of Saghalien, giving abundant evidence, not only of the great extent of the genus and its wide geographical range, but also of the fact that it has been reduced to its present narrow limits and restricted area within very recent times. But it is in the Jurassic that we get the most abundant evidence of the development of this type of Gymnosperm. Hutton's Ginkgo, from the Jurassic of England, presents a form of leaf closely approaching that of the existing type. Indeed, the resemblance to many leaf forms of the existing species is so close that we may well ask if the two do not represent the same plant, possibly in slightly different phases of development, a suggestion which is greatly strengthened by the remarkable resemblance which the inflorescence and fruit of Ginkgo Pseudo-Huttoni from the Permian of Siberia also bear to Ginkgo Biloba.

At least ten other allied genera are represented in the Jurassic formation, from which, and the general abundance of Ginkgo, it is to be inferred that the type as a whole reached the culmination of its development during that age, and that it has since been in process of decline.

Coming now to the evidence afforded by the remains of this plant as found in Canada, we may ask what it offers in furtherance of our knowledge. Six species are now known, some of them peculiar to Canada, others being found also in other parts of the world. Baynes' Gingko, from the Upper Cretaceous of Vancouver Island, is represented by leaves which bear no special resemblance to existing forms, while Gymnospermous seeds from the same beds were regarded by the late Sir William Dawson as possibly belonging to the same species. Ginkgo Lepida is represented in the Cretaceous of British Columbia by leaves and possibly also by fruit. It is a species which Heer had already recognized in the Cretaceous of Greenland, and Sir William Dawson pointed out in 1885 that it bears a striking resemblance to Baiera Gracilis from the Upper Jurassic of Yorkshire, England. Ginkgo Sibirica, originally obtained from the Jurassic of Siberia, has more recently been identified by Sir William Dawson in the Cretaceous of British Columbia, but its recognition in both cases rests upon nothing more important than the leaves. In 1885, Sir William Dawson identified some small leaves with four linear lobes, which he called Ginkgo Nana. These occur in the same beds, however, with Ginkgo Lepida, of which they are probably depauperate forms. Ginkgo

Pusilla is a species from the Cretaceous formation of Port McNeill, Vancouver Island, first recognized by Sir William Dawson in 1893. It was then known by the leaves, although at a later date wood was found in the same beds, and supposed by him to represent the same plant, as has since proved to be the case. The leaves are fan shaped, and closely resemble the more simple forms as presented by Ginkgo Biloba to-day. Indeed, were it possible to mix the leaves of this fossil with those of the existing species, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two. This very strong resemblance has been noted on more than one occasion, and, as Sir William Dawson himself has observed, "it is scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the half grown leaves of the modern Salisburia Adiantifolia" (Ginkgo Biloba), while he also directs attention to the resemblance which it bears to the Ginkgo Adiantoides, described by Heer from the Tertiary rocks of Greenland.

In a recent study of plants from the Cretaceous of the Queen Charlotte Islands, attention was directed to a fragment of a branch which proved, upon examination, to represent the wood of a Ginkgo so closely similar to our modern species that the two could not be satisfactorily differentiated. Nevertheless, as Ginkgo Pusilla had already been found in the same beds, and as no other species has yet been discovered there, it is extremely likely that the leaves and stem belong to the same plant, and they have been so designated. But the additional evidence thus gained only strengthens the general belief that this species is only an earlier representative of the one we now know. A specimen of wood from the Tertiary formation, described by Schroeter in 1880, but not designated specifically, very probably represents Ginkgo Adiantoides from the same horizon, but this cannot be satisfactorily shown at present, though were such the case, it would add one more link in the chain of evidence connecting existing and extinct forms.

The species of greatest interest is that described by Heer under the name of Ginkgo Adiantoides. It is found in the Tertiary rocks of Greenland, and it has more recently been recognized in the same horizon within the limits of the United States and Canada. Heer was impressed with the striking resemblance which it bears to the existing species, a fact noted by subsequent observers, among whom Zeiller says it is impossible to distinguish the two forms from one another.

The closely related genus Baiera is found ranging from the Permian to the Cretaceous formation. In the United States there are three species known to the Cretaceous age. One of these is also common to the Cretaceous of Canada, where an additional specimen (B. Longifolia) is also found. But this latter is likewise known to the Jurassic of Siberia. The characteristics of the genus are to be found in the many-lobed leaves, which appear to represent a more primitive (?) form of the type now found in existing species. The character of the foliage and of the inflorescence, as well as the greater age of the genus as a whole have served to induce the belief, as expressed by Fontaine, that Baiera represents the predecessor of Ginkgo itself. Various other forms, probably belonging to the Ginkgoales, extend our knowledge of the group into Permian time, but the information respecting them is at present so fragmentary that they afford little of value in determining the early history of the Ginkgo tree, concerning which we may now ask to what extent we can trace it through the rocks and establish the time, place and ancestral form from which it came.

Ranging through the Palæozoic age, from the Devonian upward to the Permian, there are a number of Gymnospermous seeds known under the name of Triginocarpus, which present a close simliarity to the seeds of Ginkgo, and there is a possibility that they may ultimately prove to be the fruits of one of its ancestral relatives. This idea lends colour to the supposition that Whittleseya may also be an ancestral form of this type, in which case the line of descent would be found to originate somewhere in the early Carboniferous or Devonian, where we should expect to find it from the standpoint of analogy. But for the present we must leave all such hypothetical considerations out of the question, and confine ourselves to such evidence as is trustworthy, and we must therefore deal exclusively with the Mesozoic and Tertiary ages.

Commencing with the existing species as we know it, it is possible to trace the line, in the first instance, to the Tertiary Ginkgo Adiantodies, with which it is undoubtedly identical. Thence it extends backward into the Cretaceous, where Ginkgo Pusilla presents a remarkable resemblance both in the foliage and in the structure of the wood, and as this latter is one of the most reliable of all characters, there is little or no reason for disputing the idea that this species is also the same as its more modern representatives. In the Permian the genus

Ginkgophyllum brings into line another type of very closely related forms, but it is particularly through G. Huttoni that a direct sequence is established, since the slight differences exhibited by the foliage, fruit and flowers are such as existing plants show may well come within the limits of variation for a single species. Finally, the limit is reached in the Permian Ginkgo Primigenia which Saporta regarded as a true Ginkgo, and therefore, as expressed in the specific name assigned by him, the true starting point so far as our present knowledge extends. From this it is apparent that we now know a series of identical or closely-related forms, extending from the Permian to the present time in a practically unbroken series, and if they do not represent developmental phases of the same genus, they are nevertheless so closely related as to represent substantially a continuous sequence, and it only remains for the future to inform us through the structure of the wood, when such may be found, as to the precise connections between the various members of the series. While then we have fairly satisfactory evidence as to the starting point for Ginko and its subsequent development, we as yet know nothing of value respecting the history of its ancestral forms in Palæozoic time, but there is every reason to suppose that it, in common with the other Gymnosperms, must finally centre in a generalized type, which diverged from the ferns not far from the later Devonian.

Standing before the "Grizzly Giant" of the Mariposa Grove, one is impressed with the singular majesty of this tree, in whose life is written deep the record of the centuries. The whole trunk lifts, high above its neighbours, a scarred and furrowed coat and limbs, whose distorted forms, stretched out nearly 300 feet above our heads, bear silent witness to the storm and stress of more than thirteen centuries, while the scanty crown seems to bid defiance to the things of to-day, glorying in its triumph over the adversities of time.

The name Sequoia was first given to these noble trees by Endlicher in 1847, in memory of a Cherokee half-breed by the name of Sequoyah, who lived from 1770 to 1843, and published a syllabic Cherokee alphabet of eighty-five characters.

The genus, as now known, embraces only two species, represented by the Redwoods (Sequoia Sempervirens) and the "Big Tree" (Sequoia Wellingtonia, or, as formerly known, Sequoia Gigantea). The modern

history of these trees is of sufficient interest to claim brief consideration before endeavouring to read their past record.

Sequoia Sempervirens, so named by Endlicher in 1847, was first discovered by Archibald Menzies, Surgeon to Vancouver, during his voyages in the Pacific Ocean, and rediscovered by David Douglas. It was introduced to European cultivation in 1846, and now flourishes in southern and western Europe. The tree is found growing in a belt which extends from southern Oregon to Mounterey County, California, and it spreads inland for a width of from twenty to thirty miles to a limit beyond the influence of the ocean fogs, ascending the mountain slopes to an elevation of more than 3,000 feet. Its height is between two and three hundred feet, being exceeded in North America by only one other tree—the Sequoia Wellingtonia. Its trunk attains a diameter of from ten to fifteen feet, or in the largest specimens, from twenty to twenty-eight feet, while the bark is from six to twelve inches thick. The great lightness, strength, and remarkable durability of the wood make it the most valuable timber tree of the North Pacific coast, and redwood lumber finds its way from the Rocky Mountains on the east to China, Australia, and numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean, where it is used extensively for building purposes.

The "Big Tree," to which Seeman gave the name of Sequoia Wellingtonia in 1855, lies at an elevation of from 5,000 to 8,400 feet, along the western flank of the California Sierras, where, mingled with the Sugar Pine, Douglas Fir, and Incense Cedar, it forms an interrupted belt about two hundred and sixty miles in length. Not infrequently it is found in isolated groves, from forty to sixty miles apart, with an area of three or four square miles. The gaps thus developed in what must at one time had been a continuous belt, originated, as Muir has shown, in the location of glacial beds, and, through the localized action of the ice, the trees were left standing upon the intervening ridges as now found. The usual height for this tree is two hundred and seventy-five feet, with a diameter of twenty feet; but individual specimens have been found with a height of from three hundred to three hundred and twenty-five feet, and a diameter ranging from twenty-five to thirty-five feet. It is exceeded in height by no other known tree except the great Blue Gums of Australia. The trunk is massive and buttressed at the base, presenting a clean shaft for a height of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet. The largest

tree of the Calaveras Grove, as measured by Muir, has a trunk thirty-five feet eight inches in diameter inside the bark, and it is estimated at more than 4,000 years in age, while other trees now living are believed to be not less than 5,000 years old.

The "Big Tree" was introduced into Europe in 1854 by Mr. William Lobb. Since then it has been one of the most universally cultivated coniferous trees of central and southern Europe, the climate of which, however, is not well suited to it.

The genus Sequoia has long been known in the fossil state, but this knowledge has been based entirely upon the character of the foliage and fruit until the last few years during which the wood has been brought under observation. Although now restricted to very narrow limits, both geographically and systematically, it was formerly distinguished by its very wide distribution and great abundance; and in the fact that no less than sixty extinct species have been recognized, there is ample evidence that it flourished with great luxuriance during the later Mesozoic and Tertiary time. It is quite probable that a more exact knowledge of the fossil remains will show many of these so-called species to be nothing more than mere forms of the same species, and while this will tend to narrow the representatives as a whole, it will in no way modify our present knowledge of the exceptionally wide distribution and geographical range which the genus, as a whole, has been ascertained to have had.

Within the limits of continental Europe there are no less than twelve species, which range from the Lower Cretaceous to the later Tertiary and extend geographically from Russia on the east to the Atlantic Ocean on the west. Two species are found exclusively in England, while two others extend from England throughout continental Europe.

Within the United States and Canada there are about forty-five recognized species, of which six are also well known European forms, and at least two occur within the north Polar regions. This remarkably wide distribution in both time and space points to exceptionally uniform climatic conditions, extending over a great range of geological time, conditions which must have been similar to those characterizing the region within which the genus finds a congenial home to-day.

Eliminating from the known forms those which are distinguished by their relatively restricted range or doubtful features, no less than

six species stand out with special prominence by reason of great geographical range and, in most cases, well-defined characteristics. Sequoia Couttsiæ is well known in England and Germany, and on this side of the Atlantic it ranges northward from Staten Island to the Arctic regions, being a well recognized species in both Cretaceous and Tertiary rocks. Some doubt is entertained, however, as to its status as a distinct species, and it may eventually prove to embrace forms belonging to one or more different species. Sequoia Richenbachii occurs in the Cretaceous rocks of Europe and Greenland and in the Tertiary rocks of the United States and Canada. Sequoia Fastigiata is found in the Cretaceous formation of continental Europe and the Tertiary of the United States. All three of these species are held to be of the type of the existing "Big Tree," which is further represented in the Tertiary of Ireland and continental Europe by Sequoia Sternbergii; and they may therefore be held to represent either the actual ancestral forms of our modern Sequoia Wellingtonia or to be very closely related species which have disappeared.

Sequoia Smitheana, from the Cretaceous of Europe and America, is, on the other hand, of the type of the modern redwood, with which it may eventually prove to be identical.

Sequoia Nordenskioldii is an Eocene and Miocene species, which ranges from Spitzbergen to North America, where it extends from Oregon, through Canada, to the mouth of the Mackenzie River. None of these species, however, afford more than a suggestion as to the ancestral forms of the two which are now known to the California region.

Sequoia Langsdorfii, on the other hand, presents information of special value, because of the fairly complete knowledge of its structure which we now possess. Of all known fossil species this is the one of most cosmopolitan character, and the one above all others to which attention has been directed, because of its resemblance to existing species. It has been found in great abundance in the Miocene throughout continental Europe. On this continent it ranges from the northern United States, through Canada, to Alaska and Greenland, where it occurs in all horizons from the Upper Cretaceous to the Miocene; and it is thus possible to establish for it a period of great longevity, as well as a very wide geographical range, under similar climatic conditions, in regions which now present great diversity of climate. Until two

years ago our knowledge of this plant rested entirely upon the features presented by leafy branches and fruit, but these characters were so uniform and well defined as to justify the opinion expressed by Schimper, Zeiller, and Potonié, and adopted without hesitation by other leading palæobotanists, that it is to-day represented by Sequoia Sempervirens, and that between them the resemblance is practically identical in all respects.

In 1901, in the course of studying some plants from the Upper Cretaceous of Vancouver Island, collected in 1895-1897, fragments of wood were found which it was possible to identify with Sequoia Langsdorfii. Subsequently the same wood was found in a collection from the Great Valley, N.W.T., made by the late Dr. George M. Dawson in connection with the Boundary Commission in 1875. In each case the wood was well preserved, and the resemblance to the existing redwood was so close in all respects that I had no hesitation in expressing the belief that they represent the same species. These observations also brought out the fact that this species ranged from the Upper Cretaceous to the Miocene, after which we have no further knowledge of it, and that, as late as the Eocene, it occupied at least a portion of the present prairie region. In his studies of the fossil flora of the Yellowstone National Park, Dr. F. H. Knowlton, of the United States National Museum, has brought to light another Sequoia, to which he has applied the name Sequoia Magnifica; but the structure of the wood in this case is so nearly like that of Sequoia Sempervirens as to make it very probable that they are one and the same; a view greatly strengthened by Dr. Knowlton's statement, that there "can be no doubt that the living redwood is the direct descendant of this remarkable tree, once so abundant in the Yellowstone National Park."

It would be of interest to ascertain what relation the near relatives of these plants, as now existing or as found in similar geological horizons, bear to them with respect to the general line of descent, but this would carry us far beyond the limits to which our present treatment is to be confined, and we must be content with a few concluding observations.

The "Big Trees" have now been found to be represented by at least three fossil types, ranging from the Cretaceous to the later Tertiary; forms which may be regarded as substantially extending the existing species backward in geological time to that extent. As Dr.

Asa Gray has pointed out, "a species limited in individuals holds its existence by a precarious tenure," and that this has always been true of the "Big Tree" is suggested by the paucity of its fossil representatives. Within comparatively recent times this slight hold has been yet further weakened by geographical restriction to very narrow limits and by reduction in individual representatives, so that the tree now finds a foothold only in a few sheltered spots, to which it was driven, in glacial times, by the local movement of the ice sheet. In those few spots, as Dr. Asa Gray observed thirty years ago, it now occupies its last stronghold, from which it can neither advance into more exposed positions above, nor fall back into drier and barer ground below, nor, in the long run, even hold its own under present conditions; and a little further drying of the climate, which must once have been much moister than now, will precipitate its doom.

The redwoods, on the other hand, had a somewhat more extended range in geological time, while they were far more numerous and more universally distributed through north temperate regions. In recent times they have more perfectly withstood the changing climatic conditions, which resulted so disastrously to the "Big Tree." From all of these considerations we may conclude that it is not only the more ancient representative, but also the one in which the vigour of the type has been most fully preserved.

One of the remarkable features of the existing Sequoia forests is that, in the vicinity of the trees, there are great depressions in the ground, marking the positions of fallen trees which have gradually yielded to the influence of very slow decay; and from this we may draw the conclusion, already indicated by Sargent, that these trees could not have been more widely distributed since glacial time than they are at present.

Whence these trees came we at present know not, beyond the general fact of their very abrupt appearance in the Lower Cretaceous, and the further fact that in the Upper Cretaceous, at least, they had already attained to the high degree of structural development which they present to-day. The culmination of their development was attained in the middle Tertiary. Subsequently, there was a rapid diminution, precipitated chiefly by climatic changes incident to the Glacial Period, which finally brought the genus to the status it now occupies, and has occupied since the Great Ice Age.

D. P. PENHALLOW.

CHARLOTTE DE CORDAY.

July 16th., 1793.

To-morrow ! Yes, the morrow I can dare ;
How long have I been waiting for the end !
Idlers pass on before the bars—to them
How easy 'tis with shoutings to condemn !
" Is that the wretch who killed the people's friend ?
Look, in her face no sign of sorrow there ! "

" Sorrow " ! " Wretch " ! What words to fling against me !
Last night, when all was still, I heard a bird
Singing so freely, and so sweetly sad;
My heart leaped back to days when I was glad
At Caen. Ah, how my hoping fancy stirred
To hear men talk of France and Liberty!

How often, in those peaceful garden walks,
I pictured a free country, where all men
Should have an even chance, where courts and kings
Should have their right niche in the scheme of things;
And France seemed moving to that goal—and then
This headsman, this Marat, this knave, this fox,

With others of his breed, spoiled all my dream.
Could I stand passive then, and see my France
Made prostitute? Could I do aught but strike
The tyrant merciless? For I was like
Some mother-deer, whose very being pants
To avenge her injured fawn by forest stream.

My country! Whether in the days to be
Charlotte de Corday seems to Thee a name
To bless or shudder at—what matters it?
I did for Thee the deed that seemed most fit;
For Thee I bear this calumny and shame—
To-morrow I shall give my life for Thee.

MACFARLANE DAVIDSON.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF McGILL UNIVERSITY.

In the year 1847 when I entered McGill College as a student of medicine, there were two buildings on the University grounds, one of which, surmounted by a cupola and forming at present the central part of the Arts' building, was occupied by the two Faculties existing at the time—the Faculties of Arts and Medicine. The second, now the east wing of the Arts' building, was the residence of several university officials. These buildings were reached from Sherbrooke Street by a road at the side of the grounds, now forming University Street. East of this entrance towards St. Lawrence Street there were a few scattered buildings. On the south side of Sherbrooke Street, extending from the McGill grounds to Dorchester Street and from Union Avenue westward to Mountain Street, there were open fields and gardens in a state of cultivation, and a few dwellings—the two most notable of which were "Burnside Cottage," the former residence of the Hon. James McGill, the Founder of the University, and the "Protestant Infants' Home," on St. Catherine Street.

A small stream of water passed through the grounds. It entered from the east at a point just above the situation of the present University Street entrance, and was increased in volume by the water from a spring which was situated near where the Macdonald Engineering Building now stands. It then passed down the campus and across Sherbrooke Street, where it was joined by another small stream from the south-west. It then took a course towards the city, passing close to "Burnside Cottage." It is probable that the relative position of

this stream and the Hon. James McGill's cottage was the origin of the name of "Burnside" given to the latter.

All the lectures, with the exception of the clinical lectures and those on chemistry, were delivered in the central Arts' building. The clinical lectures were delivered in the operating theatre of the Montreal General Hospital and the chemical in a building in Fortification Lane, about two or three hundred feet east of Place d'Armes Hill, well known as Skakel's School, an institution at which many of the foremost of the English-speaking men of the community of Montreal, living at that time, had received their education. It was here that Professor Hall, assisted by Dr. Sterry Hunt, made before the class the first chloroform manufactured in Canada. Dr. Sutherland, who was appointed to the chair of Chemistry in the year 1849, delivered his lectures in a room in the Mechanics' Institute, St. James Street, until the Côté Street building was erected for the use of the Medical Faculty. The funds for the erection of this building were not furnished by the governing body of the University, but by three members of the Medical Faculty, Drs. Campbell, MacCulloch, and Sutherland. The Faculty were merely tenants of the Côté Street building, which they leased from the proprietors.

The removal of the Medical Faculty from the Sherbrooke Street building to that of Côté Street was a decided relief, not only to the Professors but also to the students of the Faculty. As the first lecture of the day, that of Dr. MacCulloch on Midwifery, was delivered from eight to nine o'clock a.m., the student had to rise early on the cold winter mornings, often before daylight, in order to dress himself and breakfast to enable him to reach the college in time for the commencement of the lecture. At all times the roads were heavy and not favourable to rapid walking, and not unfrequently heavy snow-storms rendered them almost impassable for many days. This was especially the case with the road leading from Sherbrooke Street to the college. This locality was much exposed to any prevailing wind, which piled the snow in drifts, and made it impossible to reach the college until they had been partially removed by a shovel brigade. On such occasions our kind-hearted Professor, Dr. MacCulloch, who drove to the college in one of those winter sleighs known as a berline or cariole, and which are now used, but of a larger size, by the carters of Montreal, would pick up as many struggling students as he could possibly

accommodate, and drive them to the lecture. I have seen as many as half-a-dozen students at one time occupying and clinging to his sleigh.

Another great inconvenience resulting from the distant and isolated position of the college building, was the difficulty the student laboured under of prosecuting his studies in Practical Anatomy during the early part of the night. Dissections and demonstrations were made only at stated times during the morning and afternoon of the day. There evidently existed a marked disinclination on the part of both demonstrator and student to work at night in the highest story of a lonely building, far removed from other dwellings, imperfectly heated, and lighted by candles—the light being barely sufficient to render the surrounding darkness visible.

Having occupied for two seasons the position of Prosector to the Professor of Anatomy, I had to prepare, during the greater part of the session, the dissections of the parts which were to be the subject of the Professor's lecture on the following day. This necessitated my passing several hours, usually from nine to twelve o'clock at night, in the dismal, foul-smelling dissecting room, my only company being several partially dissected subjects, and numerous rats which kept up a lively racket, coursing over and below the floor and within the walls of the room. Their piercing and vicious shrieks as they fought together, the thumping caused by their bodies coming into forcible contact with the floor and walls, and the rattling produced by their rush over loose bones, furnished a variety of sounds that would have been highly creditable to any old-fashioned haunted house. I must acknowledge that the eeriness of my surroundings was such that I sometimes contemplated a retreat, and was prevented from carrying it into effect only by a sense of duty and a keen dislike to being chaffed by my fellow-students for having cowardly deserted my work.

Another existing circumstance, namely, the great distance of the college from the Montreal General Hospital, was a source of annoyance and dissatisfaction to the student, as it seriously interfered with the time allotted for his dinner or mid-day meal. The last lecture in the morning series was delivered between the hours of eleven and twelve. The first of the afternoon series was delivered between two and three o'clock. The student had, therefore, only two hours at his disposal to walk from the college to the hospital, make the visit to the

hospital wards, dine, and return to the college in time for the lecture at two o'clock. This arrangement was especially hard on him on two days of the week—Wednesday and Saturday, on which a clinical lecture was given at the hospital from twelve to one o'clock. This lecture was seldom commenced before fifteen or twenty minutes after twelve, and was extended to the same number of minutes after one o'clock, so that the student had only thirty or forty minutes to eat his dinner and be at the college at two o'clock for the lecture, and as this lecture was on Anatomy, few students were disposed to be too late. On his part it was certainly a two hours' rush. McGill at this time had a great reputation for the thoroughness of instruction in anatomy, which reputation has been fully sustained to the present day, and, I need scarcely remark, will not suffer while the chair of Anatomy is filled by a teacher with the abilities of the present incumbent, Dr. Shepherd, supported by as able a staff of demonstrators.

During the time the Faculty of Medicine occupied the Côté Street building, the students were not subjected to this annoyance, as they had sufficient time at their disposal to take their mid-day meal in comfort. On the Faculty being removed to the new building erected on the college grounds in 1872 for their use and accommodation, all the old difficulties recurred, and, I have no doubt, exist at the present day.

It was customary at this time for the student to be indentured to a practising physician, or, if not so bound notarially, to make a private arrangement with him to be allowed to study in his office and to be considered as his pupil. For this privilege a fee of one hundred dollars was usually demanded. Apart from the *éclat* which was supposed to be be attached to the position of student under a popular physician, and the belief of the possibility of the patron being able to forward the interests of his pupils, there were, as a rule, few advantages derived from this association. It is true that, in exceptional cases, if the physician had a large *clientèle* and took a warm interest in his students, he could, by arranging their studies, occasionally examining them on the work done, and directing them in the routine of office work, be of material assistance to them. The office work of a physician in large practice, however, offered an excellent opportunity to acquire much practical knowledge. As, with few exceptions, physicians prescribed and dispensed their own medicines, the articled student had the opportunity of making up all the prescriptions. He compounded pills, a

variety of which were always kept prepared for use, and he made the different tinctures and ointments. He had the privilege, also, of assisting at minor surgical operations, such as were performed in the office, of making physical examinations, of applying tests; in short, office practice offered the same facilities for acquiring practical knowledge, although in a minor degree, that the out-door practice of an hospital or the practice of a dispensary affords.

The *personnel* of the class was markedly different from what it is in present times. Then, a large proportion of the students were men verging on, or who had passed, middle age. Indeed, several of them were married men and the heads of families. There was sufficient of the youthful, however, to keep things lively. "Footing Suppers," practical jokes, and special country excursions to secure material for practical anatomy, were of frequent occurrence. The last, involving as it did a certain amount of danger, commended itself particularly to the daring spirits of the class, who were always ready to organize and lead an excursion having that object in view. These excursions were not at all times successful, and the participators in them were sometimes thwarted in their attempts, and had to beat a precipitate retreat to save themselves from serious threatened injury. They contributed, moreover, to the unpopularity of the medical student.

"Footing Suppers" were functions of the simplest and most unpretentious character. Each new matriculant was expected, although many failed to conform to the arrangement, to select an evening on which to entertain his fellow students, the entertainment consisting generally in furnishing biscuits and beer—the old time-endorsed "cakes and ale." In partaking of these, smoking, relating humorous stories, chaffing each other and singing rousing songs, the evening usually passed with much *bonhommie.* But sometimes they were rather boisterous, or, at least, noisy and exciting. They certainly could not lay the slightest claim to be classed with "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." Happily, these "Footing Suppers" have been relegated to the realms of forgetfulness, and have been succeeded by the decorous, high-toned, respectable dinners, conversaziones, and balls of the present day.

The examinations for the degree of the University were conducted orally, ten minutes being allowed to each examiner. The janitor, supplied with a watch and a large bell, was placed in the hall outside

the door of the library, the room in which the examinations took place. At the expiration of each ten minutes he rang the bell, and the candidates went from one examiner to another. This was repeated until the student had completed the round of examining professors. Immediately on the termination of the examinations, the professors met and decided then and there the fate of the candidates. The latter, in the meantime, waited in the college in a rather painful state of suspense. They were summoned separately before the professors, and the result, favourable or unfavourable, in each case made known to the individual. It did one good to see the effect which the announcement had on the successful student—the straightening of the body, the brightening of the eye, and the happy smile radiating rapidly over his face as he rushed around giving each professor an energetic pump-handle shake of the hand, followed, as he disappeared through the door of the room and was received by the crowd of waiting students, by a shout that made the college ring. On the other hand, I believe the professors never passed a more miserable quarter of an hour than when announcing his failure to the unfortunate candidate. It was painful to a degree to witness the depression produced by the announcement, especially when contrasted with the joy and elation of the successful man. The decision, as a rule, was received quietly, and, without a word, the unfortunate one, with bowed head and with countenance painfully expressive of deep disappointment, slipped from the room and was received silently by the waiting crowd of sympathizing students.

The ceremony of conferring the Degree in Medicine was imposing and dignified, and much more impressive than the method adopted of late years. Instead of the candidates being called up in relays and ranged in line, the Principal passing along the front of the line and hastily repeating the words conferring the degree, followed by a slight touch with the university cap in some part of the candidate's head, each candidate was called up singly, and knelt on a hassock in front of the Principal. The Principal then, in a clear tone and deliberate manner, pronounced the words conferring the degree, following them with a solemn invocation: *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The cap was then placed so as to cover the graduate's head, and on its removal the ceremony was completed.

The professors who occupied chairs in the Faculty of Medicine

during my novitiate were Drs. Andrew, F. Holmes, George W. Campbell, James Crawford, Michael McCulloch, Archibald Hall, Olivier T. Bruneau, Stephen C. Sewell, William Fraser, William Sutherland, Robert L. MacDonnell, Francis Badgley, and Francis O. T. Arnoldi.

With one exception, these members of the Faculty had received severally their licenses or diplomas from the medical schools of Great Britain and Ireland. The exception was Dr. O. T. Bruneau, who commenced his professional studies in Canada and completed them in Paris. In contrast to this, and as evidence of the thoroughness of the teaching at McGill at this early stage of her history, and of the distinguished ability of the home student, it is worthy of record that of the *twenty-eight* professors who have been preferred to chairs in the Faculty since that time, *twenty-two* have been selected from the *alumni* of the University and *six* only from among those who have received their professional education at other institutions. The *four* Deans also, who have succeeded Drs. Holmes and Campbell, have been graduates of the University. *Three* of these, Drs. Howard, Craik and Sub-Dean Ross, have, by their talents and distinguished administrative abilities, maintained the prestige and advanced the interests of the Medical School of McGill, and thus proved themselves worthy successors of the two eminent men who preceded them in the Deanship. The *fourth*, our present esteemed Dean Roddick, will, I venture to predict, discharge the duties of his office with equal ability, and command as notable and as successful a career as any one of his predecessors.

To her *alumni* in Medicine McGill has proved herself to be a faithful and generous *Alma Mater*. Her students have at all times had the advantage of being instructed in their profession by men who were devoted to their work and who were perfectly conversant with the conditions of medical science in their time. This was certainly true of the professors who constituted the Medical Faculty during my student days. Of course, there were among them individuals who were more fluent and brilliant as lecturers than their fellows—some who were more profound thinkers or more successful investigators—some who were more elegant and forcible writers, and some who excelled in the art of teaching. But all were equally enthusiastic in their work to advance the interests of McGill, and to maintain her in the front rank of medical educational institutions. In this lofty endeavour they were markedly successful. Following, as they did, the immediate founders

of the school, the future of the institution largely depended on the position which they assumed and were able to maintain in the educational work of the profession.

These were the times when it had to be decided whether McGill as a medical school was to be a success or a failure, and the solution of the question was in the hands of the men whose names I have enumerated. Nobly did they respond to the demand made on their energy and abilities, and they succeeded in handing down to those who followed them a flourishing, progressive, and stable school of medicine.

The men who founded the Medical School of McGill were persons of strong individual character and untiring energy. They possessed also that spirit of resolve which seems only to be checked by obstacles; otherwise, the difficulties they had to overcome would have proved too serious to allow of the establishment of any institution which might at one and the same time be regarded as worthy the name of a medical school and as containing sufficient vitality to make the future prospect hopeful. It seems, therefore, fitting to outline the personal character of each, and to give some idea of his work, and thus to present a portrait gallery of McGill worthies who ought not to rest in obscurity because their date is early, or because the University has made such progress since their time. The first two names are those of Dr. Holmes and Dr. Campbell.

Dr. Holmes, who was one of the founders of the Medical School of McGill, filled the position of Secretary to, and was recognized as the official head of, the Faculty from the time he succeeded Dr. Stephenson in the year 1842 till the year 1854, when the title of Dean was accorded to the position he occupied, and he thus became the first incumbent of the Deanship of the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University. In the formation of the School of Medicine in 1824, he was appointed to the chairs of Chemistry and Pharmacology, and Therapeutics, and to these was added, in 1829, the chair of Botany. He held the chair of Chemistry concurrently with that of Botany for a period of thirteen years, and with that of Pharmacology and Therapeutics for a period of six years; so that for many years he lectured on three different subjects—a most onerous task, which nevertheless was discharged faithfully and satisfactorily.

He was an indefatigable worker. Notwithstanding the labour demanded in preparing the lectures for, and discharging the duties

appertaining to, these several positions, he found time to devote to original work in his favourite science of Botany. The extent, value and success of that work are embodied in his fine herbarium of the flora of Canada, now deposited in the museum of the University of McGill. He was a man of medium height, slender in figure and delicate in appearance, with the slightly stooped body and rounded shoulders of the student. In manner he was grave and reticent. His was one of those quiet and undemonstrative natures that attract not the giddy and thoughtless many, but are appreciated thoroughly by the discriminating few. Around men such as he was cluster home affections—the loves of kindred and the truest friendships. The deep, warm current of feeling underlying the cool and placid surface of mere manner is only known to those who have taken the trouble to sound carefully the depths of such hearts.

As a lecturer, Dr. Holmes was painstaking and thorough. His voice, however, was weak, and his delivery wanting in animation; but these imperfections did not in the least detract from the intrensic merit of the text, every word of which was worthy of being noted by the student. Had his lectures been published after his death, as they ought to have been, the medical profession of Canada would have been furnished with a volume on the practice of medicine fully up-to-date and written in classical English. As an example of his style, his simple, vigorous dictum and the lucidity with which he presented his views to those he addressed, I shall give a short extract from his valedictory address delivered to the graduates of medicine at the Convocation held on May 4th., 1854. Warning the graduates against the evil of routinism, he said:—"There are two errors to be avoided: an overweening prepossession that we are very wise, which leads to dogmatism and quackery; and want of self-reliance, which leads to inefficiency. In our approaches to one or other of these errors, a great deal will depend on temperament; both of them, however, lead to one result, a system of routine—the one, asserting the supremacy of its knowledge, will not condescend to alter; the other, fearful of untried consequences, prefers the beaten track. Routine is not the part of a scientific physician whose decisions and directions should always have a base of reason; it is manifestly unfitted for emergencies, and frequently injurious in ordinary cases; it leads to the treatment of mere symptoms, or is guided by mere names."

His contributions to medical literature were numerous and of a high order of merit, and he took an active part in the work of the Natural History Society.

Dr. Holmes's death, which was sudden and unexpected, occurred on the 9th. day of October, 1860. Whilst he as seated at his desk addressing circulars calling a meeting of the Faculty, Mrs. Holmes, who was sitting near him, heard him sigh deeply, and, on looking up, saw him throw up his arms, which instantly fell to his sides, and his whole body collapsed in the arm-chair in which he was sitting, his head rolling over to one side. When she reached the chair he had breathed his last. A *post-mortem* examination was subsequently held, and revealed advanced fatty degeneration of the heart.

A curious circumstance in connection with the suddenness of his death was that, a short time before it occurred, he had expressed at a Faculty meeting a wish that his life might end in such a way, and that he might be spared a lingering illness. I have a vivid recollection of the expression of deep and pained surprise in the countenance of Dr. Campbell as, in his brusque manner, he said: "You don't mean to say, Holmes, that you wish to die suddenly—that you would select, if you had the choice, this mode of having your life terminated." Dr. Holmes, with a placid smile, evoked apparently by Dr. Campbell's impetuous, out-spoken question, quietly replied: "Certainly, it has long been my desire that when the end comes to me the passage from life to death may be momentary and without any premonitory symptoms."

It is quite probable that Dr. Holmes, with his wide knowledge of the etiology of diseases, had previously observed in himself symptoms pointing to serious cardiac debility, and his expressed wish was in consonance with what, in his judgment, would be the probable ultimate result.

In the year 1864, the members of the Medical Faculty of McGill, in order to perpetuate his memory in connection with the Faculty to whose success he had so materially contributed, and to mark the affection and esteem which they entertained for him personally, established a gold medal to be known as the "Holmes Gold Medal"—this medal to be awarded yearly at the termination of the medical session to the student who had obtained the highest aggregate number of marks in all the subjects of the medical curriculum.

A man equally interesting is discovered in his colleague, Dr.

George W. Campbell, who was preferred to the chairs of Midwifery and Surgery in the year 1835. These he held concurrently for a period of seven years. He then resigned the chair of Midwifery, but retained that of Surgery until the year 1875, a period of forty years, when, in consequence of advancing age and impaired health, he resigned this chair, but retained the Deanship of the Faculty, to which he had been appointed, on the death of Dr. Holmes, in the year 1860. It was in 1835 also that he was appointed to the staff of visiting physicians to the Montreal General Hospital; so that his work in connection with the Medical Faculty and with the General Hospital commenced in the same year, which was just eleven years from the date of the inauguration of the Medical School.

Dr. Campbell was pre eminently what is known to the profession as a practical man. By this term, however, it is not to be inferred that he was deficient in his knowledge of medical literature. On the contrary, there were few men of his day more thoroughly conversant with the words of the classical writers on medicine, or who kept more fully in line with all the recent discoveries and improvements of modern investigators. The term merely expresses that he was governed in his practice by a deep-seated desire to make his knowledge entirely subserve what should be the aim of all medical effort—the removal of disease and the saving of life.

As a teacher Dr. Campbell excelled. His lectures were delivered in an earnest, impressive manner. His language was clear, terse, forcible and instructive. With him there was no redundancy of words, and the student had no difficulty in carrying away and recalling the subject matter of the lecture. By his distinguished abilities as a surgeon he laid the foundation of that great reputation which the Montreal General Hospital has long enjoyed as a school of practical surgery. Endowed with rare powers of observation, with a powerful intellect and a cultured mind, his decisions as to the nature and proper treatment of the cases of disease that came under his notice were singularly prompt and correct, and his opinion was always invoked and held in the highest respect by his colleagues.

Invariably generous and considerate to his *confrères*, and especially so to the junior members of the profession; kind and encouraging to the student of medicine, and just and honourable to all with whom he was in any way associated, he was universally regarded with a degree

of affection and esteem that is seldom accorded by men to their fellows. This affection and esteem was markedly demonstrated by the munificent act of his warm friend, Lord Mountstephen, who added a new wing to the Montreal General Hospital as a memento of Dr. Campbell's distinguished services in connection with that institution, and named it the Campbell Memorial Wing. In 1883 a sum of $48,906 was subscribed by members of the Medical Faculty and a number of their friends to commemorate the services rendered by him to the Faculty during the forty years he was connected with it. This fund (the Campbell Memorial Endowment) has been invested, and the income from it utilized for general expenses of the Faculty.

His death occurred at Edinburgh on the 28th. of May, 1882. He was, therefore, an active member of the Medical Faculty for a period of *forty-seven* years. For several years he had been subject to occasional slight attacks of pneumonia, and a short time before leaving for England, he had suffered from one of his usual attacks, from which he had apparently completely recovered. On reaching London, however, the pulmonary congestion re-appeared with increased severity, and he decided, with the consent of his medical advisers, to proceed at once to Edinburgh, to be under the care of his daughter, who resided in that city. The end came shortly after his arrival at Edinburgh. His remains were brought over from Scotland, and interred in Mount Royal Cemetery.

D. C. MACCALLUM.

UNDERGRADUATE SOCIETIES.

THE UNDERGRADUATES' LITERARY SOCIETY.

Officers:—President, Mr. H. S. Williams, B.A.; Vice-President, Mr. W. S. Johnson; Second Vice-President, Mr. M. B. Davidson; Secretary, Mr. G. C. Couture; Treasurer, Mr. L. P. Edwards; Committee, Messrs. I. Rubinowitz, J. Ower, W. G. McNaughton, B.A., W. P. Ogilvie.

Nov. 8th., 1902.—On this date Vice-President Johnson occupied the chair, and President Williams opened the evening's programme by reading an essay on "The Scotch at Darien," taking up the daring schemes of the adventurer Paterson and the sad fate of those who founded New Edinburgh. The debate was, "Resolved, that the secession of the Southern States was not justifiable." Messrs. W. P. Ogilvie, A. W. Cameron, D. Ross and J. De Witt spoke in favour of the affirmative, while Messrs. Geo. Irving, J. Ower, T. Cotton and L. P. Edwards supported the negative. The American Constitution and the natural differences between the two sections of the United States came up for discussion. Mr. Leacock kindly acted as critic, and reviewed the arguments, giving the Society, it is feared, more light on the subject under discussion than those who debated had done. The decision was given in favour of the negative.

Nov. 15th.—The usual meeting of the Undergraduates' Literary Society was held, with President Williams in the chair. Mr. De Witt afforded the Society much amusement by reading "The Adulteration Act," a selection from Mr. Jacobs s humorous sea tales. The subject

debated was, "Resolved, that national disarmament is expedient." The speakers were, on the affirmative, Messrs. R. J. Harper, G. W. Troop and A. L. Freedman; and, on the negative, Messrs. L. P. Edwards, J. Nicholson and M. Phelan. Messrs. L. P. Edwards and J. Nicholson made excellent speeches, and chiefly owing to their presentation of the case, a decision was given in favour of the negative. Mr. M. B. Davidson acted as critic. It was decided this evening to change the time of meeting from Saturday to Friday evening.

Nov. 21st.—At this meeting Secretary Couture presided. Mr. A. Lochead, B.A., delivered an interesting oration on "Materialism and *belles-lettres*." The debate read, "Resolved, that the pulpit has exerted a greater influence over civilization than the press." On the affirmative were Messrs. H. S. Williams, H. Brodie and S. Mitchell, and on the negative, Messrs. J. Archibald, J. S. Shearer, and J. De Witt. The decision was given to the upholders of the negative.

On this evening the annual debate with representatives of Toronto University took place in the Conservatory of Music, Toronto. Messrs. M. B. Davidson and W. S. Johnson supported the cause of McGill, but unsuccessfully.

Nov. 28th.—The meeting of the Undergraduates' Literary Society this evening was opened by a most enjoyable reading given by Mr. McGougan, and entitled "The Judge's Account of Rubinstein's Playing." The debate was, "Resolved, that an expansion policy is in the best interests of the United States." The affirmative side of the question was discussed by Messrs. E. R. Parkins, P. Mathieu, G. C. Couture and W. G. McNaughton, and the negative by Messrs. H. S. Williams, Martin, T. Papineau and L. P. Edwards. The speeches made by Mr. Parkins and Mr. Edwards were, as usual when these gentlemen speak, of the most spirited and interesting character. The opinions of the foremost men in the United States were cited in support of the position of the affirmative, but, nevertheless, the negative won. Mr. W. S. Johnson acted as critic. This was the last meeting before Christmas.

Since Christmas the meetings of this Society have been miserably attended, and college functions, happening frequently on Friday nights, have often interfered with the holding of the meetings at all. Something must be done at the beginning of next Session to arouse interest in this most important branch of University education, for it is nothing less; and to place the McGill Debating Society upon an equal footing with those of her sister universities.

Jan. 30th., 1903.—This was the first meeting after the Christmas vacation. Two amendments covering the time-limit of speakers and the giving of decisions were read by the committee previously appointed to draw them up, and were accepted by the Society. A selection from Mark Twain was read by Mr. John Drew, entitled "Treating a Cold." "That the United States should establish a protectorate over Venezuela," was the subject for debate. Messrs. G. C. Couture and R. P. Wallace spoke in favour of the affirmative, and Messrs. Papineau and Cameron in favour of the negative. After a keenly-contested debate, President Williams, acting as judge and critic, gave the victory to the negative, and pointed out the defects of the several speakers.

Feb. 6th.—This was the evening upon which the annual Freshman-Sophomore debate was held. The question for debate read, "Resolved, that the House of Lords should be abolished." The Freshmen, upholding the negative, were represented by Messrs. Carr, Freedman and Cousins. Messrs. Edwards, Adams and Jenkins, Sophomores, spoke for the affirmative of this good old subject, and pointed out the depraved mental and moral state of many of the English peers, the wrong principle of succession to legislative powers through heredity, and the opportunities for misuse of the veto power. Merit, and not birth, should entitle one to entrance to the English Upper House. All three speakers did equally well. The negative maintained that the peerage had adapted itself to the needs of the time, and the majority of those in it were men of superior intellect. Mr. Leacock, in acting as critic and judge, spoke warmly in favour of students patronising the college societies. The decision was given to the Sophomores, owing to "the energy of Mr. Edwards, the exactness of Mr. Adams, and the vociferous positiveness of Mr. Jenkins."

Feb. 20th.—A meeting of the Undergraduates' Literary Society was held, at which nominations for officers for next session were made.

THE DELTA SIGMA SOCIETY.

Officers:—President, Miss K. Wisdom; Vice-President, Miss H. Freeze; Secretary, Miss M. Taber; Committee, Misses Belyea, McCally, and Moule.

Dec. 1st., 1902.—On this date the Sophomore-Freshman debate was held in the Common Room of the R.V.C. The subject was,

"Resolved, that the country is better adapted for the general development of the individual than the city." The Sophomores, supporting the affirmative, were Miss Hitchcock and Miss Michaels. Miss Tully and Miss Fraser, of the Freshman year, spoke for the negative. The affirmative argued under the three main heads of physical, mental, and moral development. The negative refuted their arguments in an able and eloquent manner, touching on the historical side of the question. The delivery on both sides was excellent, but the decision, given by Miss Wales, Miss Parkin, and Miss East, was in favour of the Freshman side.

Jan. 12th., 1903.—The Delta Sigma Society met in the Common Room of the R.V.C. to listen to a lecture given by Miss Derrick on "University Life in Germany." In a delightful manner the lecturer spoke of her own student days there, telling how women may attend lectures only through the courtesy of the professors, and advising any of her audience who contemplated visiting the German seats of learning not to do so while quite young.

Feb. 2nd.—At this meeting two papers were read, one by Miss Mackenzie on "Child Literature," a subject which she treated in a very interesting way; and the other by Miss Cox on "Nonsense Literature." Miss Cox showed how the term "art" might be properly applied to this branch of literature, and gave a slight historical sketch of its development, interspersed with many humorous examples, notably from Mr. Locker-Lampson and Wallace Irwin's "Love Sonnets of a Hoodlum."

Feb. 9th.—The Society met in the Common Room of the R.V.C. to listen to the Senior-Freshman debate. The question before the debaters was, "Resolved, that organized charity is better than individual giving." Miss Tully and Miss Douglas, representing the First Year, spoke on behalf of the affirmative, while Miss Gertrude Griffin and Miss Wisdom upheld the negative. The different points, brought out clearly, were ably argued. The affirmative side was awarded the decision by the judges, Miss Oakeley, Miss Lichtenstein and Miss Hammond.

THE HISTORICAL CLUB.

Officers:—President, Mr. G. C. Couture; Secretary, Mr. W. S. Johnson; Treasurer, Mr. T. Papineau; Committee, Dr. Colby, Mr. G. Lomer, Mr. G. Campbell.

Nov. 27th., 1902.—The regular meeting of the Historical Club was held in the Y.M.C.A. The evening's topic was the Munroe Doctrine, with special reference to the case of Mexico and Venezuela. Mr. Papineau read an interesting paper on the origin of the famous doctrine, showing that its idea was as old as the discovery of the continent. Its development came after 1776, and in the early part of last century; and, finally, its publication was brought about by the claims of Russia and the Holy Alliance. Mr. Ower followed with a paper on "The Expedition of Maximilian." Its purpose was to show the application of the doctrine to Mexico. Mr. Ower told how, after the intervention of the French to quiet the unsettled state of Mexican affairs, the party in favour of monarchy asked the Archduke of Austria to take the throne. The new ruler was recognized by Europe, but not by the United States. However, insurrection breaking out soon resulted in the death of the American Emperor. Then Mr. Freedman took up the Venezuelan question, telling of Britain's early claims, which were settled by arbitration in 1896. In conclusion, Dr. Colby read a poem, "Swords and Ploughshares," which was much appreciated by the Club.

Dec. 11th.—On this date Judge Weir gave a most interesting lecture before the Historical Club.

Jan. 8th., 1903.—This was the first meeting of the new year, and took the form of an old members' reunion. The principal feature of the evening was the debate, "Resolved, that it is in the interests of Great Britain to maintain the present *status quo* in Turkey." The speakers on the affirmative were Messrs. McMillan and Couture, while Messrs. Parkins and Brown supported the position of the negative. Mr. Couture made a splendid speech, speaking forcibly, and presenting many important arguments. Mr. Brown acted as a volunteer in the absence of Mr. Parkins's colleague, and, as such, made a creditable speech. The verdict was in favour of the affirmative. Several of the teaching staff of the University were present.

Jan. 22nd.—The subject for this evening was the American Constitution. Mr. Rubinowitz addressed the meeting on "The Friends of the American Constitution. He examined the Constitution itself, showing of how great importance to the people were the questions settled by each clause. He also pointed out the dependence of the Union as such upon the Constitution. Mr. Hindley spoke of the

"Critics of the American Constitution," rather cleverly dividing the criticisms into four classes—foolery, attacks on the Convention, the prophecies of cranks, and objections to the plan for representation and the power left with the legislature. In the interesting discussion which followed, the Constitution was compared with that of our own motherland.

Feb. 5th.—The Rebellion of 1837 was taken up at this meeting. Mr. Dutaud opened with a paper on the Rebellion in Lower Canada, in which the causes of dissatisfaction were shown to have been poor administration and opposition by the Governor and his Council to the reforms proposed. The engagements in Lower Canada were described. After investigation of the trouble, peace was brought about by the granting of the majority of reforms asked for, and the union of the two provinces. Mr. Campbell then considered Lord Durham's report. The author's early life was touched on, and the accuracy of his report, notwithstanding his short stay in Canada, emphasized. The remedy proposed by this statesman was reform in administration and the union of Upper and Lower Canada. The report was of much advantage to our country, paving the way, as it did, to the larger Confederation of which we are so proud. In discussion afterwards were brought up the race problem, the connection between the two risings, and the authorship of the report.

Feb. 19th.—The topic before the meeting of the Historical Club was "The United Empire Loyalists." Mr. Carr spoke of "The Sentiment of the U. E. Loyalists from 1765 to 1775." This was a time of great unrest. Even when the trouble began, people were hardly convinced as to whether they were Whig or Tory. Many were loyal through a desire for peace, others because they feared the power of the mother country. All desired reform, but not independence. Mr. Sheldon then glanced at "The Emigration of the U.E. Loyalists." Their property had been forfeited, and they had been treated severely in other ways by the American Government. The persecution was kept up even after the treaty of 1783. The journey undertaken by these second Pilgrim Fathers was a rather serious matter then, but on their arrival ample provision of land and money was made for them by the Dominion Government.

MACFARLANE DAVIDSON.

ATHLETICS.

HOCKEY, 1902-03.

This has been a very eventful year in hockey annals at McGill. Late in November the longed-for and much talked-about Inter-collegiate Hockey Union was formed on the same plan as the Inter-collegiate Football Union. The rules adopted by the new league are those which, with a few slight exceptions, are followed in the Canadian Amateur Hockey League. The prospects of placing a strong team on the ice were very good. Five out of seven members of the team of the previous year were still available, and, in addition, there were many promising Freshmen. However, before the season commenced reports were in circulation to the effect that the city clubs were anxious to avail themselves of the services of our best players. Even before the Inter-collegiate Union was formed in November, deputies from these clubs were trying to secure promises from the different players to turn out with their respective teams. Such action caused the hockey executive a great deal of trouble, and affected the team to a great extent.

Practices began as usual in a dilatory manner about the beginning of the Christmas holidays. By that time the hockey rink on the campus was in pretty good order, but as yet no indoor rink had been secured. Later on, an agreement was made with the Arena Company for two practices a week during the season, and for the two home matches. The greatest drawback to this arrangement, the best pos-

sible at such a late date, was that the only hours available were from 1 to 2 p.m. on Mondays and Wednesdays. Practices were also held on the college rink from 5 to 6 p.m. on other days.

On January 14th., Mr. Phillips, of Science, '06, was appointed captain of the team, and preparations were made for the first game with Queen's on the 23rd. The series opened on the 16th of January, when 'Varsity played Queen's in Kingston. The match resulted in a win for Queen's by the score of 8 to 1. From the reports of this game it was evident that Queen's had a very strong team, and the McGill men began to realize that they were not going to have things all their own way. Just at this time, too, the Montreal Club came to Phillips, our captain, and requested him to turn out with them. Earlier in the season they had made unsuccessful attempts to get him, but now they redoubled their efforts, depreciating college hockey and the Intercollegiate League, and holding out promises of the great glory to be won in playing for the Stanley Cup. Again Phillips decided to stay with his college and to play for McGill in the first game against Queen's. This game was very disappointing to McGill supporters. From the very start the McGill team showed lack of organization; the forwards did not know their places, and the cover-point tried to play forward. The result was that the Queen's forwards broke through in a line, and there was a clear run down the ice with only point and goal to pass. In this way Queen's ran up four goals in the first half. In the second half one of the McGill forwards went back to cover-point, and cover-point went up on the forward line, where he did good work. During this half the McGill men, particularly the defence, made some great efforts, and several times deserved to score, but the Queen's goalkeeper was impregnable, and they were unable to get the puck past him. Queen's added three more to their score, and the game ended seven goals to nothing in their favour. One pleasing feature of this game was the support given by the students, who turned out in large numbers, and never ceased to encourage the team by their cheers until time was up. This game showed McGill several things, the principal one being that it is better to play seven ordinary men, who constitute a team, than one star with six other men to help him.

The next game was due on January 23rd. with 'Varsity in Toronto. McGill had several good practices in preparation, and their prospects were good. At this stage in the proceedings the Montreal Club again

came after Phillips. 'Varsity and Queen's were communicated with, and an unsuccessful effort was made to get permission for him to play in the Stanley Cup matches. At last, succumbing to their importunities, he decided to play for the Montreal team. McGill then went to Toronto with a team that had never played together before. The experiment was successful. McGill won, after a hard and most exciting game, by the score of nine goals to seven. At no time during the progress of the whole match, except in the last two minutes, was either team in the lead by more than one goal. McGill felt the disadvantage of the small rink, after being accustomed to playing in a rink at least one half as large again. In the first half the play was rather ragged, with occasional flashes of brilliancy on both sides. The score at half-time was three all. In the second half the play became much faster, and the checking heavier. 'Varsity scored the first goal; then McGill evened up. This was the story during the whole half. The last goal was scored by Young on a grand rush just two minutes before time was up. The score then stood six all, and it was decided to play off, each team playing five minutes from each end. In the first five minutes of this play-off neither team succeeded in scoring. In the second, 'Varsity got one goal after two minutes' play. McGill then woke up, and in the next two minutes scored three goals, making the score nine to seven. In the latter part of this game the McGill forwards developed some very good combination, and, notwithstanding the fact that the 'Varsity team had been practising together for more than a month, it certainly looked as if the McGill team had had the most training. The team which played this match played through the rest of the season without a change. It is as follows:—

Goal . . . . A. E. Lindsay
Point . . . . W. Molson.
Cover-point . . . . C. A. Young
Rover . . . . F. G. Ryan
Centre . . . . S. L. Crawford
Right wing . . . . H. L. Sims
Left wing. . . . . J. S. H. Wurtele

Mr, S. L. Crawford, of Science, '03, was elected captain, a position which he filled very satisfactorily.

The next game was between Queen's and 'Varsity, in Toronto. Queen's was taken by surprise. They seem to have been over-confident, and when they met 'Varsity in the small rink, they were beaten by the close score of six goals to five. McGill was due at Kingston on February 13th. The team had good hopes of winning, and went up with that "do or die" spirit which wins so many matches. This game was the best of the whole series, and it practically decided the championship. The play throughout was clean and fast and marked by good defence work on both sides. For the first fifteen minutes of the game Queen's rushed matters, and kept McGill on the defensive, but as soon as this effort was spent the McGill forwards began to get down on the Queen's goal, and for the rest of the half, play was pretty even. Each side succeeded in scoring one goal during this time, Ryan tallying for McGill on a pass from Molson, and Walsh scoring for Queen's. In the second half the McGill men had the better of the play. They shone particularly in defence work. The Queen's forwards did not seem to be able to get in on the McGill goal, and they were so closely watched that their chances to shoot were few. Wurtele scored the winning goal for McGill on a pass from Sims. For the rest of the game Queen's made great efforts, but without avail. The McGill forwards followed back too well to permit of Queen's scoring, and the game ended two goals to one in our favour. The result of this game was, to say the least, surprising to McGill students as a whole. It has been stated that, outside the team and the hockey committee, there was not one McGill student who had the faintest idea that his team had a chance of winning from Queen's on their own ice, a thing which had almost never happened before. The only chance of Queen's for the championship now was for 'Varsity to beat McGill, and thus make a three-cornered tie.

The last game of the season was between 'Varsity and McGill in Montreal. The 'Varsity team had improved considerably in the previous two weeks, and McGill's chances were none too great, especially as several of the men had been under the influence of "la grippe" for a few days previous to the match. In the first half McGill was strong. The forwards played together well, and succeeded in scoring twice, and would have done so oftener had it not been for the good work of Lash, the 'Varsity goal-keeper. In the second half the play became aimless, so far as the McGill forwards were concerned. There

was no attempt at combination, very little following back, and only an occasional dash by an individual. The 'Varsity team, on the other hand, was working very hard. They were not playing very scientifically, but every man was doing his best, and it was only the splendid work of the McGill defence that saved the game. The result was a tie, the score being two all. This draw was not played off, as it was not necessary to do so. The support of the students at this game was as disappointing as it had been encouraging at the former game. Notwithstanding the fact that on this game depended the championship, there was a comparatively small body of students in attendance, and those with very little enthusiasm. This was rather hard on the team. After the splendid showing it had made in Kingston and Toronto, it deserved a far better recognition of its work than was forthcoming from the student body.

The standing of the teams is as follows:—

Teams.	Won.	Lost.	Drawn.	Points.
McGill.	2	1	1	5
Queen's	2	2	0	4
'Varsity	1	2	1	3

A win counting two points and a draw one point.

After the last game, the first annual supper of the Canadian Intercollegiate Hockey Union was held. On this occasion the beautiful cup presented by Queen's for championship competition was handed over to McGill by Mr. McInnes, the President of the Union. This completes McGill's record as champion in all Canadian Inter-collegiate athletics for the college year, 1902-03.

A trip to New York was proposed in order to play off with the champions of the U.S. colleges. The New York Graduates' Society of McGill kindly offered to guarantee the expenses of the team, but it was found impossible to send the McGill men down, as the American series would not be finished until about March 15th. Such a late date was not considered practicable. It is to be hoped that next year the champions of the two leagues will find themselves in a position to play off for the Inter-collegiate hockey championship of America. And why not at some date in the near future, as one gentleman has proposed, form an international Inter-collegiate league?

This season has shown several things that students interested in hockey must note. First, arrangements for practices in an indoor rink must be made earlier than has been the custom. This year the Intercollegiate League was not formed until late in November, and when arrangements for practice hours were set on foot with the various indoor rinks, it was found that no suitable hours were available. Secondly, the players must be got into training not only for the second or third match, but for the very first. Because it has happened this year in both football and hockey that McGill has lost the first game and then won out, it does not necessarily follow that such a course will always be successful. It has been urged that a McGill team needs a beating in the beginning in order to wake it up. But it is much better for the team to wake up right at first than to risk a defeat which might prove disastrous to its chances. In order to accomplish this, the hockey committee must canvass the students thoroughly to get those players who are staying in town during the Christmas holidays to practise at regular hours, not only on whatever indoor rink may be obtained, but also on the college rink. Thirdly, the captain should be appointed at the end of the previous season, in order that he may have a better opportunity of watching the players from the very start. The next point concerns a second team. This year it was found impossible owing to lack of funds to enter a team in the intermediate series. This being so, there was very little incentive for any men to turn out except those nine or ten men who composed the first squad. It is true that some other men did turn out, and to those the thanks of the club are due; but, as a rule, and especially in the practices at the Arena, it was very difficult to get two full teams on the ice. Under these circumstances, it would be advisable, even at considerable extra cost, to have McGill represented in the intermediate as well as in the senior series. The last point concerns inter-year and inter-class matches. These matches were practically a failure this year, there being few inter-class and no inter-year games played. This was owing to the fact that attention was directed wholly to the University team. Many of the year and class teams were captained by first team men, who were practically unable to turn out except at the regular University practices. On this account it looks as if it would be necessary for the committee, following the example of the football club, to lay down a rule prohibiting men on the University team, or teams, from playing in these games.

There is also another rule in the hands of the Grounds' and Athletics' Committee which will probably be enforced next year. It is to the effect that no man who plays for an outside club will be allowed to play in an inter-year or inter-class match in the same season.

Looking back over the season, it must be confessed that the quality of hockey played was not of a very high standard, with the exception of the last Queen's-McGill game, which is said to have been the best ever played in Kingston. Although such is the case, it must be remembered that this is the first year of Inter-collegiate hockey, and there is no doubt that the standard will go on improving until it ranks second to none in Canada, and, therefore, in the world. Already 'Varsity in the west has proved its superiority to the champions of the Ontario Hockey Association, while McGill is fully up to the standard of the weaker teams in the C.A.H.L. It is hoped that the standard of hockey played by the C.I.H.U. will rise above that played by the other unions, as has proved to be the case with the football played by the C.I.R.F.U. An evidence of this movement is the rule passed at the annual meeting of the C.I.H.U., doing away with all delays, which form an objectionable feature in most matches.

GEORGE C. McDONALD.

ROYAL VICTORIA COLLEGE ATHLETIC CLUB.

Although there is much room for improvement, the work of the Royal Victoria College Athletic Club has this year been most promising and successful.

The championship of the inter-class basket ball was won by the Freshmen year. The college team played two outside matches with the Heathers of Westmount, which resulted in victories for the college team, the scores being 6-5 and 5-2.

Inter-class hockey matches were played by the first three years, and resulted in the "1902 class trophy" being won by the Freshmen. The Partials also had a hockey team, but were ineligible for the trophy.

The annual business meeting of the club is called for Monday, March 16th, 1903.

GRADUATE SOCIETIES.

A long and interesting report has been sent to the Magazine by the New England Graduates' Society. The British Columbia Society and the McGill University Alumni Association of Chicago have also not omitted to give accounts of their recent doings. It is gratifying to reflect that the interest felt by such representative bodies in the progress of the University is becoming more in evidence every year, and assuming a practical form. What has recently happened at the Boston dinner may prove an incentive to other gatherings of graduates. When the extremities of McGill extension show such signs of vitality, it is reasonable to suppose that the heart beats strong.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF McGILL GRADUATES.

BOSTON, February 18th.—Expressions of loyalty to their Alma Mater, which were both practical and sentimental in their nature, were made to-night at the fourth annual reunion and dinner of the New England Graduates' Society of McGill University, which was held at the New Algonquin Club. The sentimental devotion to the University, which is located at Montreal, Canada, found voice in the speeches of the graduates and invited guests who gathered around the banquet-board, and the practical fealty to the college found expression in the launching of a movement to raise $75,000, for the purpose of erecting a building at the University to be used by the entire student body, and which

will be carried on as a social acquisition to the college, similar to the new Harvard Union at Harvard University.

This fourth annual reunion of the graduates of McGill was undoubtedly the most enthusiastic of the meetings which have been held under the auspices of the New England Society, and this was probably due, more than to anything else, to the inception of a plan for the graduates to present to their College the new student building. The movement towards the erection of the structure was proposed by Mr. Holton Wood, of this city, who in the course of a speech, in which he explained the project, stated that Arthur E. Childs, who is the President of the New England Graduates' Society, and himself, would each subscribe the sum of $5,000, provided the *alumni* of the University raised in the aggregate the sum of $75,000. The idea for the new building as brought forth by Mr. Wood was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm, and judging by the attitude of the audience, there seemed to be little doubt that the plan would be consummated.

The guests at the dinner included William Peterson, M.A., LL.D., the Vice-Chancellor and Principal of McGill University; F. P. Walton, B.A., LL.D., Dean of the Law School of McGill University; Herbert Parker, Attorney-General for Massachusetts; William S. Hall, of Boston; Wolfred Nelson, M.D., F.R.C.S., the President of New York Graduates' Society of McGill University, and Professor Girdwood, of McGill University.

The post-prandial exercises were opened by President Childs, who called upon Dr. George A. Fagan, of North Adams, who read an original poem, written especially for the occasion, and dedicated to the New England Society. Before calling upon the speakers of the evening, President Childs took occasion to refer to the place which McGill University filled in the world of letters. He recalled how the College, founded seventy-four years ago, had developed year after year, until now it stood forth in its glory and brilliancy in the various departments—Science, Arts, Medicine and Law.

Each year, President Childs said, it had been the policy of the committee having the reunions in charge, to endeavour not to crowd the banquets with too many good things. For instance, they were satisfied to invite each year the members of one designated Faculty of the College. At the previous reunions the Faculties of Science, Arts and Medicine had been especially commemorated, and now this year the Law Faculty was remembered.

President Childs went on by offering an impressive tribute to the law and its immense importance in the world. He described, in a picturesque manner, a visit to the high peaks of Switzerland when, on a beautiful morning, the sun had risen far in the east and mounted high in the heavens in all its magnificence and brilliancy over the tapering summits of the mountains. Drawing then a practical metaphor, Mr. Childs suggested to his audience that the nineteenth century has been a century of the rising sun—a century when mankind has been wakened from its night of sleep to appreciate the rising sun in the advancement of the arts and sciences of modern civilized life.

The university, Mr. Childs said, carries on the great work of making from her graduates men who are destined to become the leaders and thinkers of mankind. Their own University, started seventy-four years ago, had developed year after year, until now in all its departments it filled a notable place in the world of letters.

The toasts to be responded to at the dinner were arranged as follows:—The President, George A. Fagan, M.D., North Adams, Mass.; the King, H. Holton Wood, B.A., Boston, Mass.; McGill University, William Peterson, M.A., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor and Principal; Faculty of Law, F. P. Walton, B.A., LL.D., Dean of Faculty; Law Department of the State of Massachusetts, Herbert Parker, Esq., Attorney-General of Massachusetts; Bar Association of City of Boston, William S. Hall, Esq., Boston, Mass.; Our Sister Societies, Wolfred Nelson, M.D., F.R.C.S., President New York Graduates' Society of McGill University.

Dr. Fagan responded to the toast "The President," and in the course of his remarks paid a notable tribute to the chief executive of the nation. He conceived that President Roosevelt stood for all that is highest and noblest and best in life. He represented the gigantic development of a great nation which has built up tier upon tier, until to-day, in its magnificence of proportion and in its richness of equipment, it challenges the gaze of the entire world. The memory of Lincoln, McKinley, and of Roosevelt, would live, he imagined, as long as and wherever the songs of the great achievements of the United States are sung. The strenuousness of life, which President Roosevelt symbolizes, stands for justice and right and truth and honesty of purpose. When Dr. Fagan had concluded his remarks, all present joined in a toast to the President.

The next speaker was H. Holton Wood, who announced the scheme

for the enrichment of the University. Before presenting the plan to the alumni, however, it was Mr. Wood's pleasant duty to propose a toast to King Edward of England, which he did in a most felicitous manner, and which was responded to by the entire company standing and drinking in honour of His Majesty.

After the inspiring strains of "God Save the King" had died away, Mr. Wood explained the details of the arrangement, as a result of which it is hoped to bring a new building to McGill. He stated that in New York, Chicage, and New England, there had been a quiet interchange of opinion for some time as to how the graduates of McGill University could best commemorate the great benefit which the University had been to them, and he stated that the result of it all was that it was decided to start a movement there at the dinner with the end of erecting at McGill a building which would be close to the College students and to the graduates, a building which would be for the entire University.

The graduates of the College have not accomplished much in any particular direction, because they had not been united in any movement. It had been decided by those who have looked into the question, that what McGill needed was a kind of union club to be used by every undergraduate, and in which, it was believed, every one who had been affiliated with the University would feel an active interest. Mr. Wood then announced that if $75,000 could be raised, he and Mr. Childs would each subscribe $5,000. He stated that he had just returned from a visit to Montreal, which had been made especially for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiment towards the plan, and he wished to report that every one was enthusiastic over the idea.

One of the incidents of the evening came just after Mr. Wood announced the details of the plan for the new college building, and that was when the President called upon Dr. Joseph Williams, the Secretary-Treasurer, to read the letters of regret which had been received from those of the invited guests who were detained from coming on account of unavoidable circumstances, and the first of these letters was from Miss Susan E. Cameron, President of the Alumnæ Society. Miss Cameron wrote an interesting note from the Royal Victoria College at Montreal. Other letters were from Judge C. P. Davidson and R. C. Smith, K.C., both of Montreal; Eugene Lafleur, K.C; and Justices Robert Grant and F. A. Gaskill, of Boston.

It was President Childs's happy duty to announce the contents of a letter received from Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Premier of Canada. "Sir Wilfred Laurier," said the toast-master, "was a French-Canadian "student, a graduate of our own Law School, who now fills the respon- "sible position of Premier of the Dominion of Canada. Sir Wilfred has "written that he would be unable to attend our reunion on account of "failing health, and also because of the opening of Parliament. You "see, therefore," added Mr. Childs, "that we have Sir Wilfred here in "spirit if not in person."

The suggestion which was now made by the President that a telegram expressing goodwill and greeting be sent to Sir Wilfred by the Society was received with applause, and on the motion of Dr. Fagan (which was agreed to unanimously and which was likewise received with a burst of applause) the message was sent. The Chair appointed to serve on the Committee, the following:—Judge Ambrose Choquet, B.C.L., who is a class mate of the Premier; Dean Walton, of the Law School; and Dr. Fagan, hailed by some enthusiastic *alumnus* as the "poet-laureate."

Principal Peterson must have felt pleased at the extreme cordiality of the reception which was accorded him when he arose to address the *alumni*. When the applause had subsided, the Principal expressed his gratitude at the character of the reception by thanking all in earnest words. He said it had been his good fortune to attend regularly each meeting of the *alumni* since the time of the creation of the Society. He laughingly remarked that the Society might continue to lavish good things upon him in the way of invitations and greetings, but he wished to suggest that they had not yet succeeded in eliminating the President of the University. He said he was moved to remark that such gatherings as these had really developed into schools of oratory, as, for instance, witness the opening speech of President Childs, who had so eloquently addressed his fellow-members.

Principal Peterson took occasion to refer to recent visits to Graduate Societies in every part of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the western United States and elsewhere, in which places, he said, he found amongst McGill graduates the greatest enthusiasm. Speaking of the University in particular, he said he was still connected with one of the Faculties in the *rôle* of teacher, but he begged leave to express the opinion that it might be well in the future

for the Principals of the University to disconnect themselves from the Faculties, since he believed that this would tend towards greater efficiency on the part of the Principal.

After comparing McGill University to colleges in the United States, Principal Peterson said that one of the things which one works for to-day is that the two great nations of England and America may stand together for everything that is for the good and for the progress of humanity.

Principal Peterson said that at McGill they had an Academic Board, which, he was glad to say, had done much to solidify the students' interests at the University. He spoke of a visit which he had made to the Harvard Union, where he had seen in operation the scheme for a student building worked out in perfection. He was of the opinion that all universities should have such an institution connected with them. He recited how such a development had come to Edinburgh in Scotland, and gave an interesting and humorous account of how the social building for the students at Edinburgh happened to materialize.

After referring to the proposed celebration at McGill University in 1904, Principal Peterson delivered an earnest invitation for *alumni* to attend. In closing, he said that the Professors at McGill were aiming high to keep McGill a centre of learning, and he believed that none of the *alumni* would have cause to blush for the University to which they owed their learning.

President Childs introduced Dean Walton as the representative of the Law Department, " the most edifying of all the Faculties." Dean Walton expressed his pleasure at being able to attend the dinner. He was sorry, he said, that the other Profesors at the Law School could not come with him. In this connection he said that, while at Harvard the time of the Professors was taken up in the work of teaching, it is different at McGill. At McGill three of the Professors are members of the Bench and four of them are practising lawyers.

" There is nothing more encouraging," said the Dean, " than to " find that McGill has scattered about the world such loyal and de- " voted sons."

He believed that McGill need have no fear what fortune has in store for her. He spoke of the friendships which are formed during

University life, and the great value of them. It is true that the friendships formed in college almost always last forever. They arise because of the personal predilection which is found in college. If that is so, nothing could better prove the wisdom of the scheme to establish a club, suggested by Mr. Wood and the President.

While still dwelling upon the love which *alumni* hold for their college, Dean Walton referred in an impressive manner to the famous Dartmouth College case, which the great Daniel Webster had argued so well before the Supreme Court of the United States, and during the trial of which Mr. Webster spoke so feelingly of the love which men bear towards their University.

"Your Society," said the Dean, "does the service of being an out-"post of Britain or Canada in the United States of America. I am "not going to propose that Canada shall annex the United States. "(Great laughter and applause.) I don't think the time is ripe for "that—(laughter)—but I do say that the coming together of the two "peoples is a thing which all thinking men should consider. I believe "in the federation (not political) of the English-speaking worlds, which "are united to each other by a thousand ties. The bond of language "is an extraordinarily strong tie. Societies like this further the end "of federation. Gentlemen, I thank you for your reception."

Attorney-General Parker received a greeting from the Club which must have made him very happy. When President Childs introduced him as "a future Governor of Massachusetts, who would speak for the law department of the Commonwealth," there was a hearty burst of applause, which showed that the audience appreciated the sentiment expressed, not to say agreed to the same. Mr. Parker spoke in a most felicitous vein. He said that since he had heard the eloquent sons of McGill tell so eloquently of what the University had been to them, he had been made to love the college as a foster-son. There was little wonder, he exclaimed, that the pathway of McGill's sons was blazed with humanity. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts welcomes to her hearthstone all men who serve humanity, and therefore does she welcome the sons of McGill.

"Mr. Principal," said Mr. Parker, turning to Principal Peterson, "you shall never doubt, sir, how you should be received by the men of "Massachusetts, for you are with men who love letters, education and "virtue, and with men who love their fellow men."

It was fitting, Mr. Parker thought, that they of common speech should meet together, and think and speak of the vast responsibilities which had been committed to their keeping.

Turning for a moment to consider the history of the British Empire, and Canada in particular, Mr. Parker conceived that that history was both interesting and great. He spoke of the men who had dared to venture into the frozen North, and had established there frontiers never to be abandoned by civilization. There was La Salle, there was Champlain and there was Frontenac, who had built up the great empire in the west. That empire was both theirs and his and the people he represented. He wished to bow to the two flags which were folded together before him. "We are brothers though bearing "different national names," went on Mr. Parker eloquently, "and we "are born of a common father and mother. If there was a time when "strife divided the parent from her child, every man knows that it was "no conflict between the English people which had arisen. The English "in England and the English in America were fighting for the same "principles. Our flags hang together. The spirit of the people is "woven into their fabric. God forbid that these flags should go for-"ward in battle front, but if that is necessary, be well assured that "victory shall follow them. The law of England is the law of the "United States, and wherever there may be peace, whether it be *pax* "*Britannica* or *pax Americana* that follows our flags, it can never be peace "to be maintained unless wisdom and education accompany us. Never "did I speak to inspiration more moving than to-night from you men. "Some of you pledge your fealty to a different government, but we are "all fighting for the same principles."

Mr. Parker was cheered heartily at the conclusion of his remarks, and all the company rose and, while a toast was proposed, drank in his honour.

Mr. Hall, who was next presented, dwelt upon a recent visit which he had made to McGill University. He said that it was a pleasant thing to see so many educated men from college finding abiding places here in Boston. Educated men have got the influence to mould public opinion, and public opinion has got its influence in shaping public policy.

The subsequent speakers were Professor Girdwood, of McGill University, and Mr. Nelson, President of the New York Society.

The banquet board had been most effectively decorated for the occasion. The floral designs were made of American Beauty roses and carnations.

During the evening a flashlight picture was taken of the company.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of:—President, Mr. Childs; First Vice-President, Dr. Fagan; Second Vice-President, Ambrose Choquet, B.C.L., of Central Falls, R.I.; Third Vice-President, H. Holton Wood; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Joseph Williams, of Boston. The Councillors chosen were:—J. G. Pfersick, D.V.S., of Shelburne Falls, Mass.; Robert T. Glendenning, M.D., Manchester-by-the-Sea, Mass.; T. G. McGannon, M.D., Lowell, Mass.; Miles Martin, M.D., Boston, Mass.; W. W. Goodwin, M.D., East Boston, Mass.; Joseph C. Pothier, M.D., New Bedford, Mass.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA SOCIETY OF GRADUATES OF McGILL UNIVERSITY.

(From the Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser, February 15th, 1903.)

The annual meeting of the British Columbia Society of McGill Graduates was held in the Tunstall Block, Granville Street, yesterday afternoon. The British Columbia Society has a membership of over 100 McGill graduates, who are scattered all over the Province, from Cranbrook, in the Crow's Nest district, to Cache Creek, in the Cariboo, Chemainus, on Vancouver Island, and also in the nearby cities across the border. Of this membership some 20 were present, including Drs. S. J. Tunstall, A. Poole, W. J. McGuigan, D. H. Harrison, J. B. Hart, A. M. Robertson, W. A. Burnett, Newton E. Drier, and I. G. Campbell, of Vancouver; Drs. W. H. Sutherland, Kamloops; J. W. Woodley, Ladner; S. W. Boggs, New Westminster; Messrs. A. E. Hill, B.A. Sc., New Westminster; F. H. Jones, B.A.; F. S. Gordon, B.A.; A. D. Taylor, B.A., and R. W. Suter, B.A.Sc., Vancouver.

On the meeting being called to order, Dr. D. H. Harrison, one of the oldest graduates (1864) present, was voted to the chair. In assuming the seat, Dr. Harrison remarked that although probably the oldest McGill graduate in British Columbia, he felt to-day as much pride in his Alma Mater and its glorious old halls as the youngest of those present. McGill University was a credit to the citizens of Montreal,

as the many brilliant men who had graduated from it were to the College. These men were now occupying positons of honour and importance in almost every part of the world, where they aroused respect and praise for their Alma Mater. The high positon McGill now occupies among the universities of the world was referred to, and also its value to the Dominion of Canada.

Dr. McGuigan then read letters of regret for their inability to attend the meeting from the following members:—Dr. Holden, Victoria; Dr. Kenneth A. J. McKenzie, Surgeon for the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, Portland, Ore.; Miss Watson, M.A., and Miss Winifred McGill, B.A., Victoria; Dr. Kendall, Cloverdale; Mr. J. C. Shaw, B.A.; Mr. W. F. Robertson, B.A. Sc., Victoria; Dr. E. B. C. Hannington, Victoria; Dr. J. H. Hogle, Nanaimo, etc. A telegram was also read from Principal Peterson, of McGill University, conveying his best wishes to the Society.

The Secretary also read a statement of the membership and finances of the Society. The latter showed that the Society was in a stronger positon than last year, while the membership roll showed that its numerical strength exceeded 100, and included the following graduates:—M.A.'s, 2; B.A.'s, 20; M.D.'s, 61; B.A. Sc.'s, 18; B.C.L.'s, 3; D.V.S.'s, 2; Repeats, 6.

Scholarships.

In his financial report, Dr. McGuigan stated that it had been the custom of the Society to offer an annual scholarship of $50 to the best matriculant from British Columbia. In 1901, a Vancouver student had secured this, and last year it had gone to Victoria.

Dr. Tunstall intimated that the object of this prize was to assist those who intended going through with their university course. When it was first offered it was divided up in five prizes of $10 each for the best British Columbia undergraduates in the several faculties at Montreal; it was then given as a prize to the best British Columbia matriculant of McGill, and then for the best matriculant from Vancouver College. It was in this way that the scholarship had been started. The Society having more funds in hand this year, Mr. Gordon moved that the $50 scholarship be continued, and that a second prize of $25 be offered for the best student in the second year Arts' course in the Van-

couver or Victoria College. This motion was finally adopted, but not without considerable debate, as the Society was anxious that its prizes should be awarded in such a manner as to offer the most encouragement to students and to those intending to take the McGill course.

Officers Elected.

The election of officers for 1903-04 was then proceeded with, and resulted as follows:—

President, Dr. D. H. Harrison, Vancouver; Vice-Presidents, G. H. Manchester, M.D., New Westminster; J. M. McGregor, B.A., B.A.Sc., Slocan; A. R. Raymond, M.D., Seattle, Wash.; Miss R. Watson, M.A., Victoria; W. Hunter, B.A., B.C.L., Nanaimo; F. S. Gordon, B.A., Vancouver. The number of Vice-Presidents was increased from four to six, it being the desire of the Association to appoint a Vice-President in each of the chief centres of the Province. Treasurer, Dr. S. J. Tunstall, B.A.; Secretary, Dr. W. J. McGuigan; Executive Committee, Dr. Burnett, Vancouver; R. W. Suter, B.A.Sc., Vancouver; J. B. Hart, D.V.S., Vancouver; Dr. Boggs, New Westminster; A. D. Taylor, B.A., B.C.L., Vancouver; Dr. Holden, Victoria.

In accepting the Presidency for the ensuing year, Dr. Harrison spoke of the good such a Society could accomplish for the educational interests of its Province; of the good fellowship and free-masonry it created amongst university graduates, etc. He also expressed a hope that, in the near future, they might look forward to holding a McGill Day, when all McGill graduates would assemble and mark the day by some important act or effort in honour of their Alma Mater.

It was then moved by Mr. A. E. Hill, B.A.Sc., of New Westminster, seconded by Dr. Boggs, and carried, that the next annual meeting be held in Vancouver, as the most convenient point of assembling for the members. The meeting then adjourned.

Annual Banquet.

In the evening the Society held a banquet, in the Vancouver Club, Dr. Harrison, the newly-elected President, presiding. In the toasts that followed the dinner, many old McGill voices were raised in expressions of loyalty to, and extolling the many virtues of, their Alma

Mater. During the function telegrams of congratulation were also exchanged between the Society and Principal Peterson and Dr. T. G. Roddick, Dean of the Medical Faculty of McGill University.

McGILL UNIVERSITY ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO.

The following officers were elected at a recent meeting of the Association:—President, Dr. H. J. Burwash; First Vice-President, Mr. Chester B. Reed; Second Vice-President, Dr. John Ryan; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. T. A. Woodruff; Councillors, Mr. Kenneth Moodie, Dr. D. R. MacMartin, Dr. J. Brown Loring.

The Association is in a flourishing condition, having added several new members within the last few months.

IN MEMORIAM.

DR. RICHARD MAURICE BUCKE.

By the death, in June, 1902, of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, McGill lost one of her most distinguished graduates; and the medical profession in Canada, a doctor who had made himself an enviable reputation in the difficult field of medical treatment of the insane.

To a memorial notice, prepared by Dr. T. J. D. Burgess for the American Medico-Psychological Association, we are indebted for the facts contained in the following brief notice:—

Richard Maurice Bucke was born in Methwold, Norfolk, England, in 1837. On the side of his father, the Rev. Horatio Walpole Bucke, he was descended from Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford. In 1838 the family removed to Canada, and settled on a farm near London, Ontario. The country being at that time thinly settled and affording few advantages, the boy's early education was received wholly from his father, an able and well-read man. All such instruction, however, was cut off by the death of both parents before the boy had reached his sixteenth year. He then entered upon a career of adventure. Journeying to California on foot, and wandering over the then wild districts of the Western States, he came through many perils, some of which cost him dear. Once, after a desperate fight with savage Indians, he was left half-dead on the barren plains, and was one of the very few of his party who survived the tortures of hunger and thirst. Again, in the Sierra Nevadas, he was lost in the snow with one companion, and escaped only after losing both feet from frost.

It was after these adventures that he returned to Canada, to enter McGill as a medical student. Here, as always, his career was brilliant, and, after winning many honours, he graduated as first prizeman in

1862. He then proceeded to London and Paris for a term of graduate study.

After a few more years of wandering, Dr. Bucke settled in Ontario, and soon became identified with the school of physicians, whose special care was the treatment of the insane. As medical superintendent, first of the Hamilton, later of the London Asylum, he attained a widespread and well-deserved reputation; and some of his ideas largely revolutionized the whole system of the care of the insane in Canada. His method was always to search for possible physical causes for mental disease, and, wherever possible, to use the aid of systematic surgery. In his asylums, he practised the non-restraint system, now recognized almost universally as the one productive of the best results.

Dr. Bucke's abilities were recognized by his election in 1897 to the presidency of the Psychological section of the British Medical Association; and in 1898, to that of the American Medico-Psychological Association.

A fervent, enthusiastic spirit impelled Dr. Bucke to the energetic pursuits of various interests besides that of a specialist in medical science. He was something of a mystic, and delighted in the literature and philosophy of the idealistic school. It is not strange that so eager a spirit should be subject to a few vagaries. Dr. Bucke's most pronounced one was a championship of the Bacon-Shakespeare theory. More justifiable was his hero-worshipping attitude towards Walt Whitman, whom he knew personally, and many of whose eccentricities of dress and custom he adopted. His own chief literary work was a biography of Walt Whitman. He published also "Man's Moral Nature" (1879), "Cosmic Consciousness" (1901), and a long series of papers, representing many years of work, all dealing in one way and another with the subject of mental evolution.

In the various notices of Dr. Bucke which appeared after his death, special mention is always made of his striking originality, and the strong individual impression which he always produced. Partly was this due to his fine presence and unconventional garb, but more to the convincing power of his intense and energetic mind—a power which we are glad to think was once fostered and appreciated in the medical school of McGill.

GEORGE E. MACMILLAN.

The death occurred on the third of March of Mr. George E. Macmillan, a most promising undergraduate in the second year of the Faculty of Arts. Mr. Macmillan was a native of New Haven, P.E.I., and received his preparatory education at Prince of Wales' College, Charlottetown. At that institution he had already attained distinction; and in the University he was regarded as one of the best students of his year. As he was also an active member of the Literary and Historical Societies and of the Y.M.C.A., his loss was severely felt by his fellow-students.

J. L. KING.

Mr. J. L. King, a student of Medicine in his second year, died at the Royal Victoria Hospital, February 25th, after an illness of some months. The deceased was a native of Barbadoes, and came up to the University well-prepared. In his two years of study he showed himself a student of more than average ability. He excelled also in cricket, and he had in various ways won for himself the esteem of his fellow-students and instructors. The sad circumstances of his death, at so great a distance from home called forth much sympathy, and the Medical Faculty expressed their sorrow by attending his funeral in a body.

NOTICES OF GRADUATES.

[The Editors will be glad to furnish, on application, copies of circulars with questions to graduates, in order that notices may be prepared for this Department. Members of classes already represented may still be included.]

1889, Arts. FRANCIS WINTER READ. After completing his course at the Congregational Theological College, was ordained and prepared for missionary work. Married, 1892, Miss Annie Williams, B.A. Mr Read then went out to Benguella, West Africa, where he spent nine years in the mission field. The work was arduous and varied, including not only the ordinary duties of the evangelist, preacher, and teacher, but those of sawyer, builder, gardener, accountant, and many other occupations as well.

After a period of such toil, attended with marked success, Mr. Read returned to Canada with his family for his first furlough in 1902. It is with deep regret that we record the interruption of his work by his death, which occurred in Montreal, December, 1902.

1890, Arts. ANNIE WILLIAMS READ. After graduating with first-rank honours and medal in Philosophy, Miss Williams spent two years in teaching in Montreal schools. Married, 1892, Rev. Francis Winter Read. Mrs. Read then went to Africa with her husband, and spent nine years in missionary work. Some of Mrs. Read's African experiences have lately been reproduced for Montreal hearers in a lecture given by her at the Art Gallery, where an extensive and interesting collection of African curios, collected by Mr. and Mrs. Read,

was for some time on exhibition. Mrs. Read has, during a long absence, kept up a communication with the University through the Alumnæ Society and other channels, and is now, on her return to Canada, gladly welcomed by many friends.

ROBERT MACDOUGALL. After five years of varied occupations, which included those of church missionary, private tutor, graduate student at McGill, farmer and field-surveyor, Mr. MacDougall entered the Harvard Graduate School, where he studied for a year and obtained a Travelling Fellowship. When this had expired he was appointed Instructor in Philosophy in Western Reserve University and afterwards Associate Professor of Pedagogy in the same institution. In 1898 he took the position of Instructor in Philosophy in Harvard University, where for three years he gave lectures in psychology and logic. In addition to lecture work at Harvard University and Radcliffe College, Mr. MacDougall did much experimental work in psychology in the department laboratory at Harvard. In 1901, Mr. MacDougall was elected Professor of Experimental Psychology in the University of the City of New York.

Mr. MacDougall married, 1898, Miss Carita Atwill Chapman of Newton Centre, Mass.

Publications: Experimental and theoretical monographs in psychological, educational and medical periodicals, such as Psychological Review, Science, N.Y. Teachers' Monographs, Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, etc. Minor literary pieces, prose and verse, in Canadian and United States publications.

DANIEL JAMES FRASER. Divinity student in the Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1890-93; Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Wolfville, N.S., 1893-95; student in Harvard Divinity School, 1895-96, receiving the degree of B.D. in course. From 1897 till the present time minister of St. Stephen's Church, St. John, N.B. In 1900 received the degree of LL.D. from the University of New Brunswick on the occasion of its centennial celebration. Publications: "The Parousia," in The Presbyterian College Journal, Dec., 1897; "The Religious Message of Robert Burns," in the same, Feb., 1897; "The Religion of Rudyard Kipling," in the same, Nov., 1899; "The Potter's Wheel," in Theologue, Dec., 1898; "The Scottish Struggle for Religious Freedom," 1897, in pamphlet form; "The Ethics of Prohibition," in The International Journal of Ethics, April, 1899; "The Sacrament of Life,"

a booklet, 1900; "Jesus, and the Business of Daily Life," in the Presbyterian Record, June, 1901.

SILAS WINFRED MACK. After graduation, took the position of Principal of Dunham Academy, Dunham, P.Q., and taught there for two years. In 1892 went on account of ill-health to California, and there studied law for two years. Was admitted to practice in the Courts of the State in 1894. Has since that time been actively engaged as counsellor at law, with residence at Gonzales, Monterey County. Commissioned Notary Public since January, 1898.

Married, 1895, Miss Daisy Maud Winham, of Salinas City, California.

Applied Science. PERCY NORTON EVANS. 1890-91, Instructor in Chemistry, McGill University; 1891-93, Student in the University of Leipsic, receiving the Degree of Ph. D., 1893; 1894, Hon. Fellow in Chemistry, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.; 1894-95, Assistant in Chemistry, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.; 1895-96, Instructor in Chemistry, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana; 1896-1900, Associate Professor, and from 1900 Professor of Chemistry and Director of the chemical laboratories in the same University. Married, 1897, Miss Mary Emeline Bunce, of Middletown, Conn.

Publications: Thesis for Ph. D., in *Journal für Praktische Chemie.* Other papers in Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science. Also Quantitative Analysis (Ginn & Co., 1897).

1891, Medicine. WILLIAM HAROP HATTIE. 1891-92, Assistant physician in the Nova Scotia Hospital for the Insane. 1892-95, Assistant Superintendent in the same institution. 1895-98, in general practice. 1898, Medical Superintendent in the Nova Scotia Hospital. Beside carrying on the duties of the above-named positions, Dr. Hattie has been engaged for years as Lecturer and Professor in the Departments of Pathology and Bacteriology in the Halifax Medical College, and as examiner on the same subjects in Dalhousie University and on the Provincial Board for Nova Scotia. He is also examiner in Materia Medica for the Nova Scotia Pharmaceutical Association. For the past three years a member of the Provincial Board of Health. Married, 1897, Miss Eva Merkle Grant.

ROBERT E. WEBSTER. Practised medicine for two years at Lansdowne, Ontario. Went afterwards to New York, and, after a term of study, took a positon as Lecturer in Gynæcology in a Southern

Medical School. Returned to Canada and settled in Ottawa, taking up as special work gynæcology and abdominal surgery. Received the position of gynæcologist on the staff of the General Protestant Hospital. Married, 1899, Miss Irene Jones, of Brockville.

1892, Arts. ETHELWYN R. PITCHER. 1892-95, on the teaching staff of the Stanstead Wesleyan College, Stanstead, P.Q. 1895, Principal of the Halifax Ladies' College, Halifax, N.S.

WILLIAM SUTTLE PRITCHARD. Studied at the Congregational Theological College, and afterwards at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Received the degree of B.D. from the latter, 1896. Married, 1894, Miss Lucinda Caroline Scarf, of Harriston, Ontario. Has followed the calling of congregational minister ever since ordination. Present charge, First Congregational Church, Granby, Ontario.

DANIEL S. HAMILTON. After graduating in Arts, pursued his studies at the Congregational Theological College, completing the course in 1894. After ordination, held various charges, in Forrest, Ontario; Point St. Charles, Montreal; and finally that still occupied of the First Congregational Church, London, Ontario.

HENRY BLACHFORD. Engaged since graduation in the business of Fire Insurance. Represented Quebec in the World's Fair Conference in Chicago in 1892. Married, 1892, Miss Agnes Louise Williams. 1895, received the degree of LL.B. at the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Medicine. HARRY HOPPER McNALLY. 1892-95, in general country practice. 1896-97, surgeon on cable ship Mackay-Bennett. 1897-98, studying in London, England. 1898, in general practice, both medical and surgical, in Fredericton, N.B. Has published a few articles in journals.

ROBERT THOMPSON GLENDINNING. In general practice, first in Oxford, N.S., later in Gloucester, Mass., and at present in Manchester-by-the-Sea, Mass. Married, 1892, Miss Eliza Barker Harrison.

Applied Science. J. MURRAY McGREGOR. Engaged continuously since graduation in land surveying in various regions. Obtained commission as Provincial Land Surveyor in British Columbia. 1900-01, in charge of the School of Mines, Rossland, B.C.

1893, Arts. JAMES THOMAS BROWN. 1893-96, studied law in Winnipeg. Became a member of the Manitoba Bar and also that of the North-West Territory. Practising in Moosomin, N.W.T.

Applied Science. JOHN BELL McRAE. Engaged successively in various branches of engineering. Draughtsman for the Canada Atlantic Railway Company. In charge of the diamond drill of the Ontario Graphite Company, and later superintendent of the Black Donald Mine.

1895, Arts. WILLIAM ALFRED GUSTIN. 1895-97, Divinity Student at the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville. Ordained Deacon 1897 and Priest 1898. Also in 1898 received the degree of M.A. (McGill) in course. Was appointed curate in the parish of Ireland, diocese of Quebec. In 1899 took the curacy of St. Thomas's Church, Belleville, Ontario, and in 1900 that of St. Matthias's Church, Toronto.

Medicine. JOHN H. GLEASON. Practising medicine, with intervals of graduate work, in Manchester, N.H. Has studied in New York, Baltimore and Boston. Appointed, in 1896, to the out-patient departments of the Sacred Heart and Elliot Hospitals. In 1898 to the indoor service of the Elliot. Married, 1899, Miss Ethel Eastman Simmons. Is a member of the Manchester Medical Association, the New Hampshire Medical Society, the American and the British Medical Associations.

Applied Science. ALEXANDER RODGER GREIG. Engaged in the mechanical department of the Canada Atlantic Railway, working as chief draughtsman. Married, 1897, Miss Jessie Shaw.

Law. ALBERT SWINDLEHURST. 1895-1900, engaged in law practice. 1900-01, Accountant for Quebec Government, in revising and correcting common school fund accounts, in dispute between Quebec and Ontario. Married, 1894, Miss Nellie Delphine Henley. 1901-02, studying Comparative Law in Washington.

Publications: "Status of Canadian Queen's Counsel," in Law Quarterly Review; "The Criminal Code of China," in The Green Bag; "Le Code Noir," in The Green Bag; "Legal Education and Law Practice," in The American Law Review; also, Annotation of Bills of Exchange Act for Lovell's Legal Compendium.

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