

QUEEN'S  
QUARTERLY.

---

VOL. VI.

---

JULY, 1898-APRIL, 1899.

---

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY  
THE NEWS PUBLISHING HOUSE,  
KINGSTON, CANADA.

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI.

JULY, 1898.

TRUSTS, COMBINES AND MONOPOLIES. E. R. PEACOCK .....	1
NIETZSCHE'S "GENEALOGY OF MORALS." JOHN WATSON.....	35
THE COLLEGE.....	57
SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE. JOHN MACNAUGHTON .....	70
"THE UNNAMED LAKE" BY FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT. S. W. DYDE.....	78
CURRENT EVENTS.....	81

OCTOBER, 1898.

EVOLUTION IN RELATION TO CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. G. J. LOW.....	85
SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE. JOHN MACNAUGHTON.....	98
SOME FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR THE POSTMASTER- GENERAL. ANDREW T. DRUMMOND .....	110
BINOCULAR VISION. N. F. DUPUIS.....	119
ART, MORALITY AND RELIGION. JOHN WATSON.....	132
THE THOUSAND ISLANDS. HELOISE DUPUIS TAYLOR.....	153
CURRENT EVENTS.....	155

JANUARY, 1899.

THE POWER AND TRAINING OF THE PULPIT. M. M. ....	161
GOVERNMENT BY ESTATES. JAMES KEILLOR.....	173
HOW PLANTS USE ANIMALS. JAMES FOWLER.....	188
THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN CANADA. W. BENNETT MUNRO.....	203
THE ELECTORAL ASSEMBLIES OF ROME. A. B. NICHOLSON.....	218
THE TEACHING OF ANCIENT HISTORY. W. L. GRANT. ....	230
THE ALUMNI CONFERENCE.....	236
CURRENT EVENTS.....	237

APRIL, 1899

JULIAN. T. R. GLOVER .....	245
THE CLASSICAL TEACHER OF THE PRESENT. HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.....	270
IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE. WILLIAM SMITH.....	284
AN EXPLORATION OF THE CORUNDUM LANDS OF ONTARIO. R. T. HODGSON.....	293
THE EVOLUTION OF IMBECILITY. C. K. CLARKE.....	297
THE ALUMNI CONFERENCE.....	314
CURRENT EVENTS.....	317

VOL. VI.

NATIONAL LIBRARY  
CANADA  
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

No. 1.

601/A/149/1-15

# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

JULY, 1898.

I. TRUSTS, COMBINES AND MONOPOLIES. By E. R. PEACOCK.....	1
II. NIETZSCHE'S "GENEALOGY OF MORALS". By JOHN WATSON.....	35
III. THE COLLEGE.....	57
IV. SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE. By JOHN MACNAUGHTON .....	70
V. "THE UNNAMED LAKE" BY FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT. By S. W. DYDE.....	78
VI. CURRENT EVENTS.....	81

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY  
THE KINGSTON NEWS  
KINGSTON, CANADA.

SINGLE COPIES, 30c.

PER ANNUM \$1.00

## OUR BOOK LIST.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL, (New Edition). By W. Robertson Smith	\$1.75
THE RITSCHLIAN THEOLOGY. By Dr. Orr.....	90
THE EUCHOLOGION—A Book of Common Order.....	1.25
THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. By Principal Grant.....	60
THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY. By Gwatkin.....	90
THE MINOR PROPHETS, (Vols. I & II) By Geo. Adan Smith, each	1.25
DEEDS THAT WON THE EMPIRE. By W. H. Filchett.....	1.25
LIFE OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. By James Bryce.....	1.00

ORDERS BY MAIL SOLICITED.

R. UGLOW & CO., Booksellers, - - - Kingston, Ontario.  
(Successors to JOHN HENDERSON & Co.)

# Queen's University and College

INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER IN 1841.

THE ARTS COURSE of this University, leading to the degrees of B.A. and M.A., D.Sc., and Ph.D., embraces Classical Literature, Modern and Oriental Languages, English, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Science Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Assaying and Metallurgy.

Medals are awarded on the Honour Examinations in Latin, Greek, Moderns, English, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Science, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Astronomy, Biology.

THE PRACTICAL SCIENCE COURSE leads to the degree of B.Sc. in Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Chemistry and Mineralogy, Mineralogy and Geology.

THE LAW COURSE leads to the degree of LL.B.

THE THEOLOGICAL COURSE leads to the degree of B.D.

THE MEDICAL COURSE leads to the degree of M.D. and C.M.

Calendars and Examination Papers may be had from the Registrar.

GEO. Y. CHOWN, B.A., Kingston, Ont.

## History of the First Century Of the Christian Era.

Presented in the form of a Chart, 2 feet by 3 feet, printed in colors on heavy card, with brass mountings and hanger, and bringing before your eye the most remarkable events in the life of Jesus and the chief facts of history, sacred and secular, during the first century. **PRICE ONE DOLLAR.**

**A GREAT OFFER** Anyone in Canada sending \$2 will receive the Chart by mail or express, charges prepaid, and will also receive THE WESTMINSTER for one full year. The present subscribers to THE WESTMINSTER taking advantage of this offer will have their paid-up date advanced one year. The Chart may be sent to one address and THE WESTMINSTER to another. This is a limited offer. Order at once. Cash for one year's subscription must in all cases accompany the order.

**THE WESTMINSTER**

An Ideal Paper for the Home.

Address **THE WESTMINSTER CO. Limited**

Be sure to mention this Offer.

**Confederation Life Building, TORONTO.**

# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

VOL. VI.

JULY, 1898.

No. 1

All articles intending for publication, books for review, exchanges,—and all correspondence relating thereto—should be addressed to the editors, Box A, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

## TRUSTS, COMBINES AND MONOPOLIES.

THE subject of discussion this evening\* has attracted much attention in recent years; it has been the theme of eloquent denunciation from the pulpit; it has been taken up by the press of all shades of political and religious opinion and made a popular question, and has formed an important issue in a great political campaign. Such a subject must have something in it worthy of consideration and will well repay the time spent in seeking to arrive at a knowledge of its nature and requirements.

When economic problems become matters of popular discussion and questions of political policy, the calm judicial attitude usually gives place to the more heated and impressive but less rational methods of the political arena. The denunciatory is the favorite form of expression. Prejudice takes the place of research, sentiment and passion unseat judgment, and points are made by a process of reasoning which scorns the trammels of ordinary logic. Such have been the methods pursued by most of those writing or speaking on "Trusts and Combines" for popular instruction, and their utterances have been in the main decidedly hostile. As an illustration, the words of a populist member of Congress will serve as well as any. After quoting from *Revelation* John's description of the vision in which the great red dragon appeared, he deals with "trusts" as follows:—

\*This paper was read at the Conference of Theological Alumni of Queen's University.

"A greater, a more terrible, a more powerful dragon than John saw is now walking up and down the earth. His home is in America. He has drawn a part of the Senators and Congressmen after him, and they are being dragged through the mire and slums and filth of hell. This old dragon is named "Trust," or "Monopoly." He has many heads, and on each head is a crown of gold. He has the country in his terrible clutches, and his hideous body, huge and ponderous, but hungry, lean and cadaverous, stretches across the continent, while his hydra heads reach out in all directions, feeding on and consuming everything within his reach. He has stretched out one of his massive paws, and now the United States Senate writhes in his grasp. His greedy, glittering eyes are fixed upon great heaps of gold, and he licks out his many tongues and smacks his lips, and knowingly wags his various heads when it is proposed to enact any laws inimical to his interest. One head is the Coal Oil Trust, another the Whiskey Trust, another the Lead Trust, and greatest and mightiest of all is the Sugar Trust.

The Tariff Bill, which passed the House, did not meet the approval of the old red dragon, but he fixed his eyes knowingly on the Senate and licked his chops in a kind of fiendish glee as the American people declared that the old stuffed fraud, the thief, the robber, the Sugar Trust was downed."

Appeals of this kind, addressed to a people conscious of hard times and bankruptcy, but ignorant as to the real causes thereof, cannot fail to stir up hatred, all the more intense because it is irrational. "Trusts" may be bad, and dangerous, but even if so, their condemnation should rest on something firmer than a mere appeal to passion. The people should not be left for instruction in matters of this kind to the shallow agitator or stump politician. It is the duty of those to whom men naturally look for instruction to study these problems and give the results of their calmer judgment and more careful research to the people, in place of such extreme and irritating statements as that quoted.

As one might expect, exact definition or careful discrimination has not characterized the more popular discussion of this subject. The words Trust, Combine, Monopoly, Ring, Pool, Syndicate, Corner, have been used, almost as if synonymous, with the result that the "Trust" has been forced to bear the iniquities of all sorts of illegitimate speculation and gambling, with which it had nothing whatever to do. Many so-called

trusts are not trusts at all, but something else. We must, therefore, at the outset, come to an understanding as to what we mean by each of the three words which form our subject.

To possess a monopoly in anything of economic value is to have such control over its available sources of supply as to be able, materially, to affect its market value. The Combine is a particular form of monopoly, and the "Trust" is a special form of "Combine." A quotation from J. S. Jeans' book on *Trusts, Pools and Corners* will make sufficiently clear for the present the difference between a Combine and a Trust. He says :

"The original idea of a Syndicate" (or Combine) "appears to have been that producers should come to an understanding among themselves as to how much each should produce, and what common price should be charged to the public. Each producer, however, was left with absolute control over his own business in other respects. On the face of it this would appear to be the most natural and satisfactory arrangement for all parties. And so indeed it would have been if all alike had been equally loyal and trustworthy. But it was found difficult to keep all the parties to such a compact true to the spirit as well as the letter of the bond. The combination suffered in not a few cases from the bad faith of its individual members, some of whom either undersold the combination rate or produced quantities in excess of that provided for by regulation. It was for the purpose of avoiding such possible acts of bad faith on the part of the individual members of a combination that the American institution known as a trust was established. The fundamental idea of a trust is that the affairs of all its individual members shall be absolutely controlled *by* the organization and *for* the organization. In order to do this, of course, it is necessary that the trust shall do more than merely control production and price, although that may be, and generally is, the sole *raison d'être* of the combination. The trust must be virtual, if not the absolute, owner of all the properties or concerns that are parties to the compact."

In accomplishing this the principle followed is the one with which we are more familiar in the management of the estates of infants and insolvents. But as the law declares all contracts in restraint of competition to be against public policy and illegal, various subterfuges have to be tried in order to avoid this danger, and externally, therefore, trusts take many forms.

Much of the current discussion on the subject would lead

one to imagine that monopolies in trade are an entirely new growth, whose seeds were sown within the last decade. A glance at history, however, reveals the fact that trade monopolies are hoary with antiquity. Even in the earliest scripture records we are told of a tremendous corner in wheat, whereby one Joseph, of the Egyptian Stock Exchange, won fame for himself and brought great gain to his firm, the head of which belonged to the old Pharaoh family, a family afterward famed for its sharp practices and meeting with severe censure from the Hebrew scribes as a "bloated monopolist and oppressor of labour." In fact, there is a quite modern ring in the account of how Pharaoh underpaid and overworked his people, and how he forced them to "scamp" their work by refusing to supply proper materials. No doubt, too, were the narrative continued into such matters, we should find that he monopolized the brick-making business, keeping the price up and the quality down, to the great detriment of the public and the rapid enrichment of his coffers. And could we interview the organizing secretary of the "Egyptian Knights of the Trowel," we should certainly hear sad tales of the evils of non-union labour and denunciation of the "scab" workmen from the land of Goshen.

Coming down to later history, we find that the granting of monopolies was one of the most valuable perquisites of the English crown, and we hear of strong protests from the English Parliament against the monopolies in restraint of trade under Elizabeth and Charles I. "Nothing more remarkable," says Hallam,\* referring to the Parliaments of 1597 and 1601, "occurs in the former of these sessions than an address to the Queen against the enormous abuse of monopolies. The crown either possessed or assumed the prerogative of regulating almost all matters of commerce at its discretion. Patents to deal exclusively in particular articles, generally of foreign growth, but reaching in some instances to such important necessaries of life as salt, leather and coal had been lavishly granted to the courtiers with little direct advantage to the revenue. *They* sold them to companies of merchants, who, of course, enhanced the price to the utmost ability of the purchaser."

\**Constitutional History*, chap. v.



Green, in speaking of Charles I., says\* : " Monopolies abandoned by Elizabeth and extinguished by act of parliament under James were again set on foot, and on a scale far more gigantic than had been seen before ; the companies who undertook them paying a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolies and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the crown." And an extract from a speech on the subject, delivered in the Long Parliament by Colepepper, reads like an editorial against departmental stores by the versatile editor of *Saturday Night*. " They sup in our cup," he cries indignantly, " they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire ; we find them in the dye-vat, the wash-bowls and the powdering-tub. They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot." Monopolies in trade then existed long before our time, and seem to have caused much outcry and considerable oppression in those early days. Many of them, too, far from coming as the result of certain movements in industry, arose by arbitrary enactment on the part of the crown. Yet, it was their perversion that caused the trouble, for they had their origin in the necessity that trade should be regulated as to purity of goods, honest measurement and weight, etc. But they opened up so tempting a field for revenue and patronage that their abuse was inevitable. And how were these evils remedied ? By removing restrictions, by giving greater freedom in trade, and refusing special privileges to certain classes. Combinations and monopolies have changed greatly in form with the changes in industrial conditions, but some of the principles underlying the old monopolies are still applicable, and there are still men who have not learned the lesson, that restrictions put upon industry or commerce foster privileged classes and monopoly prices.

The monopolies of which we have just been speaking were not as a rule natural growths, arising out of the conditions of industry : they were established by arbitrary enactment and could usually be removed in the same way. The

\**Short History of the English People.*

industry of the times did not call for large capital. It was the day of the small artificer and his apprentices, of the workshop and the hand-loom. The workshops were scattered over the country and disposed of much of their output in the immediate vicinity. The country carding mill and the rag carpet loom are isolated examples to-day of industrial conditions which were the rule two hundred years ago. When capital was in so dispersed a state great combinations of capitalists to prevent competition and raise prices were impossible. Within a little more than a century, however, all this has changed. The movement began about 1760 with the invention in rapid succession of a number of machines which revolutionized the cotton and woollen trade. Watt soon afterwards made useful for practical purposes the steam-engine, and a little later began that improvement in the means of inter-communication and transport which in its advances has quite kept pace with the increase in manufacturing power. To take advantage of such possibilities, however, consolidation became absolutely necessary, and the history of industry from that day to this is the history of successive steps in concentration among both capitalists and labourers. The process of change and its results are clearly outlined by Baker in his *Monopolies and the People*, as follows:—

“In order to realize the greatest benefit from these devices it has become necessary to concentrate our manufacturing operations in enormous factories; to collect under one roof a thousand workmen, increase their efficiency tenfold by the use of modern machinery, and distribute the products of their labour to the markets of the civilized world. The agency which has acted to bring about this result is competition. The large workshops were able to make goods so much cheaper than the small workshops that the latter disappeared. Then, one by one, the larger workshops were built up into factories, or were shut up because the factories could make goods at less cost. So the growth has gone on, and each advance in carrying on production on a larger scale has resulted in lessening the cost of the finished goods. Competition, too, which at first was merely an unseen force among the scattered workshops, is now a fierce rivalry; each great firm strives for the lion's share of the market. Under these conditions it is quite natural that attempts should be made to check the reduction of profits by some form of agreement to limit competition.

Many attempts have been tried, which attempted to effect this by mere agreements and contracts, methods which left each property to the control of its special owners, but none have been permanently successful. By the trust plan of combination the properties are practically consolidated, and the failure of the combination through withdrawal of its members is avoided. It offers to manufacturers, overcrowded by competition, a means of swelling their profits and insuring against loss; and encouraged by the phenomenal success of the standard oil combination, they have not been slow to accept it."

If we study the course of history during the last hundred years, we shall find that in all departments of human activity the tendency has been steadily and irresistibly towards consolidation. We have noticed its effects in industrial life, and in other quarters we find the same thing going on; as the interests at stake become greater and the machinery of management more complex the guiding powers draw more closely together and concerted action takes the place of individual effort. The despised money lenders have been to a large extent replaced by the great banking institution, with branches in various parts of the country; the young people's societies in connection with our churches have united in a Christian Endeavour Society embracing the whole continent; the liquor traffic is now fought by the *Dominion* Alliance and the W.C.T.U. The modern workman may live in a co-operative society's house, have his children cared for during the day at a great institution solely devoted to the care of children, earn his wages from a trust, eat his meals at one of the many lunch-rooms of the W.C.T.U., spend his evenings at the workingmen's club, and worship on Sundays in a United Presbyterian Church. Time was, in the educational system in this province, when there were hundreds of schools managed locally and each determining for itself the text-books to be used, the methods of teaching, etc. Now all that has been changed; these powers have been centralized in one great department of the government, which prescribes almost everything. In the industrial world the tendency towards combination is so constant and steady that certain students of the subject have actually formulated the laws of its development as follows: "In any given industry the tendency towards monopoly increases—

1. As the waste due to competition increases;

2. As the number of competing units decreases;
3. As the amount of capital required for each competing unit increases;
4. As the number of available natural agents decreases."

And the conclusion they arrive at is that "monopolies of every sort are an inevitable result from certain conditions of modern civilization."

As civilization has advanced life has become more complex. The requirements for the carrying on of a successful manufacturing business have increased incalculably in number and difficulty. We have no longer the little mill, run by a mountain stream, employing a dozen hands and selling its products within a radius of twenty miles. Nowadays there must be a plant costing hundreds of thousands, experts at the head of each department, hundreds or thousands of workmen. The market is now the whole world, and through the various agencies which the time provides we must keep well posted on the condition and wants of even the most distant markets. Buyers and travellers are sent in all directions, we must advertise extensively, and skillfully anticipate the ever-varying caprices of a perhaps distant public. Above all we must exercise the most rigid economy in every department and "let nothing be lost." Only the other day I was talking of the recent failure of a manufacturer to an expert in the business, and he attributed the failure to the fact that the firm had made no line of goods to use up the waste from the higher grades. "Such a policy," he said, "is suicidal as manufacturing is now carried on and shows that the men at the head of the concern did not know their business." Of course, the great company or combine is much better able to accomplish all this than the individual manufacturer as a rule, so the tendency is to unite. First comes the partnership, then the chartered company, and then the combine, including many companies. But there are other companies in the same business with expensive plants and many employees, and they have much capital invested on which they desire a dividend. So there is a fierce fight for the market, in which all suffer severely through over-production and the cutting of rates. This cannot go on forever, so presently some one proposes a truce, and following the example of the church when in doubt, calls a conference. "See here," he says, when the leaders

of the trade have assembled, " what is the sense of our cutting one another's throats as we have been ? My company can probably stand it as long as any of you, but we want to make something on our invested capital, and so do you. Giving the public cheap goods is all very well, but we are part of the public and must live like the rest. Furthermore, this cut-rate work is destroying the good name of the trade, for there is more adulteration and general shady work than would have been dreamed of a few years ago. Now, why should not we all combine and agree to produce only so much of honest goods among us as will keep the price at a profitable figure, instead of wildly over-producing in order to 'grab' sales, regardless of the price." The idea strikes the assembled manufacturers as good, a committee is named to devise ways and means ; it recommends that a ring or combine be formed, the members binding themselves to produce only up to a certain pre-determined quantity, and agreeing to pay in, for distribution to the losers, so much per ton or yard, or whatever it may be, on all goods which they manufacture over the proportion allotted to them. A central committee, composed of some of the leading men in the business, is formed to direct matters, decide as to how far the output is to be curtailed, the scale of prices, the relative share of each member of the combine, etc. Sometimes all the profits are put into a common pool and distributed to the members according to capital invested, but often each company looks after the profits for itself. Soon, owing to the reduced production the price rises, and is put up by the committee as far as they think safe under existing circumstances. If old competitors refuse to come in, or new ones spring up, they are bought off or killed by rate cutting, unless unimportant, when they reap the benefits without undergoing the dangers, and are not molested. In this way, if the combine is successful, a large profit is secured, but the members have to make haste to get all they can, for they well know that some one's cupidity will soon lead to a break. And this very haste is often the undoing of the combine. If the leaders are wise, they will seek to pass as rapidly as possible into the more permanent form of a regular trust. Having done so prudence advises them to reduce prices to a reasonable level, and seek to make most of their gains through the many economies arising from combined

action. In the majority of cases, however, in their haste to be rich, some of the members of the combine begin secretly favouring certain buyers by reduced rates; the results are soon apparent, remonstrance fails, others follow suit, and there ensues a regular scramble to get out products and secure some of the trade. The old cut-rate methods return, and with them soon come over-production, low prices, closed mills, idle hands and, for many, bankruptcy. One or two lessons of this kind teach the leaders of the trade that a more perfect form of organization is needed, whereby more control over the individual firms shall be obtained, and the trust is the result. Owing, however, to the irrational anti-trust laws of to-day all kinds of concealment and subterfuge have to be resorted to, and hereby creep in many of the abuses commonly ascribed to trusts as such.

Monopolies may be conveniently divided into two classes: Natural monopolies and artificial monopolies. No sharp line of distinction can be drawn between them, for most monopolies partake somewhat of the nature of both, but usually the characteristics of one or the other are so prominent as to render classification comparatively easy. Natural monopolies are such as from their character preclude the competition of a serious rival. The obstacle may be the lack of any other available source of supply as in the case of certain famous medicinal waters; or the possession of some secret process of manufacture, as is the case with the thin, opaque paper which has made the Oxford bibles so famous and nets the University press an enormous revenue each year. The secret of this paper is known to only three men in the world, and they are all connected with the Oxford press, which has, therefore, an absolute monopoly of the best paper for bibles, and consequently of the best bibles. Again, what is practically a monopoly may arise owing to the vast capital required for carrying on the business, and the character of the business itself. Examples are furnished by railways, municipal gas works, water works, electric lighting plants, street railways, etc. Artificial monopolies are those which have been obtained by the combination of competing capitalists in any line of business for the purpose of getting control of the output to kill competition and increase profits. Rings, corners, combines and trusts are of this nature.

We have seen how the rapid growth in the interests at stake and the necessity for keeping employed the capital invested have increased the severity of competition until some form of relief became absolutely necessary, and how combination seems the best form for obtaining relief. But it is a well known fact that those who exploit new fields of activity are usually the more restless and lawless characters. Such was unquestionably the case in Australia, and it has to a great extent been true of the western parts of Canada and the United States also. Furthermore, in new and unsettled regions, respect for law is feeble, and crime and outrage are common. But everyone knows that all this is only temporary; that in a short time the ever westward march of civilization and law will trample under foot the wilder spirits, or drive them further west, to prepare the way in new lands where their reckless daring will prove valuable in overcoming the dangers of a wild country. Meanwhile their recent stamping grounds are dotted with smiling homesteads and prosperous cities. Might we not, reasoning from analogy, fairly look for a similar course of events in the industrial world. With regard to the question under discussion such seems to me to be the case. In the earlier and more experimental stages of combination great risks are taken, and therefore the more reckless are the ones who go in. Under such circumstances we may look for much that is questionable and unscrupulous for a time, until the possibilities of combination and monopoly in legitimate trade become better recognized by the solid men. And has not this been the case? An "old Hutch" cleverly corners the wheat market and gets out safely with a gain of a million dollars; many stock-brokers are ruined, trade generally is unfavourably affected, and confidence on the stock market is not restored for a long time, but what of that? "Old Hutch" has cleared a million, and why should not others? Immediately all the speculators are plotting to make millions too by securing a temporary monopoly of the sources of supply of some commodity. The plots are more or less nefarious, many of them fail utterly, and but few attain signal success, but they make an opening for the more legitimate businesses. The benefits of monopoly are not long left in the hands of the plunger. Soon the leaders in various lines of business, hard pressed by close competition, take advantage of the

same principle by entering into agreement to act concertedly in production and sale. The pool or the combine is the usual form which their union takes at first. The wire-nail industry furnishes us with a good illustration of the usual course pursued. The wire-nail industry in America is of comparatively recent growth, and for the first twenty years of its existence the manufacturers did not seek to combine, for they enjoyed the large profits attendant upon a new and rapidly growing trade; they were few in number, and each had more than he could do. But as the number of competitors increased the output was forced far beyond the demand, and prices fell to a ruinous point. Then Mr. Parks, a great Chicago manufacturer, who had been the central figure in the "tack combine," proposed that all the more important manufacturers should form a pool. His suggestion was acted upon, and the result was "The Wire-Nail Association of 1895-96." Prices and the output were always fixed for a month in advance. The aggregate product agreed upon was apportioned to the various companies on a basis depending partly on sales for three months before the pool was formed, partly on production in one of these three months, and partly on capital as indicated by the number of machines. A cost price was assumed, which was supposed to represent the cost of production at Pittsburg, from which most of the raw material for this trade comes; and the cost at every other point was assumed to be equivalent to the Pittsburg cost with freight from Pittsburg added. So the selling price from different points, including delivery at the buyer's railway station, and the assumed cost price were harmonized by the use of the Pittsburg base. All the profits above the cost prices so arrived at were paid into the pool; and the amount in the pool, after paying all expenses, was divided monthly. The basis of division of profits was the same as the basis for the allotment of production. The pool lasted for eighteen months, and at first was quite successful. By buying off competitors and inducing the manufacturers of nail machines to sell only to members of the pool, it was able for a time to keep the price well up and to make good profits, which, however, were materially reduced in warding off competition. But there were always a few competitors and the number rapidly increased, while the rise in price had the effect of reducing the



demand from 500,000 kegs per annum to 125,000 kegs. When this point was reached the attempt at pooling was abandoned and the usual scramble ensued. Yet, despite the seeming failure, the leaders claimed to have done well and to have accomplished all that they had hoped for, and they soon began to take steps toward the formation of a more perfect combine, as the only salvation of the trade.

The pooling of railway rates is another example of this form of combination, and where roads have been paralleled for the purpose of railway competition it seems the only way of avoiding periodic bankruptcy and receiverships. The anthracite coal combinations and the New York Milk Dealers' association are other examples of trade combinations in which only a partial control is given to the central committee, and there are no means of enforcing obedience when members prove troublesome. They are always in danger, therefore, from the disloyalty of their own members, as well as from anti-combine legislation; and this precarious existence tends to produce a certain recklessness regarding the future and an undue eagerness to get the most out of the present. They are likely, therefore, to abuse the power which they have obtained and use it for the destruction of rivals, the coercing of those who supply them with raw materials and machinery, and the obtaining of abnormally large profits during such period of sunshine as providence may grant them. These abuses, however, arise largely from the temporary nature of the combine, and under a more thoroughly consolidated system, where authority was centralized in a few men working as a board of trustees, and able through this close combination to take full advantage of the great economies arising from union, many of the evils might disappear.

The defect from the promoter's point of view of the ordinary combine, then, is that there is not sufficient central authority, that the individual members have too much power in their own hands, and as a result are apt to break the combine by yielding to the desire for rapid gains. After many more or less successful experiments, however, a form of combine has been evolved which overcomes this difficulty, and can therefore promise a considerable degree of surety and permanence to those entering it. This is the modern Trust, the most stable and satisfactory form

of artificial monopoly; (for the trust, as we understand it here, implies more or less of monopoly power. "A trust," says Cook, "is either a monopoly or an attempt to establish a monopoly.") The usual method of procedure in forming a trust is simple. Suppose, for instance, that the sugar business is suffering from over-competition and the managers of the different refineries agree to form a trust. Most of them are already incorporated stock companies; those which are not seek to obtain charters as soon as possible. Then trustees are appointed, and in exchange for all, or at least a controlling interest in the stock of the various businesses, they issue trust-certificates. The trustees thus have all the concerns under their control, so no member can cut rates, over-produce, or in any other way interfere with the plans of the trustees. Some of the poorer refineries are immediately closed down, the rest are equipped with the latest appliances, and every department is watched by experts with close attention. All the subsidiary trades are taken hold of by the trust, which makes its own barrels, boxes, paper, etc, thereby saving large amounts. All transactions in different branches of the business are reported minutely to the head office, where the main part of the book-keeping is done. The trustees arrange sales, the quantity to be produced each year, and all such matters, and in this way the many competing factories become merely parts of one great organism.

The number of trusts has increased so rapidly in the last few years that many examples could be given, but the oldest and best known is, of course, the Standard Oil trust, which dates back to 1882. It controls the coal oil trade of the United States, and is the chief factor in the world's trade. It has been for years denounced as having secured its monopoly through the most unscrupulous bribery of railways to secure preferential rates, and having ever since consistently and heartlessly used its power to ruin all competitors. The trust has recently, owing to the pressure of anti-trust laws, ostensibly ceased to exist, but it really carries on business as before, though under some new form. It was formed by various individuals transferring to the trustees shares of stock and receiving trust certificates in payment therefor. The real capital of the trust is estimated at about \$150,000,000, and the profits are very large. Thirty million

dollars worth of the Trust property consists of pipe lines for the transfer of oil to the great cities and the seaboard. Some 25,000 men are employed, and it refines 75 per cent. of the oil refined in the United States. One large rival pipe line company gave it considerable trouble for a time, but has, I believe, been bought up.

The story of the birth and growth of this great combination is too well known to require more than the barest treatment. About thirty years ago John D. Rockefeller was a clerk in a produce commission house in Cleveland. When the discovery of petroleum fields in Pennsylvania led to much speculation, Rockefeller and a young friend invested all their savings and what capital they could raise in buying some of the oil-bearing land and tried their hands at refining crude petroleum. Andrews, a former labourer, who had discovered an improved method for refining, joined them, and his secret, with good management, brought success. Soon, Rockefeller's brother joined them, and they had two refineries under one management. Then Mr. Flagler, a great capitalist, was induced to take an interest in the business, and the Standard Oil company was formed with a capital of one million dollars. Under Rockefeller's clever management it soon began to make its influence felt by forcing its rivals to either join it or go out of business. In this process it adopted various methods; several were bought up, and then as it grew stronger many were coerced. A favourite method of crushing obstinate competitors at this early stage seems to have been the obtaining of heavy discriminating rates on the railways leading from the oil district. This the members of the trust have sought to deny, but it seems certain that the railways lent themselves in the earlier years, to aiding Rockefeller's designs, with deadly effect on his competitors. This was only for a short time, however, at the first. Rockefeller proved to be a genius in organizing the various forces into a great combine, and also in anticipating the wants of the market, and therein lies the main secret of his marked success. He has provided the means for supplying the public at less cost with a vastly superior article, and his reward has been great. Presently he saw the need for cheaper methods of transportation and took hold of the pipe-line system, which proved a boon to all owners of wells, enabling

them to get their petroleum cheaply and without trouble, to the market. S. C. T. Dodd says of this system :

“ Although the business was built up and owned by those who built up and own the Standard Oil Company, the business is done for the public. Its benefit to the oil trade has been incalculable. Instead of, as is sometimes charged, the “ Standard ” being the sole buyer, the buyers are numbered by thousands. The producer not only gets the highest possible price which competition to purchase will bring ; he gets also cash in hand. He never sees his oil from the moment it leaves his well. When he wants his well tank relieved, he telephones a pipe line guager, sees his oil pumped, receives a ticket showing the amount, takes it to a pipe line office and gets a certificate which he can hold, borrow on or sell in any exchange, as he sees fit. No one can estimate this advantage to the business. Without combination, aggregated capital and public confidence in the security, it could not have been accomplished. Should you dissolve the combination and disperse the capital which makes these certificates secure, the system could no longer be maintained.”

The Standard Company, which has been so successful that in 1882 its managers were able to consolidate most of the refining interests in the trust, set vigorously about proving that it performed a necessary function for society, by improving the quality and reducing the price of coal oil. As to the results of its work, so fair and careful a writer as David Wells, says in his *Recent Economic Changes* : “ The price of crude oil during this period, (1873-1887) declined from 9'42 cents to 1'59 cents per gallon, and of refined oil from 23'59 cents to 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per gallon. The decline in the price of crude oil was unquestionably due to its enormous supply, which at one time amounted to nearly 100,000 barrels per day, while the stock of crude oil rose from 3,500,000 barrels in 1876 to the stupendous figures of 41,000,000 barrels in 1884. Had refined oil declined only at the same rate, its minimum price would have been 15'75 cents per gallon. But the fall in refined oil has been 9'01 cents per gallon greater than the fall in crude oil ; and as over 1,000,000,000 gallons were consumed in 1887, this saving of 9'01 cents per gallon to the public amounted to nearly \$100,000,000 for that same year. Here then, some agency, other than increased supply and diminished cost of the crude oil, has unquestionably come in and operated to

reduce the price of a manufactured product in a given period disproportionably to that experienced by the raw material from which it was derived. What was that agency? Did any concurrent change in the relative values of precious metals used as money, contribute in any degree toward effecting such a result? It is claimed, and without doubt, correctly, to be largely due to the fact that the whole business of refining petroleum in the United States and the distribution of its resulting products has gradually passed since 1873 into the ownership and control of a combination or 'trust'—the Standard Oil Company—which, commanding millions of capital, has used it most skilfully in promoting consumption and in devising and adopting a great number of ingenious methods whereby the cost of production has been reduced to an extent that, at the outset, would not have seemed possible."

But during this time, and particularly since the "trust" was formed, its members have netted enormous profits and its opponents point to this fact as a proof that the trust must have been stealing from the consuming public, oppressing its work-people, and generally injuring society. One has only to consider the question, however, to be convinced that such is not necessarily the case. If by the increased power and economy resulting from concentration the trust has been able to save large sums, it is entitled to reap a part of the saving, so long as it sells at a reasonably low rate, lowers the price gradually and allows the public to share in the good results of its work. That the Standard Oil Trust has done the latter is amply shown, I think, by Mr. Wells' figures. That it has saved enough, through the increased efficiency, arising from its combined power, to make handsome profits for its members without exploiting either the consuming public or the wages of its own work-people, is shown by the facts which Mr. Wells and Mr. Dodds have collected regarding the economies which the trust has effected. Mr. Dodds says:

"The association of refiners united the best knowledge and skill in the business. If one had a patent it was open to all. If one had a secret the others shared it. Methods were compared. New plans were tested. Results were and are carefully collated. If one establishment succeeds in saving the fraction of a cent per barrel in making

oil, the reason is known and the method of saving adopted. If good results are obtained in one manufactory and bad results in another, the reason is at once discovered and faults corrected. Scientific men are constantly employed who have made useful discoveries in new products and new methods of manufacture. The consequence of all this is that since 1872 the actual cost of the manufacture of refined oil has been reduced 66 per cent. The public have the advantage of this in the reduced price at which the oil is sold, which benefit amounts to millions annually. The same cheapening has taken place in the manufacture of barrels, tin cans, boxes for enclosing cans, paint, glue and acids. The company use 3,500,000 barrels per annum. The saving in cost of manufacture since 1873 amounts to \$4,000,000 per annum. Thirty-six million cans are used per year. The cost of making has been reduced about one-half. The saving amounts to \$5,400,000 per annum. The cost of making wooden cases has been reduced one-third. The saving amounts to \$1,250,000 per annum."

The same process has taken place in the manufacture of tanks, stills, pumps, and everything used in the business, and all this has been effected without reducing wages. It would seem, then, that the Standard Oil trust has followed steadily and with success sound and just economic principles in building up a business. Why, then, the outcry against it? Partly, as has been already pointed out, because we are still in the transition period. We are in process of changing from an industrial system based on free competition to one based on combination. During such a period many must suffer severely, and suffering usually stirs up hatred. Then again, before the best form of combination was discovered, there had to be many experiments, and experimental failures in industrial life cause much trouble. Such have been the many combines, pools and corners which sought "not an increased concentration of productive power, but only an increased unanimity among the sellers of products to keep up or put up prices." These have caused damage to legitimate business, and a failure to distinguish between them and the regular trust has led to the inclusion of the latter in the general condemnation.

I am far however, from wishing to imply that the trusts have been guiltless of all evils and steadily refused to use their immense power to force illegitimate gains. An enormous number of trusts

and combines exists in the United States; and the sagacity and insight of the leaders of even the greatest of them cannot always with-stand the temptation to use their opportunities for making haste to be rich, any more than it will prevent many clever men from living beyond their income, or speculating in risky enterprises although they know that the odds are against their winning in either case. In this way we may account for much of the popular antagonism towards trusts, for as Mr. Gunton says :

“The economic law of permanent productive integration is that increased concentration of capital and power in fewer hands is economically justifiable and socially tolerable only on the condition of improved services to the community in better quality or lower prices of what is furnished. Profits are the legitimate rewards of capitalistic enterprise; but they should always be obtained by exploiting nature through improved methods, and never by exploiting the community through higher prices. The failure of capitalists to recognize this principle as the inexorable social law of their existence is sure to bring social antagonism, which will result in some form of arbitrary, uneconomic restrictions, detrimental alike to capital and the community. Capitalists who imagine that any amount of accumulated wealth can enable them to defy this social law are greatly mistaken, and sooner or later will have to pay the penalty by the arrest of their progress, if not by the entire dispossession of their present industrial opportunities.”

The short sketch of the Standard Oil Trust has shown some of the possibilities for effectiveness and economy, opened up by properly directed, combined effort. Furthermore, it has been shown that such effort, improperly directed, as in the corner, for instance, usually ends in failure or, at least, in the cessation of activity, so there is hope that in time the better elements in combinations will survive, while the evils have been controlled and removed. It might be claimed that the Standard Oil Trust is an exception to the general rule, but a glance at the results of combination in many other industries reveals results which, though perhaps not so striking, indicate success gained in the same way; by improving the service, lowering rates, and making profits by the economies of combined management. The history of the integration of the numerous telegraph lines into

one or two great systems reveals similar results. "Before this concentration took place, in 1866, it cost to send a ten-word message from New York to different western points, as follows: Chicago, \$2.20, now 40 cents; St. Louis, \$2.55, now 40 cents; New Orleans, \$3.25, now 60 cents; St. Paul, \$2.25, now 50 cents; Galveston, \$5.50, now 75 cents; Buffalo, 75, now 25 cents; San Francisco, \$7.45, now \$1.00; Oregon, \$10.20, now \$1.00; Washington Territory, \$12.00, now \$1.00."

The results of the concentration of railroad interests tell the same story. During the last twenty-two years combination has gone on very rapidly among railroads, yet the rates show a reduction of over 50 per cent. Mr. Gunton has estimated that since the organization of the following businesses into great concentrated capitalistic concerns the purchasing power of wages in their respective products has increased as follows: Telegraphing, 600 per cent.; petroleum, 300 per cent.; cottonseed oil, 100 per cent.; transportation, 100 per cent., and I do not think that he has exaggerated the increase.

We have seen that most important economies result from the saving in clerical and office work, the work of drummers and that tremendous expenditure which, so far as good results to the trade as a whole or the public go, is wasted by individual concerns in trying to capture business and kill the trade of rivals. Under competition millions are annually spent in advertising; the trust does away with the necessity for the greater part of this, and incidentally also for most of the misrepresentation and lying which go with it. The saving resulting from the employment of the ablest managers and the most skilful workmen, the best machinery and means of transportation, the utilization of products and the absorption of subsidiary industries has been already noted, and considered purely from the material standpoint is enormous.

But there are social effects as well of the greatest importance. A great concern like a trust studying the question of production through the eyes of able experts sees that it can afford to employ none but the best workmen, and the best of anything can be obtained only by paying a good price, hence trusts should tend to keep up rather than depress wages, and such seems so far to have been the case. In the many denunciations of trusts I



find almost no serious complaints on the score of a lowering of wages; it seems to have been the policy of the trusts to employ only the best men, pay them well, and get the best out of them. "In all the industries where great concentration of capital has taken place, the wages have increased, except in particular instances where through the introduction of machinery a new class of labour has been employed, as substituting women for men and young people for adults, which has been something of a feature throughout the whole factory system." Quite as important as the rate of wages in its effect on the social condition of the labourers is the permanency of labour. One of the worst features of the modern competitive system has been the tendency to over-production, with its inevitable periods of depression when operations are suspended for a time and labourers thrown out of employment. The aggregation of capital in a large trust, however, is so great that a suspension means enormous loss, and having to a certain extent control of the market, the managers make greater and much more successful efforts to adjust their production steadily to the demand. The result is steady, constant employment for the workmen. The moral and social effects of such a condition as compared with the precarious state under competition are worthy of the most serious consideration.

There is an ever growing class of people who depend for their living upon the income accruing from investments of capital which they have neither the ability nor the desire to manage. But the amount of available capital is now so great that it becomes ever more difficult to place investments safely at a fair rate of interest. To such people the trust certificates when under proper control will offer a splendid field. At present the position of trusts is too uncertain, but when they take their proper place in the economic world, under legal recognition and proper control they will prove a boon to the small investor.

Are there, then, no evils attaching to trusts? Decidedly; but most of them, it seems to me, do not attach to trusts as such, but to trusts as at present situated. With a change in conditions, therefore, they might be removed, and, as a matter of fact, most of them are not so glaring as they were a few years ago, and in the case of the older trusts many have disappeared. The evils for which trusts are held responsible are so much

better known than the benefits, and have been incidentally referred to so often in earlier parts of this paper that I do not feel like going into them fully here, and shall note only a few of the more *real* and grave ones.

The temptation to trustees to manipulate trust stocks for the purpose of speculation is great, and there is no doubt that this evil has a very real existence. But if trusts were given legal status and forced to report on their business somewhat as our banks do, this could be prevented. The Bank of Montreal is noted for its stability and the careful way in which it safeguards the interests of its stockholders; yet it is not so very long since a general manager, recently deceased, by his clever but reckless speculation doubled the value of Montreal stock. He might as easily have ruined the bank. That was less than thirty years ago, but to-day the Bank of Montreal ranks third among the banks of the world in solidity, and is one of our most conservative and respected monetary institutions.

The corruption of the members of legislatures for the purpose of securing favourable legislation or killing that which is unfavourable, has in the United States been one of the worst features of the concentration of capital. It has been characteristic not of trusts and combines alone, however, but of nearly all great industrial interests, whether consolidated or not. Just before the passing of the Dingley Act, in the United States, the amount of lobbying that went on at Washington was tremendous. The representative there of the Eastern lumbermen said the other day to a friend of mine that he spent over a month at Washington trying to have the lumber clause changed, but had not enough money. "I had only \$20,000 to spend," he said, "and needed \$100,000; with that amount I could have had the clause changed to suit myself. The concerns that had plenty money got all they desired, for very many of the Senators and Congressmen have their price, and with them it is merely a matter of how much they can get." The sugar trust seems to have been a serious offender, and has spent large sums in influencing legislation; it is even claimed that bribery reached the cabinet itself, and it is certain that the sugar clause agreed upon in committee was revealed beforehand to a few Senators and members of the Sugar Trust, who were thereby enabled to

buy heavily of sugar stocks and make a large profit by the rise of 34 points, which followed immediately on the publication of the clause. But evils of this kind cannot be removed by laws against trusts. They will exist, whether there be trusts or not, until a slower and more indirect cure is tried. Public opinion must be educated to a point that will prevent such senators getting control of affairs; the public service must become so honourable as to attract the best men the nation has got, and then neither trusts nor single companies can use their wealth to force the hand of the government.

This is not the way of the American nation at present, with them quick action, even at the cost of rational action, is all-important. They cannot abide the slow, indirect method, but prefer to act on the principle of the Donnybrook Irishman—"Whenever you see a head, hit it." They are not over-careful in looking to see whose the head is, and when the losses are counted may find as many broken heads on their own side as on that of the enemy. In view of this attitude it is not surprising that in answer to the loud outcry against trusts nearly every state in the Union has passed anti-trust legislation; and in every case it has signally failed. Most of the laws are ridiculous in their severity, and if interpreted strictly would prohibit every form of combination in trade, from the simple partnership up. The supreme court has decided that Congress has no jurisdiction over trusts as they come under the jurisdiction of the State governments. Mr. Gillett, however, discovered what he thought a loophole in the jurisdiction of Congress over inter-state commerce, and introduced a bill providing that anything manufactured or owned by a trust, and in course of transportation from one state to another, is liable to confiscation, and anyone knowingly aiding in such transport "shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof be punished by a fine not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both."

Such enactments by their extreme character foster a contempt for law that is dangerous and weakens the force of all law; they encourage deceit and evasion on the part of those affected, and connivance on the part of officials who, owing to its severity, are afraid to enforce the law. Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia

University, in an article headed *Anti-Trust Laws a Failure*, points out that there has always been a struggle against combination in trade, owing to the fear of monopoly and high prices, and that this struggle has always had the same result, the interests which followed the natural course of events won every battle. History is but repeating itself in the case of trusts and trust legislation; partnerships between two or more master workmen were once dreaded and forbidden; they were combinations in restraint of competition and considered therefore contrary to the public interest. But the policy of suppressing partnerships was abandoned, for it was discovered that competition in ample measure survived their formation. If the partnership included all the weavers in one town, those in the next would step in as competitors if prices rose appreciably. Next, corporations were admitted. "Even these extended partnerships did not extinguish competition, and in productive efficiency had much to recommend them." We now look on them as absolute necessities of modern industry. We are at the next step now; the trust, or some similar wide combination of common interests, is needed, and will presently be permitted to take unmolested its proper place in the industrial world. We find that two influences checked the power over prices of the early partnerships—there were always some competitors left in the town, and even if not, there were the neighboring towns to be considered. We find a similar state of affairs to-day, when things are allowed to take their natural course—even the Standard Oil Trust has always had competitors.

But in many countries, and certainly in North America, the force of the second check on the improper use of power is always impeded and usually nullified by the protective duties, which cut off foreign competition. With the question as to whether protective duties are ever of real advantage to a country we have not to deal at present, but certainly when such a duty has become inoperative for the purpose for which it was imposed, it is almost sure to foster monopoly and high prices. For instance, if, as is claimed, North America is the natural home of the iron industry of the world, then, in the present advanced state of that industry, the duty on iron is quite inoperative for the purpose of protection, but performs a new service: it has now become a duty for the sustaining of a monopoly. Of course, the interests

which have been established under a long system of protection are so great that the support upon which they depend must not be suddenly removed, but active steps should be taken looking to the gradual lowering of the walls. Our present Minister of Finance has grasped the idea of the great help given to combinations by import duties, and has discovered a potent means of keeping such combines in order, by incorporating into the laws a clause providing that articles, the production and sale of which is controlled by combination, may be declared by proclamation free of duty. But it would be better if the duty did not exist, for the present clause gives an opening for three serious dangers: First, that the government may at any time yield to a popular but irrational outcry against combines and by suddenly removing duties ruin legitimate interests through a failure to distinguish between different kinds of combination; secondly, that the government, when in need of election funds, may be tempted to play with threats of enforcing the act, to influence the contributions of large concerns to the party purse; thirdly, it encourages attempts at bribery and corruption on the part of corporations.

The preceding treatment of the subject, superficial though it may be, will justify us in drawing a few conclusions and making some suggestions. We found that there is to-day in many departments of human activity a strong tendency toward centralized power and combined action. This, it seems to me, is a necessary and inevitable stage in the evolution of society. If this be true all attempts to stop it must in the end prove futile. We know enough of social development to see that every advance is made against the most strenuous opposition, which, however, always fails. The struggle never ceases, and slowly but surely advances are made. The changes in modern life and industrial conditions, the rapid accumulation of capital, coincident with an industrial revolution, which has rendered necessary large investments and increased immeasurably the intensity and danger of competition, made some form of close combination absolutely necessary, and the modern trust is the best outcome of the movement. At present we are in the transition period, and such times are always trying. Until the new order becomes firmly established under proper regulations and with a proper understanding of its nature and requirements there must of necessity be

many abuses and much suffering. But the same thing was true of the period of transition from the old handicraft system to the modern factory system and competition. Those who were displaced suffered intensely, yet few to-day in looking back would maintain that the gain had not quite justified the change, even including the suffering. In our own day many cabmen have been ruined by the electric car; the steam shovel has deprived thousands of navvies of a job, while the rapid extension of the steam-laundry system is relegating the Monday washwoman to the shades of our younger days. In other words, in passing from a less perfectly organized to a more perfectly organized system, those who have been unable to keep abreast of the times and to foresee in a practical way the drift of events are always forced out and pinched in the process. But, ultimately, the mass of the people reap benefits from the change which many times outweigh the losses of the moment. Combination is inevitable, and as it involves great changes, suffering is also inevitable, but because all progress involves suffering we should not seek to prevent progress. Let us, so far as possible, by judicious regulation, alleviate the suffering, but with no idea of obstruction, for "it is a paradox, and yet a truth, that sacrifice is the law of life."

Trusts should be recognized as a legitimate outcome from our industrial conditions and given legal status. Should they be allowed perfect freedom of action? If the freedom were so thorough as to remove all artificial aids to monopoly it might be sufficient in most cases. But we cannot hope for so much, and even if we could, certain forms of monopoly must be reckoned with which require more than this. There are businesses which from their very nature must sooner or later become monopolies; attempts at competition may go on for a time, but they are too ruinous to last. Of this nature are railways, telegraphs, telephones, gas works, electric lighting plants, etc.; other businesses again are monopolies, because the supply of the raw materials is limited and can be acquired by a few men—anthracite coal is an example. With these natural monopolies, then, we must begin in our efforts at regulation, in fact we have already begun. They have so little to fear from competition, have so strong a hold over their patrons, and owe so much to the advantages bestowed upon them by society,

that she may well claim some share in the regulation of their affairs. Hence we find that most municipal monopolies are more or less under the control of the municipal authorities. With regard to the regulation of such monopolies experience seems to point to the following principles. If the management required is simple, and comparatively few hands are employed, the municipality may with profit assume the ownership of the plant, and run it for the benefit of the citizens, as in the case of the water-works in most cities and towns; but if the monopoly is such that it requires a large number of employees and a highly organized and intricate system of management, the municipality had better hand over the franchise to a single strong company, subject to a carefully drafted agreement safeguarding clearly and thoroughly the rights of the citizens, and working as nearly automatically as possible. The agreement between the city of Toronto and the street railway company is a case in point and works well.

Perhaps, as the character of our aldermen and municipal officers improves, we may be able to take over much more highly organized businesses than at present, but we cannot be too careful, for incompetence and corruption have hitherto characterized most of our more ambitious ventures in such a direction. To see that advancement is possible, however, we have but to look at some of the industrial centres in Britain and what they have accomplished in the way of municipal control and ownership. Glasgow is proverbial for the efficient and economic way in which she attends to nearly all the wants of her citizens. Lighting, tramways, water supply, baths, amusements and a host of other things have been supplied in the best form and at a cheap rate. But Glasgow pays high wages in order to secure first-class men, and then all her officers are elders in good standing in the Kirk, while some of ours are not.

In dealing with mining lands, the right of way for railways, and similar privileges for which the corporation has to ask the government, grants should be made only on such clearly defined conditions as shall adequately safeguard the rights and interests of the citizens and insure for them a fair share in the future gains which result from the development of the country. In all railway charters clauses should be inserted dealing with the

question of rates and the facilities to be provided, and through these should the public benefit if the expansion of the country makes the railroad a success. Much smaller grants should be given to railroads too, for if railways are really needed there is plenty of capital ready to build them, and if there be not enough people to support them, nor the prospect of this being the case in the near future, there is as a rule no justification for their existence. In the case of a grant of mining lands I am strongly convinced that provision should in every instance be made for a royalty to the government should the mine prove valuable. In dealing with natural monopolies, no attempt should be made to create competition. Competition here is ruinous to all parties concerned; the paralleling of railways in the United States has shown us something of the evils and losses which inevitably result from such a course. A great amount of capital is sunk in a second road, and a rate war begins, which goes on with intervening periods of pooling of rates, etc., until one of the roads goes into bankruptcy and a receiver is appointed. It runs on for a time giving a poor service and paying no dividends, and at last has to be sold and is bought in by its rival. This is taking place all over the United States, and consolidation goes on apace; while a great capital, which might have been elsewhere fruitfully employed, has been sunk in a needless enterprise and lost. Only last week it was announced that a move was on hand looking to the consolidation under one management of the great Vanderbilt railway system and its rivals, both east and west, and this is receiving confirmation in the consolidation of the New York Central and Lake Shore roads. When we pass to the more artificial monopolies, those depending on the great aggregation of capital and the consolidation of interests, the field for beneficial direct interference is exceedingly limited in extent, for, as Professor Ely points out, in a democratic country, corruption almost necessarily attends public efforts to control private business. "President Eliot, of Harvard University, has in a recent article pointed out how the liquor business necessarily becomes a corrupting element in politics on account of the efforts to control it; those who are controlled attempt to defeat the ends of control, and they enter politics to do this. What has been described with respect to the liquor business holds with respect



to every business which it is endeavoured to control. When the number of businesses which are controlled increases largely the corruption becomes more widespread, and the difficulties become infinitely greater." Permanent boards of control, like the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States, with few members and great power, are always open to the dangers of corruption. Furthermore, any attempt by an outside power at active interference is almost sure to destroy that freedom of initiative and rapidity of action so essential to successful business to-day.

Our plan of action should be to recognize trusts and other great aggregations of capital as legitimate and necessary forms of business enterprise, so that they may occupy a normal position in their commercial and legal relations, and can be treated as other businesses are. But, recognizing also that competition has hitherto been the chief regulator in business, and that trusts tend to remove competition, we must have other regulators in reserve as an unseen force, ready always to act should necessity demand. We must not look to remove all the evils by a single cure, but must seek improvement in many ways. Cure-alls are as dangerous in sociology as in medicine.

The enormous accumulation in recent years of capital eager for investment, and the consequent low rates of interest, furnish one of the greatest safeguards against an improper use of their powers by trusts; and it is a safeguard of unusual value in as much as it requires no police force behind it. Professor Clark points out the results of this readiness of capital to enter new enterprises, as follows:—"It is the danger of calling new competitors into the field that actually holds in check the scores of trusts now existing in the United States. Only up to a certain point can they now curtail products and raise prices; if they go further, new mills spring out of the earth, as it were, in a night, and the combination goes to pieces, leaving prices lower than ever. It is this type of competition that needs to be kept alive. It is not the actual building of the new mills that is necessary. What is wanted is such a condition that new mills are certain to be built if a trust is extortionate. Potential competition is the resource to be depended on. The mill that does not yet exist, but will exist if prices rise, is the protector of the public." That is

one of the numerous forces which help to keep in check the dangerous side of trusts. But to be effective it requires the removal of protective tariffs in order that competition from without may have free play.

Again, as many irresponsible combinations, of a temporary nature, and seeking only a rise in price, have hitherto inflicted much damage on the industrial world and involved the more legitimate forms in the general condemnation, trusts should be made to throw open to public scrutiny such features of their business as will not be injured thereby. They ought, it seems to me, to be chartered, somewhat as banks and insurance companies are, and issue reports in the same way. Before receiving a charter they should clearly indicate their object and give reasonable evidence of ability to successfully attain it. Thus, the ring or pool seeking a merely temporary arrangement, for the raising of prices would be to a large extent done away with; it could not get a charter and would have against it the huge influence of those legitimate combinations which are at present classed as illegitimate. Trusts in this way would help to regulate combinations of all kinds and steady business. Having forced recognition after a struggle during which they suffered severely from the stigma cast on combinations through the action of temporary and unscrupulous ones, their vast negative influence would hereafter be exerted against such rings, and their positive influence would make for the steadying of trade by the careful adjustment of supply to demand and the avoidance therefore of those periodic times of depression which are such a feature of our present industrial system.

This, it seems to me, is as far as we may safely go in the way of direct efforts at controlling interests, but there still remains a vast and difficult field of labour; one in which all may do their share, and one whose results will in the end be of infinitely greater value than those of any enactments which are immediately operative. It is a field which will never be exhausted, for every advance reveals new and greater distances beyond. Our efforts for the regulation of trade combinations and the amelioration of industrial evils must to a large extent follow a slow and indirect course. We must go behind the corruption of governments and the exactions of monopolies to the men who

manage them, and behind these again to the general public, who are the final arbiters. We must endeavour to instil in them a knowledge of what ought to be done and a desire to do it. We must indeed apply the knife to the cancer to give temporary relief, but can hope for no permanent cure without a long and patient course of constitutional treatment. A few suggestions as to the needs of the patient and the course of treatment to be pursued will not be out of place.

First of all it is necessary that people should get some definite knowledge as to the nature and scope of the leading economic and social laws. These are laws which touch closely and at many points the lives of all, and yet the ignorance on such topics is amazing. The question under discussion is a case in point: Monopolies have been denounced in many quarters of late years, and the word "trust" has been the favourite epithet applied to the monsters. Yet most of those using the terms so glibly could give no definite and reasonably correct definition of either a monopoly or a trust. Many of the combines most bitterly denounced under the name of "trusts" for instance were not trusts at all. A clergyman high up in church circles in the Eastern States and recognized by his brother clergy as one of their leaders, told me this summer that the very life-blood of the republic was being drained by the "trusts," and that they should be legislated out of existence at once. On being asked for examples of these terrible "trusts," he instanced a milk dealers' association, composed of a number of dealers who had agreed among themselves to keep up the price of milk, but each of whom was quite independent in his power over his own business; a great departmental store, doing business under charter as an incorporated company, and owned by a single man, and finally the Louisiana lottery. Not one of them a trust, and each different in nature from the other two! What can we look for from the ordinary voter if these be the views of our teachers? It behoves our preachers, and others whose position gives weight to their opinions, to carefully study such problems themselves and then strive to disseminate broader and more rational views among their followers. Our business men too, in their study of business principles, should not stop with a knowledge of the immediate requirements of their trade, but take broader ground,

and base their technical knowlege on proper guiding principles. As Mr. Gunton says in writing on this very question :

“ Instead of applying arbitrary limitation to the aggregation of capital, the real reforms to be sought are in the education of the capitalist and the public in regard to the true relation of capital to the community. First, the capitalists must learn, or pay the penalty for their ignorance, that their right to concentrate must be paid for in improved services. It should be made a recognized principle among investors that capitalistic integration is unsafe, unless accompanied by the assurance that it will render a perceptible benefit to the community. Not that the community should have all the gain, but it must have some. The public should be educated, and here is the work of the press, to recognize the difference between genuine productive integration and mere price-raising agreements. All the influences of society should be made to support the former and discourage the latter. If this distinction were clearly established by the press and the public, it would soon become a moral and social impossibility for industrial combination to occur, without giving the public improved service.”

Again, the workingmen must get a clearer hold of the idea that *indirectly* they have their own welfare largely in their own hands, and that in the last resort no one can help them but themselves. The trade unions have done a great work already in organizing labour, and not only winning for it the respect of others, but induing it with self-respect. (This is much truer of Britain than of America.) Their action has often been bigoted and shortsighted, but they have accomplished much. The main object which they have hitherto set before themselves has been negative in character: the resistance of attempts on the part of employers to exploit what they considered their just wages or privileges. Recent events seem to indicate that their activity has been pushed to the extreme in this direction: it is many years since so decided a set-back has been received by any union, as the wealthiest and most experienced of all received the other day in the practical failure of the engineers' strike in Great Britain. The efforts of trades unions must be hereafter more and more positive in character and look to the improvement of their members and the fitting of them for the higher positions which through union effort they have won. The trust and the great corporation demand skilled workmen and offer them greater chances than

ever before for advancement, but they must fit themselves for it. Technical education is as yet in its infancy, and its possibilities for the improvement of the labourer and his work are only beginning to be realized. Again, we must inculcate in the people higher ideals and finer taste. So that any advances which they make in material welfare may not immediately be squandered in dissipation or on tawdry finery and vane accomplishments, but will be used in self-improvement and the attainment of a more comfortable, more intelligent, and more beautiful mode of life.

There is another question about which the beliefs of the labouring classes in working out their own salvation, and, in fact, the opinions of most of us, including particularly our politicians, must undergo a radical change. I refer to the question of population, a question which raises many of the most difficult problems of our existence which affects every one of us closely, and yet is carefully avoided by the majority, instead of receiving, as it ought, the most careful and painstaking investigation. Here we can but take a glance at it in passing. Malthus is still worth reading; the truths he stated years ago are still truths, and from the labourer's point of view furnish, in my opinion, the keystone of the arch of his difficulties. There has been long prevalent an idea that the parents of children are performing a duty for which the state and their fellow-citizens owe them much. Under proper restrictions the idea is a true and noble one, but parenthood *as such* is no guarantee that a citizen is helping his country. In a meeting in Toronto for the discussion of social questions, where the average of intelligence was quite up to the ordinary, I heard not long ago a man denounce as wrong the present industrial system which pays to the married and unmarried man the same rate of wages. "Why," said he, "at the next bench to mine works a young, unmarried fellow, who gets the same wages as I do, and yet, while he neglects his duty to his country, I have followed the Bible's injunction to "be fruitful and replenish the earth." The sentiment was applauded by the majority of those present and openly opposed by none. Under our present industrial conditions workmen shift so easily from one place to another, that his responsibility for the finding of a place for each one of his children is not brought closely home to a father. "They will get a place somewhere," he says, and lets the morrow look out for

itself. It will be better for all parties concerned when the workmen grasp the idea that they owe it to themselves, to their children, and to society, to so start each child in life that he has a good chance of winning for himself a position in society at least as good as that of his father, and of improving on his parent in taste and education. The first step in this direction should not be very difficult to take—the men whose prudence and honesty have led them to observe the rule, and who have either refrained from marriage or are in a position to properly educate and start their children, should be impressed with the fact that they are suffering a personal wrong at the hands of every man whose youthful folly or incapacity has burdened him with a family for which he cannot properly provide. Let the better men learn that they have to contribute for the education of these children and to the support of the large number who become paupers or criminals, only to make an addition to the army of half equipped workmen, who will presently seek to oust them from their positions by underbidding for their work. Once get this idea impressed upon the ambitious workmen, and a tremendous pressure growing in intensity will be brought to bear on the evil from the ranks of the class most affected.

But it is not the working classes alone who need a lesson on this subject. Many of our politicians seem to have gone mad on the population question and talk as if this country were doomed to eternal destruction if a large population be not gotten soon. "Just look," they cry, "at our undeveloped resources and the immense population they would support? But if they be not of that religious sect which believes that the end of the world is at hand, can they not afford to let their grandchildren enjoy a few of the resources? Are people to be counted by the head, and nothing else considered? I have sometimes suspected our butchers of buying their beeves on that principle, but how can we blame them if population is contracted for in the same way. Are we required to receive a hundred thousand of the scum of the earth from General Booth and thank God for a glorious increase in numbers, though they will pollute the bodies and souls of our children, and furnish us with a permanent bill of expense, a source of constant worry, and a splendid recruiting ground for our criminal army? Surely it were better in estimating the value of

citizens to adopt the standard of Emerson and believe that the true test of civilization is not in the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops, but the *kind of men* the country turns out."

"But what has all this to do with monopolies?" cries some one eager to apply the knife and be rid of the difficulty. I said that the field for direct and immediate action in dealing with the evils attaching to monopolies was limited, but that much might in time be accomplished indirectly by educating and in various ways changing the condition of those whom the question affects. There must be a great advance in knowledge and character made by all of us, but more particularly by the capitalist, the labourer, and lastly, by our public men. We want an independent and fearless press which shall seek to mould public opinion, not truckle to party prejudice or popular passion; we want an enlightened pulpit to lead and educate, not to dogmatize and hurl anathemas; we want a public sentiment, so strong and loyal, that it will tolerate none but the best men in public places, and none but their best efforts in the conduct of public affairs. The path is a long and difficult one, results can be achieved only in the slowest and most painful manner, but I am convinced that in this way alone can anything more lasting than momentary and partial relief be attained.

E. R. PEACOCK.

### NIETZSCHE'S GENEALOGY OF MORALS.\*

THE Macmillan Co. are doing good service in presenting the works of Friedrich Nietzsche to the English public in such admirable translations. The order of publication, indeed, is somewhat unusual: to begin with volume XI, go back to volume VIII, forward to volume X, and then once more backward through volume IX to volume VI, reminds one of Dogberry's famous charge: "Marry, sir, they have committed false report; moreover, they have spoken untruths; secondarily, they are slan-

\**The Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*. Edited by Alexander Tille. Vol. X. *A Genealogy of Morals*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

ders; sixth, and lastly, they have belied a lady; thirdly, they have verified unjust things; and, to conclude, they are lying knaves." Nietzsche is held by his admirers to be the greatest philosopher of the nineteenth century, if not of all time. One is accustomed to expect from philosophers a certain order and system in their thought; indeed, it has even been maintained that a philosophy without system is a contradiction in terms. Perhaps, however, this may be a prejudice. There may be no reason why the philosophy of the future should not be couched in aphorisms, and be, in the words of Kaatz, an ardent follower of Nietzsche, "totally wanting in organic structure." The great philosophers of the past have all been slow, methodical and ruminant, but that may be because philosophy was only in its infancy. At any rate the works of Nietzsche are not related to one another as parts of an organic whole; he has no system, though there are certain main ideas which recur with "damnable iteration" in all his writings; and therefore we can take them up in almost any order and, one might almost say, open any work of his at any page we please without doing violence to its contents. The writer whose style Nietzsche most admired and imitated in his own way was Emerson; and Emerson, as we know, though he was not a systematic writer, yet had something to say worth hearing. It will, therefore, be well to come to Nietzsche without prepossession, ready to accept what he has to tell us, if we find that he really has anything to tell us. No doubt it is difficult for ordinary minds to feel at home with a style of writing which throws out suggestions that are never followed up, and adopts the "I-am-sir-oracle" style of speech throughout; but we must allow the man of "genius" to find his own mode of utterance, and seek to translate his ideas, as best we may, into the slow and ponderous terms of articulate thought. Some critics, indeed, maintain that Nietzsche's so-called "genius" is of that sort which is not only "nearly allied" to "madness," but actually *is* madness. That he wrote some of his books in the intervals between his residence in a lunatic asylum, and finally went incurably mad, is an undoubted fact; and it is maintained by at least one expert that he is a clearly-marked instance of *paranoia*\*. Whether these charges

\*See note at the end of this article.



are true or not I shall leave it to others to say; and even admitting their truth, such men as St. Francis of Assisi and Rousseau may be cited as proof that a man may be abnormal and may yet be the exponent of a great idea. Let us then look at Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* as dispassionately as possible, endeavouring to understand it and to appreciate its value. I purposely select this work as perhaps the most coherent of his later writings, and therefore as exhibiting his "philosophy" at its best.

One has not read very far in Nietzsche before one discovers that, whatever may be the intrinsic value of his own ideas, he is not in the least mealy-mouthed in expressing his contempt for the idols of the hour, especially if they are English; in fact, he has a supreme contempt for all English philosophers, whom he places at the opposite pole from his favourite Hindoo thinkers. This luxury of contempt is not peculiar to Nietzsche; he has inherited it from his father in philosophy, the pessimistic Schopenhauer; and in fact any one familiar with the great German thinkers, from Kant downwards, soon sees that Nietzsche knows nothing about them except what he has learned, or rather mislearned, from his master or from lesser men. The truth is that Nietzsche was incapable of following a connected system of ideas, and what he seizes upon is simply some superficial aspect of a philosophy, not its inner core and spirit. This will become abundantly clear as we go on. In the meantime, as has been said, it is clear that he rejects the prevalent psychology and ethics of the English school. It may be well to quote some of his words as a specimen of his style and mode of thought:

"These English psychologists, to whom, among other things, we owe the only attempts hitherto made to bring about a history of the origin of morality [a remark, by the way, which is utterly false]—they give us in their own persons no slight riddle to solve; they have even, if I may confess it, for this very reason, as living riddles, something distinctive in advance of their books—*they themselves are interesting!* These English psychologists—what is it they want? We find them, voluntarily or involuntarily, ever engaged in the same work—the work of pushing into the foreground the *partie honteuse* of our inner world and of seeking for the really operative, really imperative and decisive factor in history just there, where the intellectual pride of man

would least *wish* to find it, for example, in the *vis inertiae* of custom or in forgetfulness or in some blind and accidental hooking together and mechanism of ideas, or in something purely passive, automatic, reflex-motion-like, molecular and thoroughly stupid. What is it that always drives these psychologists into just *this* direction?.....I am told that they are in reality nothing but so many stale, cold and tiresome frogs, hopping about and creeping into man, as if here they felt themselves at home, in their proper element, namely, in a *swamp*. I hear this unwillingly; nay, I do not believe it. And if, where knowledge is denied us, I may venture to express a wish, then I wish quite heartily that the reverse may be the case with them—that these explorers and microscopists of the soul are, in reality, courageous, proud and magnanimous animals, who can, at will, set a curb to their heart, and also to their smart, and who have educated themselves to sacrifice all desirableness to truth, to *each* truth, even simple, bitter, ugly, repulsive, unchristian, immoral truth.....For there are such truths.”\*

So far we have not much difficulty in following Nietzsche. He knows something about English psychology and ethics; he has read or heard about Buckle, Mill, Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall and Herbert Spencer; and has seen that their doctrine is a sort of mechanism of the mind. That doctrine he evidently in some way rejects, but he is magnanimously convinced that they were seeking for the truth of fact, and to that extent he seems to sympathise with them. This is the natural inference from his words; but it is not all that Nietzsche means, as we shall immediately see. “Courageous, proud and magnanimous animals,” as they are—and when Nietzsche says “animals” he means “animals”—they imagine that “truth” can be discovered, and Nietzsche is clear that this is a delusion. Meantime, he admits that they are well-meaning “animals,” though their point of view is utterly wrong. “All due deference to the good spirits who may hold sway in these historians of morality! But I am sorry to say that they are certainly lacking in the *historical spirit*.....The botchery of their genealogy of morals becomes manifest right at the outset in the determination of the origin of the concept and

\**A Genealogy of Morals*, pp. 17, 18.

judgment 'good.' 'Unselfish actions'—such is their decree—'were originally praised and denominated 'good' by those to whom they were manifested, *i.e.*, those to whom they were *useful*; afterwards, this origin of praise was *forgotten*, and unselfish actions, since they were always *accustomed* to be praised as good, were, as a matter of course, also felt as such—as if, in themselves, they were something good.'"\*

This is a travesty of the Utilitarian doctrine. 'Good' is not regarded by the Utilitarian as simply those actions done by another which are useful to the subject who reaps the benefit of them; an action which is fitted to bring good to the community as a whole, including oneself, is regarded as 'good.' There is, therefore, on this view, no separation between the good of oneself and the good of others. Nietzsche has not a glimpse of the real defect of the Utilitarian doctrine, which lies in a totally different direction. That defect consists in the attempt to combine the two discrepant ideas of 'good' and 'pleasure.' But it was essential to his view to make an absolute separation between the good of two sections of the community—those who rule and those who are ruled. To the Utilitarian he attributes this separation, because he makes it himself. The Utilitarian, as he conceives him, opposes two classes—those who have the upper hand and those who are in subjection. That this is his assumption is evident from a passage in another work, *Beyond Good and Evil*, in which he tells us that "Slave-morality is essentially Utilitarian morality;" in other words, what is called 'Utilitarian morality' is what the subject-class found to be conducive to their *own good*, as distinguished from the good of the master. But Utilitarianism entirely denies this distinction, and indeed the element of truth in it which first commended it to the English mind was its impartial or democratic character. When, therefore, Nietzsche represents Utilitarianism as deriving the 'good' from that which is 'good' for the lower class, as distinguished from the higher, he ignores what is distinctive of it. No doubt Utilitarianism seeks to determine what is 'good' by the consequences of actions in the way of producing pleasure, but the consequences which it contemplates are the pleasure accruing to the community as a whole.

\**Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

Nietzsche, however, has his own theory of the origin of the idea of 'good.' What was originally called 'good' was not actions, but persons, and the persons who were so called were the masters, as distinguished from the slaves. "The judgment 'good,'" he tells us, "was *not* invented by those to whom goodness was shown! On the contrary, the 'good,' *i.e.*, the noble, the powerful, the higher-situated, the high-minded, felt and regarded themselves and their acting as of first rank, in contradistinction to everything low, low-minded, mean and vulgar.....It follows from this derivation that the word 'good' has *not* necessarily any connection with unselfish actions, as the superstition of these genealogists of morals would have it. On the contrary, it is only when a *decline* of aristocratic valuations sets in, that this antithesis 'selfish' and 'unselfish' forces itself with constantly increasing vividness upon the conscience of man,—it is, if I may express myself in my own way, the *herding instinct* which by means of this antithesis succeeds at last in finding expression."\*

There can be no doubt as to what this means. What was originally meant by 'good' were those primitive impulses by which the various individuals of the ruling class found themselves dominated. These impulses led them to love mastery, and despise those whom they kept in subjection, and they called themselves 'good' *because* they possessed and indulged them, not because of their advantage to the community. The term 'good,' therefore, had originally no moral significance whatever; it expressed the natural feeling of superiority of the master, as contrasted with the bad, *i.e.*, the mean and vulgar, nature of the slave. Now, without at present asking how far this is a correct account of the original meaning of the terms 'good' and 'bad,' it may be pointed out that the original meaning of a term cannot be taken as determining its value; on the contrary, the original meaning, just because it is original, is certain to be less adequate than the later. But Nietzsche is so loose and inconsequent a thinker, and has learned so little from the development of thought in the present century, that he practically adopts the view of Rousseau, that what is primitive is therefore higher than what is later in origin. The term 'good' may originally have

\**Ibid.*, p. 19.

been devoid of moral significance, and yet the moral significance may be that which expresses the real 'value' of the term.

In proof of the contention that 'good' originally meant 'superior,' 'noble in its caste sense,' while 'bad' meant 'common,' 'mean,' 'moblike,' take the German word '*schlecht*' itself. "It is identical with '*schlicht*' (simple). Compare '*schlechtweg*' (simply, plainly) and '*schlechterdings*' (absolutely). It denoted originally the simple, the ordinary man, in contradistinction to the gentleman.....About the time of the Thirty years' war—quite late, we see—the sense shifted into that which obtains at present."\*

It need hardly be repeated that the argument from etymology is not only liable to abuse, but proves nothing as to the real 'value' of the idea which it expresses. All words expressing *moral* qualities were originally employed to denote *physical* qualities. *Schlecht*, as Wundt points out, meant originally 'straight.' After Nietzsche's preposterous method, we might argue: '*schlecht*' meant 'straight,' *i.e.*, 'upright,' 'well-formed,' 'handsome,' so that the 'straight' man was the 'upright,' 'well formed,' 'handsome' man. But, as most men are not 'handsome,' envy led in course of time to what Nietzsche calls a "*transvaluation of values*," and hence the 'handsome' man came to be regarded as the 'wicked' man. This is certainly quite as good reasoning as Nietzsche's. It is, of course, nonsense. The term '*schlecht*' seems to have passed through the intermediate stages of 'simple,' 'plain,' 'poor,' 'mean.' "In the phrase *schlecht und recht*," says Wundt, "which has come down to us from Luther's German, *schlecht* is still used in the old sense. The adjectives are synonymous and reinforce each other. That two words of practically the same original significance should develop in diametrically opposite directions can have happened only through that transference of meaning from without inwards, in course of which one and the same sensible image may come to have entirely different emotional and intellectual value, according to the light in which it is regarded. In one case straightness becomes symbolic of the good character which

contemns deceit and subterfuge. In the other, it stands for the narrow disposition that pursues only low and selfish aims."

'*Malus*' Nietzsche puts along with 'μέλας' as = 'dark-complexioned' and 'dark-haired,' applied by the "nobles" to the pre-Aryan habitant of Italian soil. Now Fick tells us that the root is 'mar,' 'to soil': whence Sanskrit '*mala*' = 'dirt,' 'mud,' then 'evil.' As cognate we have 'μέλας,' 'black'; 'μολύνω,' 'to soil'; Latin '*mal-u-s*,' 'bad.' Evidently the original meaning, as usual, was physical, and then came to be applied to moral qualities, as in Sanskrit and Latin. Since 'μέλας' = 'black,' there is no reason why it should not be applied to black-complexioned men; but Nietzsche's notion that it was so applied by the "noble" to the pre-Aryan does not help in any way to prove that the noble regarded the black-complexioned man as "mean and lying." To call a man black-complexioned, if he *is* black-complexioned, does not imply contempt. Of course what is 'black' or 'dirty' naturally comes to mean 'bad' in a moral sense, but not 'bad' in Nietzsche's sense of 'slavish.' Latin seems to have lost the original sense of 'dirty,' and to have retained only the moral sense of 'bad,' Greek rather retains the original sense.

The Latin '*bonus*,' Nietzsche thinks, meant the 'warrior,' for '*bonus*' is from the older '*duonus*' (cf. *bellum* = *duellum* = *duculum*), in which latter form he supposes '*duonus*' to be contained. '*Bonus*' would, therefore, be the man of quarrel, of dissension (*duo*), the warrior. But, according to Fick, the root of '*bonus*' is 'da' = 'give': Greek 'δι-δω-με': Latin '*do*,' '*da-re*.' Then we have '*duas*,' a 'gift'; cognate, Latin '*duonus*' = old form of '*bonus*.' '*Bonus*,' then, was applied to things viewed as 'gifts,' therefore naturally to persons of superior birth. Thus vanishes Nietzsche's 'warrior.' Evidently '*bonus*' was originally applied to *things* which were 'goods' or 'gifts,' and a 'good' man would be one with 'goods' or 'gifts,' whether they were external or internal. Out of this the later meaning of morally good would naturally arise. But '*bonus*' has no connexion whatever with '*duo*' or '*duellum*.' '*Duo*,' it seems, is from '*du*,' to 'go.' Then we have '*dua*,' '*dva*' = 'two': cognate, Greek 'δύο,' Latin '*duo*,' English '*two*.' '*Bonus*' and '*bellum*' have therefore no relation to each other.

Nietzsche's most brilliant etymological feat, however, is in connecting 'good,' 'gut' and 'Goth,' which, according to all recent philologists, have no connection whatever. "The English 'good' and German 'gut' are etymologically connected with the German 'Gatte,' from root 'gad'='fit,' and so mean 'fitting.'" We have this meaning in the English 'gather.' This usage has survived to the present day. A 'good' workman, or a 'good' man of business, is one who is fit for his special task. But, as usual, alongside of this primitive meaning, the term is used with the significance of 'conformable to what is morally right'; another instance of the spiritualisation of a word originally employed in a direct and literal sense. If we adopted Nietzsche's preposterous method, we should have to conclude that the moral significance of the term was a mere perversion.

Nietzsche's philological argument thus vanishes in smoke. If the former professor of classical philology was, as he tells us, put on the track of that interpretation of history which is to supersede the "botchery" of the English "genealogists of morals," he was put on the track to a mare's nest. The truth, of course, is that he came to the question with a ready-made theory, and naturally found what he was determined to find. He has, however, another argument for his great discovery, based upon anthropological grounds.

We find at the dawn of history two distinct types of man, the "fair-haired" and the "dark-haired." The foundation of the former was the "beast of prey, the splendid, blond beast, lustfully roving in search of spoils and victory." The primitive nature of these "splendid blond beasts" appears whenever they are freed from social restraints; then they "step back into the innocence of the conscience of the beast of prey, as exultant monsters, which, perhaps, walk away from an abominable sequence of murder, burning down, violation, torture, with such wantonness and equanimity, as if merely some student-trick had been accomplished.....An outlet is necessary from time to time for this hidden nature; the animal must come out again, must go back into wilderness: Roman, Arabian, Germanic, Japanese nobility, Homeric heroes, Scandinavian vikings—in this need they all are one.....Even in their highest civilisation the consciousness of this fact is visible, and even a certain pride in it

(for instance, when Perikles addresses his Athenians in that celebrated funeral oration. 'In every land and sea, our boldness has cut a way for itself, setting up for itself, everywhere, imperishable monuments for good or *for bad.*')” These “noble” races fell upon the less noble, conquered them and made slaves of them. “A herd of blond beasts of prey, a race of conquerors and masters, with military organisation, with the power to organise, unscrupulously placing their fearful paws upon a population perhaps vastly superior in numbers, but still amorphous and wandering—this herd founded the State.”

Thus the State was founded upon the fundamental distinction of masters and slaves. The masters first created the distinction of 'good' and 'bad,' *i.e.*, they called their own qualities 'good,' those of the subject race 'bad.' 'Good' meant severity, cruelty, pride, courage, contempt of danger, joy in risk, utter unscrupulousness. 'Bad' meant “the coward, the nervous, the mean, the narrow utilitarian, and also the distrustful with his disingenuous glance, the self-abasing, the human hound who allows himself to be abused, the begging flatterer—above all, the liar.”

The slaves naturally gave a different meaning to the terms 'good' and 'bad.' The 'bad,' or rather 'evil,' is for them, actuated as they are by resentment, “just the 'good' one of the opposite morality, even the noble man, the powerful and the ruling one,—but reversely coloured, reversely interpreted, reversely looked at through the venom-eye of resentment.” And for them the 'good' are “all those who wrong no one, who never violate, who never attack, who never retaliate, who live aloof from the world.....and who, altogether, demand little of life, the patient, the humble, the just.” “This means, viewed coolly and unprejudicially, no more than: 'We, the weak, are—it is a fact—weak; it is well for us not to do anything, *for which we are not strong enough.*” \* Humane morality, in short, is the morality of cowards.

There are thus two opposite ideals; what by the masters is called 'good' is by the slaves called 'evil,' and what the masters call 'bad,' the slaves call 'good.' Naturally these two moralities came into conflict; and, strange to say, the slave-morality

\**Ibid.*, pp. 46, 48.



conquered. "It was the Jews who, with most frightfully consistent logic, dared to subvert the aristocratic equation of values (good = powerful = beautiful = happy = beloved of God), and who, with the teeth of the profoundest hatred (the hatred of impotency) clung to their own valuation: 'The wretched alone are the good; the poor, the impotent, the lowly alone are the good; only the sufferers, the needy, the sick, the ugly, are pious; only they are godly; them alone blessedness awaits;—but ye, ye, the proud and potent, ye are for aye and evermore the wicked, the cruel, the lustful, the insatiable, the godless.'..... With the Jews the *slave revolt in morality* begins: that revolt, which has a history of two thousand years behind it, and which to-day is only removed from our vision because it—has been victorious."\*

Nietzsche also seeks to give his doctrine a metaphysical basis. It is commonly assumed that there is a 'doer,' a 'subject,' who acts, and that this subject is 'free' to act otherwise. The supposition is absurd: strength must manifest itself as strength, weakness as weakness. "That the lambs should bear a grudge to the big birds of prey, is nowise strange; but this is no reason for blaming the big birds of prey for picking up small lambs..... To demand of strength, that it should *not* manifest itself as strength, that it should *not* be a will to overpower, to subdue, to become master of, that it should *not* be a thirst for enemies, resistance and triumphs, is as absurd as to demand of weakness that it should manifest itself as strength. A quantum of power is an equal quantum of impulse, will, action. More correctly speaking, it is even this impelling, willing, acting itself, and nothing else,—and it is caused to appear otherwise only through the seduction of language (and the cardinal errors of reason, fossilised in language), which takes and mistakes all action as conditioned by a 'subject.'..... But there is no such [subject, no such] substratum; there is no 'being' behind doing, acting, becoming. 'The doer' is merely a fictitious addition to the doing; the 'doing' is all..... But the slavish avail themselves of the belief in free will; and, in fact, support no belief with so much zeal as this, that the *strong are free* to be weak, and that a rapacious bird can, if it will, be a lamb. For in this way

\**Ibid*, p 31.

they appropriate in their minds the right of *imputing* to the bird of prey the fact that it is rapacious."\*

After this wild whirl of words let us pause to take breath. According to Nietzsche, there were originally two opposite types of man, endowed by nature with contrary impulses. Both were as yet devoid of moral ideas. But somehow the strong organised themselves—not from impulse, but from necessity—and then they fell upon and enslaved the weak and cowardly with their loose organisation. It was at this point that the idea of good and bad, good and evil, arose. A new movement began with the revolt of the slaves—the most perfect type of whom are the Jews—who originated what we know as Christian morality. So far this slave-morality has triumphed, though there have been at intervals partial revolts against it; which, however, have been only temporarily successful. But the future lies with the 'master-morality,' of which Nietzsche is the prophet. Then man will return to the non-moral stage, which is "beyond good and evil," *i.e.*, is beyond the miserable, fawning, lying morality of Christianity.

Since the slave-revolt in morality, life, till then a delight, at least for the bold and powerful, has become a torment. For the fundamental instinct of man is not unselfishness and pity, but selfishness and cruelty. "Right" and "wrong" are the creation of law. "Only after the law has once become established, do 'right' and 'wrong' exist..... To speak of right or wrong *in itself* is altogether meaningless; *in itself* the act of injuring, violating, exploiting, destroying, can, of course, not be anything 'wrong,' inasmuch as life *essentially, i.e.*, in its fundamental functions, works injury, violation, exploitation and destruction, and cannot be conceived otherwise. Indeed, we are even forced to submit to still more delicate truths: such as the fact that, viewed from the highest biological point of view, legal conditions can never be anything else but *exceptional conditions*, that is to say, partial restrictions of the proper will of life which seeks power. .... A legal order conceived as sovereign and universal; not as a means of which different complexes of power avail themselves in their struggle with one another, but as a means *against* all war

\**Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

whatsoever.....such an order would be a principle *hostile to life*, tending to destroy and disintegrate life, an outrage upon the future of man, a sign of languor, a by-way to the Nothing."<sup>6</sup>

The fundamental instinct for 'exploiting' others is contrary to 'slave morality.' But a fundamental instinct cannot be destroyed, though its direction may be changed. The origin of 'bad conscience' is now evident. "Bad conscience I take as the deep sickness which man had to fall into, when under the pressure of that most radical of all changes to which he was ever subjected,—that change which he experienced when he found himself for ever locked within the ban of society and peace. Precisely as the water-animals must have felt, when forced to the alternative of either becoming land-animals or of perishing, even so in the case of men, those semi-animals happily adapted to wildness, warring, roving and adventure. All at once their unconsciously regulating and safely-leading instincts were rendered worthless and 'unharnessed.'.....They were reduced to the necessity of thinking, reasoning, calculating, of combining causes and effects (what misery!), to their *consciousness*,—their meanest and least reliable organ!.....And, worse still, those old instincts had by no means ceased all at once to make their demands!" Now, "all instincts which do not discharge themselves outwards will *receive an inward direction*—this is what I call the *internalisation* of man.....Those terrible bulwarks, by means of which a political organisation guarded itself against the ancient instincts of freedom (punishments are first of all among these bulwarks) effected the result that all these instincts of wild, free and roving man turned inward *against man himself*. Enmity, cruelty, the pleasures of persecution, of surprise, of change, of destruction—imagine all these turning against the owners of such instincts: *this* is the origin of 'bad conscience.' Man who, from a lack of outer enemies and obstacles, and because he found himself wedged into the unbearable straits and regularities of custom, impatiently tore, persecuted, gnawed at, maltreated himself, stirred up man, this captive animal grating against the bars of his cage, intended to be 'tamed,' this creature deprived of and pining for its home, the desert; he, who was compelled to

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid*, p. 92.

make out of himself an adventure, a torture chamber, an unsafe and dangerous wilderness—this fool, this homesick and despairing captive, became the inventor of 'bad conscience.'\*\* This transition was sudden. "Our hypothesis...presupposes...that that change did not take place gradually, or spontaneously, and did not represent an organic-ingrowing into new conditions, but rather a rupture, a leap, a compulsion, an unavoidable fate against which there was no opposition, and not even any resentment." The 'state,' therefore, "made its appearance in the form of a terrible tyranny," the instruments of which were "any herd of flaxen-haired robber-beasts, a conqueror and master race, which, organised for war and possessing the power of organisation, will unhesitatingly lay its terrible clutches upon some population perhaps vastly superior in numbers, but as yet shapeless and roving.....They are innocent as regards the meaning of guilt, of responsibility, of regard,—these born organisers..... 'Bad conscience' has not grown among *them*, thus much is self-evident—but it would never have grown at all *but for them*, that ill-shaped growth.....This *instinct of freedom*, suppressed, drawn back and imprisoned in consciousness and finally discharging and venting itself only inwards against self: only this is the beginning of *bad conscience*." And now we can understand how man came to frame the conception of 'guilt' and 'sin.' It is due to "that will to self-torture, that stemmed-back cruelty of animal man who has become internalised, who is, as it were, chased back into himself, who is engaged in the 'state,' to the end of being tamed, who invented 'bad conscience' for the purpose of causing pain to himself after the *more natural* outlet of this will to cause pain has become obstructed." We are the inheritors of the vivisections of conscience and of animal self-torture of thousands of years. But all administration of justice, the punishment of 'so-called' criminals, the greater part of art, especially tragedy, are also disguises in which primitive cruelty can still manifest itself.

Slave-morality, with its 'ascetic ideal' of self-suppression and contempt of life, and its tormenting invention of conscience, allowed the slaves, it is true, to take vengeance on their masters ;

\**Ibid.* p. 106, 107.

it also subjugated the mighty man-beasts of prey and created better conditions of existence for the small and weak, for the rabble, the gregarious animals; but it has been pernicious to humanity as a whole, because it has prevented the free evolution of precisely the highest human type. "The collective degeneration of man to that which, in the eyes of socialistic ninnies and blockheads of the present day, seems their 'man of the future,'—their 'idol,'—this degeneration and dwarfing of man to the perfect herd-animal (or, as they say) to the man of 'free society'), this brutalising of man to the animal pigmy of equal rights and pretensions" is the destructive work of slave-morality. In order to discipline humanity to supreme splendour we must revert to nature, to the morality of the masters. "A factor which...possesses evident value with reference to the greatest durability of a race...would by no means possess the same value, if the problem were the formation of a stronger type. The welfare of the greatest number and the welfare of the smallest number are antithetical points-of-view of valuation. To regard the former as being *by itself* of higher value,—this we shall leave to the simplicity of English biologists." Rome succumbed to Judea with its ascetic ideal. "True enough that the Renaissance witnessed a dazzlingly-haunted reawakening of the classic ideal, of the noble manner of valuation in all things: Rome itself moved, like some asphyctic coming back to life, beneath the pressure of the new Judaised Rome built upon it, which presented the aspect of an ecumenical synagogue and was called 'Church.' But forthwith Judea triumphed again, thanks to that thoroughly moblike (German and English) movement of resentment, called the Reformation.....Once again, in an even still more decisive and deeper sense, Judea triumphed over the classic ideal through the French revolution: the last political noblesse in Europe, that of the seventeenth and eighteenth *French* centuries, broke down under the popular resentment-instincts. True it is that in the very midst of this event the most extraordinary, the most unexpected thing happened; the antique ideal appeared *bodily* and with unheard-of splendour before eyes and conscience of humanity,—and once again, more sharply, more plainly, more forcibly than ever, against the old, false battle-cry of resentment about the *right of the most*, against the will to the

grading, degradation and levelling, to the downward and duskward of man,—resounded the terrible and rapturous counter-cry of the *privilege of the fewest!* Like some last hint pointing to the *other* road appeared Napoleon, that most isolated and latest-born of men that ever was; and in him appeared the incarnate problem of the *noble ideal as such*. Let it be well considered *what* kind of problem this is: Napoleon, this synthesis of non-human and over-human." All this travail of the centuries is a *means* to the production of the 'over-man.' "We shall find as the ripest fruit pendent from the tree, the *sovereign individual*, like to himself alone, delivered from the morality of custom, autonomous, supermoral (for 'autonomous' and 'moral' are mutually preclusive terms), in short, the man of private, independent and long will, who *may promise*—and in him a proud consciousness vibrating in all his fibres, of *that which* finally has been attained and realised in his person, a true consciousness of power and freedom, a feeling of human perfection in general."

The *Genealogy of Morals*, of which a partial summary has now been given, was intended as a defence of *Beyond Good and Evil*. Nietzsche made a mistake in writing it; if he had confined himself to oracular utterances, it might have been supposed that he had some solid basis for them, and at least he would not have revealed so plainly the utter nakedness of his thought. But, in a weak moment, he condescended to proof of his "deep" sayings, and was lost. The editor who naturally despises Hegel, the greatest philosopher of the century, tries in vain to present Nietzsche's doctrine in a reasonable light. He tells us that his author "knew that the historical side was his weakest point." The editor is wiser than his author. Nietzsche expressly plumes himself upon his "deep" insight into history, and charges all other moralists with blindness. In words already quoted he says that the English "historians of morality" are "certainly lacking in the *historical spirit*.....They think, each and every one, according to an old usage of philosophers, *essentially* unhistorically; no doubt whatever! The botchery of their genealogy of morals becomes manifest right at the outset." Are these the words of one who "knew that the historical side was his weakest point?" But, in truth, the historical side was not his weakest point; all his sides are equally weak, whether he is

philological, anthropological, biological or metaphysical; there is no solidity in him from beginning to end, but either a resurrection of exploded ideas or a wild travesty of life and history. I have already dealt with his philological argument. Let us now look for a moment at the anthropological.

At the beginning of civilisation there were two distinct races, the 'noble' and the 'slavish,' the former 'organised,' the latter unorganised, or but 'loosely organised.' Before the union of these two races, men were actuated purely by the natural impulses of selfishness and cruelty. They had no "conscience," no sense of guilt, and no sympathy for their fellow-men. Without enlarging upon the manifest inadequacy of the division of man into two races, it is enough to point out that there is nothing new in this conception of man as originally a creature of purely selfish instincts; it was the basis of the doctrine of Hobbes, who maintained that in a state of 'nature' man was purely selfish, being actuated only by love of power and love of gain. It was pardonable in Hobbes to take this view, at a time when nothing was definitely known of the primitive condition of man. But the theory is at once contrary to fact, and utterly untenable in itself. Anthropology has shown beyond doubt that early man was social, and indeed without combination he could not have maintained his existence at all. He was therefore not purely egoistic; he was no solitary "beast of prey," actuated only by the lust of cruelty, but a being with the feeling of solidarity, and a certain degree of unselfishness. The same conclusion is confirmed by biology, which shows us that the higher animals exhibit social as well as selfish instincts; and that man, granting him to have been descended from some lower form of animal, must necessarily have inherited both tendencies. Further, Nietzsche contradicts himself. He assumes that the "blond beast of prey" was a being of pure impulse, while yet it was just his faculty of "organisation" which enabled him to subdue the less organised races. It never seems to have occurred to him that a long process of development must have taken place before this organised form of existence could arise, and that the 'master-morality' which he describes could only result from the transcendence of purely animal impulse. If primitive man had no social instincts, by what miraculous process did he develop into a social being?

This "blond beast" is supposed to have fallen upon the inferior races from a pure love of cruelty. Of course this is entirely unhistorical; the dominant races were urged to conquest by the same desire, in a less developed form, as that which accounts for the expansion of England now: they were seeking to keep open the avenues for higher development.

When we turn to the inferior races we find that, like the superior, they were already partly organised, and had in a less degree developed the same moral qualities as the others. Coming under the dominion of a more powerful and more developed people, they were forced to submit and become slaves or serfs. The process was inevitable and salutary, the result being a higher development of both. The slave learned to see in the master the embodiment of higher moral qualities, and the master developed the moral qualities distinctive of those who have to think for others and who learn to despise their own life. No doubt this form of society was very inadequate, but it was the means of transition to a higher.

Nietzsche takes the Jews as the representatives of 'slave-morality,' and with this 'slave-morality' he identifies the 'ascetic ideal.' In other words, he is absolutely blind to the double aspect of Christian morality. Christianity, as originally announced, did not affirm that the true life of man consists simply in dying to the natural self, but in transforming the natural into the higher self. Its motto was not, like Buddhism, "Die," but "Die to live." Nor did it oppose itself to the 'master' or 'ruler' as such, but only to that self-assertion which denied the claims of all men to rank as men. It certainly, and justly, exhibited the unreasonableness of an absolute distinction of class or race, such as Nietzsche unwarrantably assumes, but only to re-affirm the higher nature of all men, the universal possibility of recreating every man on the basis of his essential nature as a son of God. The only 'resentment' of Christian morality was the just and reasonable 'resentment' against the one-sided self-assertion of a class or race, the basis of which was blindness to the deeper identity which makes all men brothers. What gives countenance to Nietzsche's charge that Christian morality is 'ascetic' is the fact that, struggling as it did with barbarous tribes, who were very imperfectly fitted to receive its lesson, it



was forced to accentuate the "die," which forms the half of its message; but with the Reformation and the beginning of the modern world, the other half began to receive its due; and whatever progress has been made in the last four hundred years has owed its moving power to this so-called 'slave-morality.' Christianity, in fact, is a synthesis of 'master-morality' and 'slave-morality,' because it seizes the principles involved in both.

The historical argument of Nietzsche is thus just as baseless as the philological. Nor is his metaphysical doctrine one whit less crude and one-sided. He argues that the idea of individual freedom is due to the fiction of a 'self' which is separated from its active expression, and that freedom is a dream; a man acts as his nature fits him to act, and cannot act otherwise. There is nothing new in this: it is the old doctrine of 'determinism' in a new dress. Of course there is no 'self' apart from activity; but neither is there any activity without a self; human action is self-activity, not a mechanical sequence. Nietzsche's wild talk of the "blond beasts of prey," which cannot do otherwise, is mere materialistic clap-trap; man is not a pure animal, but an animal who is capable of creating and following ideals.

Nietzsche's derivation of 'bad conscience' is as preposterous as the rest of his doctrine. He assumes that the 'masters,' when they subdued the slaves, were nothing but beasts of prey, with a lust for cruelty; entirely forgetting that they were already moralised, and formed an organised community. If so, how can it possibly be true that as yet 'right' and 'wrong' did not exist? The qualities which enabled the conquering races to overcome others were moral qualities, not animal instincts; and if they were prepared to sacrifice the lives of others, they were not less ready to sacrifice their own. But Nietzsche, starting from the false assumption that society did not yet exist—although he has himself told us that the masters were 'organised'—attempts to derive conscience from the fretting against the bars of society of those who were as yet 'roving beasts of prey.' 'Bad conscience,' he therefore explains as self-torture, due to the frustration of animal impulse, but only because man's reason reveals to him a higher law. Thus society is not a restraint, as Nietzsche assumes, but a means of freedom—the means by which the individual receives back a hundred-fold what he foregoes. Without

society man would be what Nietzsche calls him, a 'beast,' or rather something much lower, for 'beasts' are not 'solitary.' Nor is Nietzsche's account of the origin of 'bad conscience' consistent with itself. On the one hand, he attributes the distinction of good and evil to the 'slaves,' while, on the other hand, he finds its origin in the 'masters.' If 'bad conscience' is the result of the vain struggle against the impulse to 'exploitation,' it ought to be felt only by those who feel that impulse, *i.e.*, the 'masters.' The 'slaves,' destitute, as he supposes them to be, of the 'noble' instinct of cruelty, should be absolutely innocent of 'bad conscience.' But it is just the 'slaves' who, in some unexplained way, have effected the 'transvaluation of values,' and originated 'bad conscience.' This is only another instance of the reckless and self-contradictory doctrine, which is admired by men like Nietzsche's editor. The contradiction arises from a glimmer of the truth, which it is the main object of the book to disprove, that all men have the same essential nature, and that morality is the product of that universal reason which is operative in all men.

'Right' and 'wrong,' we are told, are the creation of law. This, of course, is the "same old cabbage" cooked up anew. The Greek sophists said the same thing long ago, and the fallacy was repeated by Hobbes. And Nietzsche's reason is simply Hobbes' reason, *viz.*, that man is by 'nature' entirely selfish and rapacious. Justice is the creation of law merely in the sense that law establishes what the reason of man declares to be reasonable. Without the tacit consent of society to what is 'right' and 'wrong,' there is no solid basis whatever for justice; and if Nietzsche could succeed in bringing us into a state of pure 'nature,' the only result would be an internecine war in which his 'overman' would inevitably go to the wall from want of combination with his fellows. He forgets that if man *could* be brought into his visionary 'state of nature,' there would be nobody to 'exploit.' With the crack-brained enthusiasm of his kind, he imagines that he can both have his cake and eat it: that when he has destroyed the whole basis of society, and with it the very conditions which give room for eminence in any direction, the advantages of society will still remain. There is just one glimmer of sense in the whole of Nietzsche's rhodomont-

tade; *viz.*, that the ideal of society cannot be realized by levelling all down to the monotonous equality of the socialist; but this truth is distorted into the preposterous doctrine that the 'over-man' is above all law, human and divine, and is entitled to make the world his "oyster." The only claim any man can have for special privileges above his fellows is the reasonable claim not to be fettered in that free development of himself which is essential to the good of all. So far from being contrary to the spirit of Christian ethics, this claim is simply an application of its fundamental principle: "Die to live." The best that one can say for Nietzsche is, that his opposition to mere self-mortification as an end in itself may help to drive home the truth, that morality is not negative, but positive, or rather is the affirmation of the higher self by the transcendence of the lower.

JOHN WATSON.

*Supplementary Note.*

In what is said above Nietzsche's doctrine has been examined purely in itself. Readers of the *QUARTERLY* will read with great interest the following diagnosis of Nietzsche, communicated by so distinguished a specialist as Dr. C. K. Clarke, Superintendent of the Rockwood Hospital, Kingston. J. W.:

ROCKWOOD HOSPITAL, KINGSTON, March 4, 1898.

The case of Friedrich Nietzsche, when dealt with in the hard, matter-of-fact way in which medicine must regard such cases, is clearly one of paranoia, ending, no doubt, in chronic insanity, and the history, as outlined in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* for January, 1896, furnishes all the data necessary to make an accurate diagnosis. In the first place, although but little information about family history is given, hereditary defect is clearly shown in the father's case. Softening of the brain—the popular term for General Paresis—is given as the cause of his death. He died at 39 or 40, the age at which paresis almost invariably occurs. A physician would require more than a mere statement that the paresis was caused by a person's falling down stairs, as it is a most insidious disease, covering years in its development, and the difficulties in co-ordination in the early stages are often the cause of such accidents as that detailed. However, be that as it may, we have a nervous child (Friedrich Nietzsche) whose father died of softening of the brain (General Paresis) a disease which finds its best soil for development in the neurotic. It is said that Nietzsche did not show any congenital derangement of intellect, but this statement is devoid of importance, for while children often give evidence of defect and want of balance, actual derange-

ment is rare. What is shown, though, is that the child was of neurotic type—abnormal type, if it might be so expressed. "He made no friends, and was too earnest for his years." The boys called him "little clergyman;" they took home stories of his extraordinary acquaintance with the Bible, and how he recited hymns that made them cry, &c. In many respects his accomplishments smacked of precocity. At the age of puberty he was morbid, shy and reserved, cultivating the soil most suitable for the development of paranoia, and he "breathed out in verse that deep depression no anodyne for which was anywhere accessible to him." His melancholy was quite characteristic of paranoia in its early stages, and although he took short excursions out of it, eventually he relapsed into his former condition, until the disease which was already establishing itself became apparent. It is probable that hallucinations were present early in the day, and no doubt the demon who whispered to him when at Leipzig to take Schopenhauer's books home was a very real person to him. It is rarely indeed that paranoiacs in the early stages of disease are recognized as insane persons, although freely classed as "cranks" by those not familiar with disease of the brain. It is also true that many of them have what is little short of genius in some directions. None of them are well balanced though, and in numerous instances the problems of life are those which they endeavour to solve in their own manner, which is ordinarily at variance with that adopted by any one else. In the early stages the idea of persecution is generally present, and this may take the form of a fixed delusion, although not necessarily so; but there is a desire to shun the world full of enemies, and little confidence is reposed in any one for fear that he may prove to be one of the wicked in disguise. As the disease progresses the "ego" generally becomes prominent and finally overshadows everything else. Instead of shunning the world, as he formerly did, the paranoiac asserts himself, although he may have as little faith in the world as ever, and in his importance despises everybody and everything. If his delusions and hallucinations demand it, he will sacrifice much to obtain his end, life if necessary. Riel and Guiteau were cases in point. In the final stage, after excitement has wasted the energy of the brain cells, we have mental extinction or dementia—truly a living death. How closely Nietzsche followed the classical course of the disease the narrative discloses. He was clearly doomed from the earliest day of his existence, and it is doubtful if much could have been done so obviate the tragedy of his life. His story is that of nearly all paranoiacs.

C. K. CLARKE.

## THE COLLEGE.

### REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR YEAR ENDING APRIL 27, 1898.

#### NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

Undergraduates in Arts (attending).....	287
"                    " (extra-mural).....	106
Post-graduates in Arts (attending) .....	13
General students " (attending) .....	19
Students in Practical Science Faculty .....	39
"    Theological Faculty .....	42
"    Medical Faculty.....	111

608

Or, allowing for double registrations, 589, as compared with 567, 564, 533, 456 and 432 in the five preceding years. Our increase of late has been chiefly in extra-mural students, (who have risen from 38, five years ago, to 106 this year); and this is fortunate, as we have not class-room accommodation in Arts for many more than the 319 now attending. To improve the course for the extra-mural students, we are providing tutors in almost every class, who, in return for small fees, correct their essays and exercises and keep them in touch with the work of the classes. The calendar gives information in detail on this point. Whether increased accommodation should be provided; and if so, whether it should be by erecting a special building for the Theological Faculty, or for a Library and Museum, and then using those large rooms for classes, or whether, in accordance with some better plan, is a large subject and one calling for the fullest consideration by the Trustees and the friends of the University everywhere.

#### DEGREES CONFERRED.

In Medicine, M.D., C.M.....	35
In Theology (Testamurs).....	8
In Practical Science (3 B.Sc.; 2 M.E.; 1 D.V.S.)...	6
In Law (LL.B.).....	1
In Arts (66 B.A.; 14 M.A.).....	80

130

The largest number of degrees ever conferred before was 106, in 1897.

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

This year three honorary degrees were conferred: in Divinity, on Professor James Ross, B.D., Montreal, and on the Rev. Canon Low, Almonte; and in Laws, on the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada.

## LOSSES DURING THE SESSION.

Professor David Cunningham, B.A., M.D., was taken away from the staff of the Medical Faculty by an untimely death, early in the session, just as he was giving promise of a distinguished career. This Faculty has lost five men by death in the course of the last five years.

Two years ago I reported that Mr. John Cormack had resigned the janitorship owing to failing health. He, too, was taken from us in the course of the session, and his death leaves a void not easily filled in the hearts of all who knew his sterling worth.

Last year I reported the retirement of the Registrar, the Rev. Dr. George Bell. This perfect gentleman, the first student and first graduate of Queen's, has since been called away to serve in the sanctuary above, to the great grief of every member of the University.

## UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

In giving the number of our students, we do not include those in the affiliated "School of Mining and Agriculture," or in the Dairy School, originated by friends of Queen's, but now managed by the Provincial Government, or those in classes connected with various forms of University extension. The most interesting of these forms is the Summer School, which begins generally about the 1st of July, and is attended chiefly by High School teachers. The subjects to be taken up next July (1898), are Animal Biology, by Professor Knight; Chemistry, by Dr. Lehmann; and Latin and Greek, by Rev. A. B. Nicholson. I subjoin a report by Dr. Goodwin of last summer's course:

## THE SUMMER SCHOOL.

The summer school for 1897 was held as before in July, and was attended by fifteen students. Of these four were intra-mural students of the University, residing in Kingston. They took advantage of the summer session to make progress towards an Arts degree. Of the remaining eleven, three studied Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology as part of an engineering course, while eight were extramural Uni-

versity students studying for Arts degrees. Five of the students were graduates, three of Toronto, one of McGill, and one of Queen's University. The subjects studied were Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology. Six students took Chemistry alone, seven studied Mineralogy and Geology, and two undertook the three subjects. The work done in each subject was mostly of an advanced character, but an elementary course of lectures on Chemistry was given, chiefly for the purpose of helping teachers to correct methods of presenting the subject.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

The following report from the Treasurer shows what progress is being made with the Fund in honour of the revered Dr. Williamson :—

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY THE TREASURER, J. B. MACIVER, TO THE WILLIAMSON MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND SINCE LIST PUBLISHED IN "QUEEN'S QUARTERLY," JULY, 1897.

R S O'Loughlin, M.A., New York (Further) . . . . .	\$875 00
Lavell & Farrell, Smith's Falls, \$100; interest paid (two years) .....	12 00
D. B. Maclellan, Q.C., Cornwall .....	25 00
John Duff, Kingston .....	10 00
J. B. McIver, Kingston .....	10 00
George Y. Chown, Kingston .....	10 00
Rev. Robert Campbell, D.D., Montreal, second instalment on \$50.....	10 00
A. G. McBean, Montreal.....	10 00
Andrew Allan " .....	10 00
G. M. Kinghorn " .....	10 00
H. M. Mowat, Toronto.....	10 00
Rev. D. Strachan, Brockville .....	10 00
John McEwen, Smith's Falls .....	10 00
Dr. E. McEwen, Carleton Place.....	10 00
Andrew Bell, C.E., Almonte, second instalment on \$20 .....	7 50
Prof. D. H. Marshall, Kingston.....	5 00
D. M. McIntyre " .....	5 00
H. J. Wilkinson " .....	5 00
R. N. McCreary, Carleton Place .....	5 00
Dr. J. V. Anglin, Montreal .....	5 00
Rev. Dr. R. Chambers, Bardezag, Turkey, balance on \$10 .....	5 00
Hon. Mr. Justice Bain, Winnipeg .....	5 00
W. D. McIntosh, Carleton Place .....	5 00
Thomas A. Brough, Owen Sound .....	5 00
Rev. J. M. McLean, Blakeney .....	5 00
W. J. Patterson, Carleton Place, balance on \$10 ...	5 00

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

Rev. Thomas Hart, B.D., Winnipeg.....	5 00
Rev. J. A. Leitch, Watson's Corners, balance on \$10	3 00
James Redden, Kingston .....	3 00
Prof. W. L. Goodwin, Kingston .....	2 00
Dr. E. Ryan " .....	2 00
William Mundell " .....	2 00
Dr. A. P. Chown " .....	2 00
C. W. Wright " .....	2 00
R. J. Carson " .....	2 00
John Laidlaw " .....	2 00
Rev. J. D. Boyd " .....	2 00
Rev. James Carmichael, D.D., King.....	2 00
N. R. Carmichael, M.A. " .....	2 00
Rev. J. A. Sinclair, Spencerville .....	2 00
Rev. G. Macarthur, Cardinal .....	2 00
J. M. Sherlock, Toronto .....	1 00
Rev. G. Shore, Portsmouth.....	1 00
Prof. J. Fowler, Kingston .....	1 00
F. W. Spangenburg " .....	1 00
R. F. Carmichael, King .....	1 00
T. McK. Robertson, Kingston .....	1 00
Rev. David Watson, D.D., Beaverton .....	10 00

The Treasurer, or the Principal, or Rev. James Cumberland, M.A., Stella, Convener of the Committee, will gladly receive additional subscriptions or suggestions regarding this fund. We have now reached the minimum sum aimed at, viz., \$2,500, thanks to the liberality of R. S. O'Loughlin, M.A., New York, who has not forgotten his *Alma Mater* or his old Professor, and we venture to entertain a hope that the Committee's maximum of \$5,000 may yet be attained. Such a point is not beyond our ability or the greatness of the man whose memory is being honoured, or the special need of the University in the matter of encouragements to study.

## BENEFACTIONS.

The subjoined report by the Treasurer gives a statement of the amounts received during the year ending 2nd April, 1898, on Capital account :

Jubilee Fund .....	\$5,380 00
Account Sir John A. Macdonald Chair, from the Honourable Senator Gowan, LL.D. ....	500 00
(Making total, with interest, to credit of said Chair, \$3,661.80.)	
Williamson Memorial Scholarship Fund .....	1,163 00
(Making total of this Fund paid in addition to interest being paid on two subscriptions of \$100 each, \$2,319.70.)	



Gymnasium Building Fund .....	\$1,766 30
(Making total of this Fund, \$1,966.30.)	
Fund for new Professor in Theology Subscriptions paid to date .....	3,067 89
(Out of which \$450 was taken to pay Lecturers for past session.)	
Endowment Sarah McLelland Waddell Scholarship ; from Hugh Waddell .....	3,000 00
Endowment from Robert Waddell Tutorship ; from Hugh Waddell .....	2,500 00
Endowment Robert Anderson Scholarship ; from executors late Robert Anderson, Montreal.....	1,800 00

Other benefactions to the revenue for the year are acknowledged in the Treasurer's general "Statement of Revenue and Expenditure," appended to this report.

THE FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE AND THE  
OBSERVATORY.

I commend to the attention of the Board the reports of Prof. Dupuis, Dean of the Faculty and the Observer ; and I trust that when the members of the University who take the QUARTERLY read the extracts from them which are published in the July number, they will be stimulated to give a helping hand to make this new Faculty worthy of the man to whose energy and thought it owes its life and steady growth.

THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

One of the great advantages possessed by this Faculty is that the four buildings which concern the students are all contiguous to each other,—the Medical College proper, the John Carruthers Hall, with its admirably equipped chemical laboratories, the Arts building, and the Hospital with its operating theatre. A wing of the hospital was burned down last December, but subscriptions have been given to replace it and to add several improvements, such as special accommodation for consumptive patients, better private wards, and an elevator. By the death of Dr. Cunningham, the Dean has lost a valued assistant, whom it will be difficult to replace. Dr. W. T. Connell's work as Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology proves of increasing interest to the students, and the Faculty is fortunate in having secured such a man to give his whole time to such important subjects.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

The Committee appointed by you last year on an additional Professor for this Faculty came to the conclusion that it would be unwise to make any appointment until the endowment for the Chair had been fully secured; and the success of Dr. Smith in obtaining subscriptions did not warrant them in entertaining any hope that the goal would be reached this year. As an interim arrangement, they appointed the Rev. Mr. Scott, of Hespeler, and the Rev. Mr. Laird, of Campbellford, to give special courses of lectures; and they now submit the names of Rev. Mr. Laird, and of Rev. Mr. Falconer, of Truro, N.S., as lecturers for next session, and also the name of Rev. Mr. Jordan, of Strathroy, to give a course on O.T. Exegesis. The payment for these courses is taken from the fund for which Dr. Smith is collecting.

The Conference of the Theological alumni, held last February, was the largest and most successful yet held. The programme for next February is in the April number of the QUEEN'S QUARTERLY. It is expected that all who attend will prepare on at least one of the topics set down for consideration.

CONCLUSION.

I submit the reports of the Treasurer, the Dean of the Faculty of Practical Science, the Observer, the Librarian, the Curator of the Museum, and of the Professors of Botany, Physics, and Animal Biology.

G. M. GRANT, *Principal*.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, KINGSTON, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 2ND APRIL, 1898.

<i>Revenue.</i>	
Temporalities Board .....	\$ 2,000 00
The Professors, Beneficiaries of the Temporalities Board .....	025 00
Rent of Carruthers' Hall .....	1,250 00
Rent of Land .....	140 00
School of Mining &c., for Lecturer on Mechanism .....	500 00
School of Mining &c., for Lecturer on Civil Engineering .....	250 00
Chancellor's Lectureship .....	250 00
Hugh Waddell, Lectureship on Church History .....	250 00
The Robert Waddell Tutorship in Physics .....	150 00
John Roberts Allan, Chair of Botany .....	150 00
Fees .....	10,224 96
Interest on Mortgages and other Securities .....	17,761 32
General Assembly's College Fund—	
Church Agent .....	\$2,196 68
Congregations contributing directly .....	959 25
Receipts for Scholarships .....	3,155 93
	2,253 04

Interest on Jubilee Subscriptions .....	\$ 3,581 57
Special Subscriptions for Revenue .....	421 00
Subscriptions for Practical Science Department .....	300 00
Subscriptions on account of Theological Department .....	450 00
Balance Deficiency .....	8,954 54
	<hr/>
	\$52,667 36

*Expenditure.*

Deficiency, 1896-7 .....	\$ 8,955 17
Salaries—Professors and Lecturers in Theology .....	7,975 00
“ Professors and Tutors in Arts .....	24,825 00
“ Other Officers .....	2,341 00
Chancellor’s Lectureship .....	250 00
Church Agents Commission on Collections for General Assembly’s Col- lege Fund—2 years .....	120 00
Insurance .....	185 00
Library, Laboratories, Museum, &c. ....	2,248 83
Practical Science Department .....	609 49
Taxes, Repairs and Grounds .....	555 68
Scholarship Account .....	2,253 04
Travelling Expenses .....	87 50
Advertising, Printing and Stationery .....	1,504 62
Fuel, Water, Gas and Electricity .....	500 15
Contingencies .....	166 88
	<hr/>
	\$52,667 36

Queen’s College, Kingston, 23rd April, 1898.  
Examined and found correct.

J. B. McIVER, *Treasurer*

J. E. CLARK, } *Auditors.*  
D. CALLAGHAN, }

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON PRACTICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT.

In presenting the following report on the Faculty of Practical Science, I do so with a considerable degree of satisfaction arising from our past success, and not without some apprehension as to the future.

Remembering that we started in an almost destitute condition as regards accommodation, appliances, teaching power, financial resources, and students, but not destitute of hope and determination, we have every reason to feel grateful for the progress made.

There were twenty-one students working in the shops during the past session, all but six being students in mining, and all but four being freshmen.

The work in carpentry was particularly well done, due to the kindness of Mr. Williamson, one of the best master carpenters of the city, who volunteered his services, and gave a very large portion of his time in overseeing and directing and assisting the students in their work.

Without his services, for which we cannot hope to pay him, I fear that confusion would have reigned supreme in the process of wood-working, for my own time has been so thoroughly occupied that it would have been impossible to have given much of it to this work.

For the machine shop I cannot say so much; for the only instructor, Mr. Jackson, being a student in mechanical engineering, has had so much to do in receiving and digesting instruction, that comparatively little of his time could be given to instructing others. This, however, was not of so much importance, as

only a small number of students were engaged in machine work, and I endeavoured to give my spare time to this sub-department rather than to others. I expect the case to be otherwise next year.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed statement of the work done or of the things made. Suffice it to say that several valuable pieces have been finished or almost finished, and others are far under way. Of these I might mention a screen shaker and several other things for the school of mining, apparatus for the physical, and for the biological departments, a beautiful machine for use in the mechanical department, with various other machines and models.

With an educated mechanical instructor, who could spend his whole time in the workshops, the University might be saved money each year, by having constructed in the shops valuable pieces of physical and other apparatus which are now bought in foreign markets at a high price.

It is satisfactory to know that so far, with the exception of the purchase price of new machines (and these are there for years to come), the workshops have been self-supporting, *i.e.*, the fees have paid the running expenses.

This is due to the circumstance that very little has been paid for salaries, the work of the shops being done almost gratuitously, or by those who are ostensibly paid for doing other work, and who voluntarily extend their services by giving time and attention to the wants of the shops.

Besides, the cost of heating is remarkably little. The consumption of coal for the whole session is only about nine tons, and upwards of half of this was required to heat water for the baths in connection with the gymnasium.

The janitor's salary is the principal item of expense, amounting to about \$130 for the session; and he attends to the gymnasium as well as the shops.

Having had now two years in the new building, I can pronounce it a most convenient and suitable building, and one that gives a remarkable amount of accommodation for its size. There is just one inconvenience about it, and that is the gymnasium overhead.

Although the building is constructed in the strongest possible manner for the material entering it, yet during gymnasium hours the strain on the building is very great, so much so as to shake articles off the shelves in the shops beneath; and how long the building will endure, without permanent injury, the violent athletics, for one can scarcely call it gymnastics, on its second floor is a question. This matter will probably, however, cure itself in time, for if things progress at their present rate, it will not be long before the whole building will be required for laboratory purposes.

As to the work of Mr. Carmichael and myself, we carry on, not only the large and heavy department of mathematics, but nearly all the mathematical side of the engineering courses as well. During the past session I have had to lecture from twelve to thirteen hours a week upon mathematical subjects. Besides, I devise and design and sketch every piece of work, simple or complex, that is carried out in the workshops, and examine and correct every drawing for the same.

In addition, I have managed to give, on an average, almost two or three hours daily to superintending the work going on; but this time I look upon as my recreation.

Nor is my assistant much better off. For, besides giving me a due amount of aid in the purely mathematical classes, he has had to lecture on electric theory, on

electric machines, and on thermodynamics in theory and practice, besides attending to a great many other smaller, but not less important things.

The present state of affairs is due to the poverty of the College, and I certainly sympathise with the Trustees in their efforts to carry on a large and expanding institution, growing in every part except its revenue, and that, like the proverbial cow's tail, seems to be growing downwards.

I think, then, that there is no difficulty in seeing in what direction we need pecuniary aid.

One of the great needs which will become pressing in the near future is a thoroughly competent professor of Modern Engineering. Not merely a man who can build a railway or a canal, for such things are not classed with high-class engineering in the present day, but a man like the late J. MacQuorn Rankine, who is sufficiently versed in the underlying principles of mathematics and physics to work out and see clearly the *modus operandi* of all the great machines and constructions and processes which have been brought to such a degree of perfection during the last twenty-five or thirty years.

Another desideratum is a thoroughly good and commodious physical laboratory, in which experimentation may be conveniently and profitably carried out on problems connected, among other things, with the great subjects of electricity and heat and light.

A sufficiently good building, of the character of the gymnasium, to be brick-veneered when practicable, could be built for \$2,500 or \$3,000. And my feelings are that I certainly would not hesitate to build in wood when funds were not forthcoming to build in stone, and accommodation was a necessity.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Dean of Practical Science Faculty.*

---

#### THE OBSERVATORY.

Previous to the death of Dr. Williamson the Department of Astronomy, together with the Observatory, was under his charge. Since his death matters have been changed by the opening of the Practical Science department and the more thorough study of astronomy as an essential part of the honour courses in Mathematics and Physics, as well as well as in some of the Practical Science courses.

It is for these reasons that the Observatory must be of much more importance to us in the future than it has been in the past, and it becomes essential therefore that we should render it as efficient as our means will allow.

The Legislature at Ottawa for insufficient reasons—in fact for no reasons—withdraw the annual grant of \$500, which the Observatory had enjoyed for more than 30 years. A promise has been given that it will be re-established next year.

The building of the Carruthers Hall in its present position has interfered with the usefulness of the Observatory, as it has cut off our view of the eastern sky, the view which is usually of the most importance; and I would suggest that in case of the grant being re-established, some portion of it may be applied to moving the Observatory building westward along the grounds to the rocky ledge bordering on University Avenue.

This would give a much clearer view of the heavens, and furnish the firmest possible foundation for instruments, and in that position it would not be likely to be disturbed by new buildings for generations to come.

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

I have, since the death of Dr. Williamson, been placed in the calendar of the University as Director of the Observatory. I have to use the Observatory continually in connection with my students, and I have no serious objection to remain as Director if I can have an assistant to act as observer.

Our revered and lamented friend lost his life through a mistaken over-devotion to the Observatory, forgetting that night-work with exposures to the frigid atmosphere of a Canadian winter, with impunity, is a privilege granted only to the young. And although I am his successor in many respects, I do not propose to go and do likewise.

I was in hopes that we might secure the services of Mr. S. A. Mitchell, M.A., one of our graduates, who is distinguishing himself in astronomy at Johns Hopkins University, and whose help would be acceptable in many ways in the expanding mathematical and scientific work at Queen's; but in our straightened circumstances that is scarcely to be looked for.

I would therefore suggest that Mr. Norman R. Carmichael, my present assistant in mathematics, be appointed astronomical observer, or rather astronomical assistant, and between the two of us we may be able to do the necessary work.

N. F. DUPUIS.

---

 THE LIBRARY.

During the past year 916 volumes have been added to the Library, made up as follows:—Purchased, 630; donated, 164; bound periodicals and pamphlets, 122.

Abstract of financial statement from Auditors' Report to 23rd October, 1897:—	
Total Expenditure.....	\$1,541 16
Total Receipts .....	1,507 00
Deficit .....	\$34 16

Last year's deficit of \$215.85 has thus been nearly paid off.

Upon recommendation by the Curators of the Library, the Senate thought it advisable to obtain, if possible, a permanent assistant for the librarian. Part of the duties of that position have been performed for the past few years by a post-graduate student holding the Nicholls Foundation Scholarship. The University is to be congratulated upon having secured the services of Miss Lois Saunders as assistant librarian. Miss Saunders possesses in a marked degree the rather unusual combination of attainments and qualities required in one holding such a position.

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian*.

---

 THE MUSEUM.

During recent years all new mineralogical and palæontological specimens have been deposited in the School of Mining.

The zoological department has received a mounted specimen of a young Newfoundland seal from Mr. James Lee, and a fine American eagle and loon from Mr. McKelvey. Last year's report stated that a large number of botanical specimens had been received during the previous winter. The greater part of the summer vacation was employed in mounting and arranging these, and they are now available for study when required. Within the last few weeks between 600 and 700 specimens have been received from unexpected quarters. Over 400, mostly Fungi, are from Prof. Paul Magnus, Berlin, and 200 from the Biltmore Herbarium,

Biltmore, North Carolina. J. Medley Wood, Government Botanist, Durban, Natal, South Africa, has also informed me that he intends sending a package immediately. All these collections have been sent with a request to exchange. The mounting and arranging of the specimens on hand, the selecting of duplicates for exchange and the preparation of the bundles will involve a large amount of labour and consume all my available time in summer. A number of specimens of Cryptogams have also been received from Dr. A. T. Drummond.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator.*

---

BOTANY CLASSES.

Students enrolled in Junior Botany class.....	21
"    "    First Year Honour class.....	5
"    "    Second Year Honour class.....	9
	<hr/>

35

Last summer I accompanied the students in botany residing in Kingston on a series of botanical excursions to different localities in the neighborhood. We succeeded in securing a large number of specimens, all of which have been handed over to the College. Much useful material was thus obtained for class work during the session and for the practical examinations at the close. Consequently, a larger amount of practical work was accomplished by the Junior class than in any previous year. Junior students have no idea of what they require, and cannot collect or prepare useful specimens.

All the members of the First Year Honour class brought collections of plants, which proved useful for themselves and for the Junior class.

The work in the Second Year Honour class, before the vacation, was divided between the Cyperaceæ, Gramineæ and Vascular Cryptogams, a month being devoted to each division. During the latter half of the session the Algæ, Fungi including Lichens, and the Musci were taken up for equal periods. All the students furnished bundles of plants, which were useful for the other classes, but of no service to themselves. Like the Juniors, they do not know what they require, and only discover their "wants" as the work of the session advances.

In last year's report reference was made to the fact that the supply of specimens for the use of the class was utterly inadequate, and that additional materials were required. A few specimens were collected during summer in the neighborhood of the city; some were purchased, and others donated by friends, but the number was not sufficient. At present our supply for the first three months of the session is exhausted and must be renewed. The Cyperaceæ, Gramineæ and Pteridophyta I must collect myself, and to do so must visit localities where forests occur. A grant of \$30 would probably cover the necessary expenses.

I desire earnestly to call attention to the fact that the Laboratory is too small. When the table is surrounded by seven or eight students, with their microscopes and books, no room remains for necessary materials. Each student requires a space allotted to himself, where he can arrange his specimens without interfering with others. This is at present impossible. The light is also defective, and on dark days microscopic work cannot be satisfactorily performed.

JAMES FOWLER.

*The John Roberts Allen Professor of Botany.*

## QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

## PHYSICS.

Herewith is an account of expenditure in connection with the Physics Department and the balance still in hand. You will observe in the account that \$142 is lent to Prof. Ferguson to purchase special books for the library; \$16 paid to the same to procure maps for his lectures; \$20 to W. C. Baker, M.A., to attend the meeting of the British Association last August; \$100 towards Mr. Baker's salary; and \$193 58 to purchase apparatus for Mr. Carmichael in connection with his lectures on electrical engineering. There were eighteen students who paid fees to attend the laboratory. I think it would be proper on the part of the trustees to allow these laboratory fees to be paid over in future by the Registrar to Mr. Baker, who attends to the laboratory students, and who has shown great enthusiasm in his work. He has now been with me three years, and his greater experience should command more remuneration. I enclose his detailed report of work done during the past session. Besides his work in the Arts Faculty, he had a class during the first term of the session for medical students.

*Physical Laboratory Account for year ending 1st April, 1898.*

<i>Expenditure.</i>	
Salary of Demonstrator .....	\$100 00
His Expenses attending British Association .....	20 00
For Maps in History Class-room .....	16 00
Loan to Prof. Ferguson for special collection of books .....	142 00
Two cases storage batteries .....	25 55
Three Voltmeters (Electrical Engineering) .....	157 50
Repairs, cleaning and instruments .....	38 11
Balance in hand .....	164 70
	\$663 86
<i>Receipts.</i>	
Balance, 1st April, 1897 .....	\$366 45
Apparatus Fees from Treasurer .....	293 00
Interest .....	4 41
	\$663 86

D. H. MARSHALL, *Professor of Physics.*

## ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The total registered attendance in this department during the past session was 104, not including six or eight third year medical students who voluntarily attended the second year physiology for a second time.

The attendance in the pass class in Arts numbered 16; extra-murals, 4; in first year honours, 6; extra-murals, 2; in second year honours, 10.

In medicine the attendance in first year classes numbered 31; in second year classes, 24; veterinary students, 11.

The following is an abstract statement of the receipts and expenditure in connection with the Laboratory:—

<i>Receipts.</i>	
Laboratory Fees from Arts Students .....	\$202 00
Laboratory Fees, Medicals .....	112 00
Advanced by me .....	42 14
	\$356 14



<i>Disbursements.</i>	
Balance Overdraw .....	\$ 58 45
Wages .....	67 50
Apparatus, &c. ....	185 10
Dissecting material and sundries .....	45 09
	\$356 14

As usual, vouchers for the various payments will be sent to the College Treasurer.

It was pointed out in last year's report that one of the pressing wants of this department was of books of reference. Until we have the books, and the complete sets of magazines, containing the records of past researches in various branches of biology, we cannot begin research work with our advanced students. Although I have been on the look-out during the past two years for copies of such books in the lists of the second-hand dealers, I have noticed none that we could afford to buy. This spring 51 bound volumes of the publications of the Microscopical Society of London were offered for sale at £27 10s., and after consultation with the curators and the librarian, it was decided to order them, but we do not know whether we shall get them or not. As an alternative, we have filed an order for a complete set of the *Journal of Physiology*. Complete sets of *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Zoologie*, and of *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, are at present available in Leipzig for 3.685 marks (\$920). It would be very desirable to obtain these.

The volumes of *Lancet* should be brought up to date; and complete sets of the *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, *Journal of Morphology* and other standard biological publications added as opportunity offers.

On account of the large expenditure on apparatus and dissecting material last year, it was found impossible to increase our museum specimens, but I hope to do something in this direction during the approaching summer. There is very little room left for specimens in the medical museum, but before this limited space is filled the medical faculty or graduates may erect a building which will enable us to unify all our biological teaching, including museum and anatomy work in one building. Good organisation suggests that this should be done as soon as possible, and done in such a way as to admit of natural expansion in the future, and without waste of space and money.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following donations to the Laboratory:—

1. Charts of the anatomy of the human body, from Mr. J. W. Barton, Secretary Young Men's Christian Association, Kingston.
2. Two trays for lantern slides, from Prof. Dupuis. These were made in the University work-shop.
3. Chemicals, from Prof. Goodwin, Director School of Mining
4. Nose-piece for microscope, from Principal Frith, Pickering College.
5. An acetylene gas machine for furnishing gas for the lantern. Given by the Acetylene Gas Machine Co., of Niagara Falls, Ont.

A. P. KNIGHT.

*The John Roberts Professor of Animal Biology,*

## SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE EPISCOPATE.

IT would be hard to find in the history of institutions a more pronounced contrast between any two stages in the growth of any one society than that which comes to light if we compare the Christian Church as we find it in the New Testament with the same Church as it is imaged for us after little more than a century and a half in the writings of Irenaeus. Development seems here at first sight to be tantamount, not merely to a radical change of type, but to absolute reversal. The fruit looks like a negation of the seed, and yet we shall find that it is not so. The change may be traced with approximate clearness from point to point through all its links without any break in the continuity. The influences which determined its direction can be indicated, and the generating elements may be seen in the embryo which under the given conditions have produced what one is at first tempted to regard as the contradiction of itself.

We will try in the first place to show the extreme points of the movement—its starting place and goal. Take first the Church of the New Testament.

Surely it will be admitted by everyone, who fairly opens his mind to the natural impressions of the language, that in the letters of Paul to the Corinthians we have a picture of a society which is chiefly remarkable for its total lack of hard and fast official organisation. There is no official machinery for securing even the elementary requirements of decorum. The love-feasts are celebrated in the most disorderly manner. Some begin to eat before the others arrive; one class eat and drink only too abundantly, while others have not enough to satisfy their hunger. Again, there is no special authority to decide who is to receive a hearing. There is an *embarras de richesses* of hortatory ability. Every one brings what he considers an edifying contribution to the spiritual nourishment of the assembly, a psalm, an exposition, an ecstatic utterance, a revelation, an interpretation. Paul recommends with simple good sense that not more than three speakers in tongues be heard at one sitting, each in turn and each followed by an interpreter; two or at most three prophets—the first to sit down when a second arises. It is for the meet-

ing itself to decide immediately which of their zealous orators deserves a hearing. The whole body of the people exercises direct control in such matters; they do not delegate their powers to any official class. Similarly there is no regularly constituted court for trying cases of discipline. No proceedings are taken against the incestuous person until the Apostle himself demands energetic action. Then it is the whole assembly, not any specially accredited persons, who constitute themselves judges. So, too, there are no recognised authorities to whom in virtue of their place disputes between brethren might be referred. They, the society of the future, the saints who are to judge the earth, St. Paul complains, hale each other before the tribunals of Pagan judges! If they must have litigation at all, can they not choose one of their own members as arbiter? The same anarchic condition meets us in the matter of doctrinal disputes. There is no fixed rule of faith forming a constitutive part of the conditions of membership. Some are of Paul, some of Apollos, some of Cephas, some will own no master save Christ Himself. In other words, each is essentially his own authority and tries to gain as many adherents as possible to his own views. Paul as founder, as an Apostle, and in virtue of his own personal ascendancy is recognised at least by the great majority as having a right to a certain amount of consideration. But his power is altogether moral, not official; he is dependent entirely on the response his words find in the intellect and conscience of his spiritual children. He carefully avoids posing as master. He does not claim obedience, except where he is directly conscious of being the mouth-piece of divine revelation. With them rests the responsibility of recognising the stamp of divine authoritativeness in such commands and of discriminating what really is of God and what is not. They have the spirit themselves as well as any man. The activity of their own religious sense can never be dispensed with. They have the right and duty of determining whom and what they are to believe and obey. There is no visible authority to relieve them of that trouble, whose mere word they should be at liberty to accept without more ado. No doubt there are Apostles and Prophets. But there are also false Apostles and false Prophets. Many men call Paul himself a false Apostle, and he is not the man to hesitate about retorting

the charge on some of the most high-flying and pretentious of his adversaries. The ultimate standard, therefore, can be nothing else than the spiritual sense of each individual. Let each see that he love the truth enough to be capable of judging. It is his own fault if he is not.

Now no doubt the Church at Corinth was an extreme case. The extreme lack of orderliness there must not be regarded as the normal state of things in the first Christian communities. All the more emphatically on that account does the inference leap into our eyes that Paul did not look for the cure of the disorders of which he gives so lively a picture—disorders so painful and embarrassing to himself, such a hindrance to his work, and so galling to his just sense of personal authority—to any ecclesiastical organisation. The appointment of officers, the introduction of a definite church constitution with regular functionaries deputed to attend to a fixed sphere of duty and control so obviously suggested as the natural remedy in the case seems never to have occurred to him. Now this is most remarkable. What is the explanation of his forbearance?

The answer takes us directly to the question of the Pauline and New Testament theory of the Church. That theory is that the Ecclesia is entirely independent of any external, statutory organisation, and indeed entirely incompatible with it. The Ecclesia is a purely ideal conception. It is the entire body of those in earth or heaven who believe in Jesus Christ. Wherever He is present there is the Ecclesia with all its and His powers, and He is present wherever two or three are met together in His name. It is essentially a society, only in active relation with his fellows can a man live the Christian life, but a purely ideal society; that is, one which on the one hand expands into infinite comprehensiveness, knowing no limits of space or time, which on the other hand can contract to the very minimum of numbers capable of affording scope for brotherhood, without losing one atom of the entire totality of its functions. The smallest Household Church represents all Christendom, can proclaim the forgiveness of sins, solemnise the reception of a new member, excommunicate an impenitent offender, celebrate the Lord's Supper, accept and ratify revelation of new truth, with no less finality and authoritativeness than the mightiest assembled multitude on

whom the Holy Spirit descends in cloven tongues and fire. Numbers have nothing to do with it, nor external forms, nor the legitimation of any human authority. The spirit of truth has everything; and that may make two men its organs as well as a thousand men. The deciding circumstance is not count of heads, nor anything else measurable by the senses; it is conformity with the will of God and the mind of Jesus Christ.

In this society, however, though in all its members there is but one spirit, there exist, nevertheless, great differences of gifts. One man may have had so controlling a vision of the risen Lord that he is driven forth from land to land to proclaim His glory. Such an one is an Apostle. Another may have revelations of new truth which break forth from him in fervid words compelling faith and quickening love. He is a Prophet. Another has the gift of tongues, an ecstatic utterance wonderfully moving, but requiring interpretation into ordinary speech if it is to enlighten the intelligence. Another has a gift for practical management and for wisely directing the steps of younger and weaker brethren in the arduous path of the Christian profession. He is a pastor or governor, and so on. Now each of these gifts implies two things. First, a corresponding duty of service (*diakonia*) on the part of its possessors; second, a duty of recognition on the part of all Christian people. It is most important to lay stress on this second duty, because it is here above all that we find the point of attachment between the original theory of the Church and the subsequent ecclesiastical and sacerdotal development. One is apt to call the Apostolic Church the most thorough-going democracy ever realised in human society. We have seen that at Corinth the entire assembly acts immediately, even in cases where a delegation of its powers to some smaller body would most naturally have suggested itself. There is, however, one qualifying circumstance of immense significance which goes far to explain how it came to pass that out of this apparently anarchic democracy there eventually developed the most compact and highly centralised organisation the world has ever seen. It is this. Neither the sovereign assembly as a whole, nor any of its members, have any power or any rights in themselves. There is but one authority recognised. That is the spirit and the word of God. When this has spoken the Church has only the right to obey. And

there are in the Church organs through which the Spirit speaks, namely, those who are endowed with the gift of teaching; that is, above all, apostles and prophets. It is not a matter of choice whether one is to receive the truth uttered by these or not. All are bound to recognise and conform themselves to that. At the same time it is not in virtue of any official position that these gifted individuals can claim obedience, but simply as the mouth-pieces through which the voice of God makes itself heard. God may choose any instrument to make his will known, and it is not confined to any man nor to any special set of men. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. Wherever two or three are gathered together a word may be given to the humblest and most unlikely member of Christ's body, which is no less authoritative for all Christians than the utterances of a Peter or a Paul. Therefore the assembly are not mere passive recipients of the word. They are entitled and bound "to try all things and hold fast that which is good." Whoever the speaker might be, and we have every reason to believe that he might be anyone who felt that he had some message to deliver, they were to try his teaching by the touchstone of that spirit which was universally diffused among them. The free activity demanded of them in assimilating the truth with all the force of heart and mind implies a corresponding energy of rejection in the case of all that was not of God. Hence throughout the New Testament the whole community is held responsible for the doctrine which prevails among them, and not merely the disseminators of that doctrine.

It is, however, as easy to see as it is important to remark, that in this recognition on the part of the freest and most ideal of all societies of an unconditional authority which declares itself most usually and manifestly through certain gifted individuals, there lies the germ of a tremendous official domination. The usual frost which follows the fire of a great creative period has only to fall, the gifts (*charismata*) of the early Church have only to stiffen into ecclesiastical offices, the free operations of the spirit have only to be confined to hierarchical channels and all the unlimited authority rightly claimed for the living revelations of God through Prophets and Apostles will be confiscated for the benefit of ordinary Church magistrates, whose platitudes will claim the faith and reverence due to heavenly inspirations.

We can now answer the question why Paul in seeking a remedy for the disorders at Corinth did not adopt the obvious device of resorting to some kind of administrative mechanism. A formal ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of Christ would have been for him a contradiction in terms. That Church, according to him, was governed by the spirit of God, which must be left free to choose its own organs. Every separate community was entitled and bound to find out for themselves the fit persons to discharge the various functions of their common Christian life, to profit by their services and to submit to their authority just in so far as they recognised in them the mind of Christ. At their own peril it was if they rebelliously fell short or slavishly went too far in their obedience.

Such, then, was the Church of Paul, and indeed of the New Testament generally. Some parts of it, written after Paul's time, like the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably the Pastoral Letters, show an advance in the direction of later times and traces of a much more definite organisation than are to be found in his undoubted writings. But it is still true that the essential distinguishing marks of Paul's conception remain fixed throughout the New Testament. This is natural enough. The common sense and religious experience of Christendom gradually selected these writings out of a mass of competitors because it instinctively found in them a certain elevation of spiritual insight which placed them in a class apart, and that level of religious thinking would certainly have proved fatal to the type of ecclesiological speculation which soon meets us—the very threshold of the Apostolic age.

To recapitulate, the marks of the New Testament Church Theory are these. The entire absence of any fixed authoritative outward organisation, the prevalence of "charismata" or gifts instead of ecclesiastical offices, the free control and untrammelled operation of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is not here confined to any fixed channels. He is not tied down to reveal Himself through certain constitutionally-appointed magistrates accredited for all Christians beyond the reach of doubt by the fact that their ordination is without a flaw. Before the close of the Apostolic period it is clear that formal offices existed in the Church, and that men were set apart to discharge

them in a regular manner and with a fixed ritual, the laying on of hands. But in the first place it was not this ordination which conferred the gift, it was the gift which gave its possessor a claim to ordination. Secondly, the persons so ordained, though the usual, were not the only media of revelation. And lastly, it was recognised that any man's words, whatever might be his office, were to be accepted, not because he held that office, but solely because the hearts of his hearers bore him witness that they were the words of God. The final binding force was the correspondence between the outward revelation in the doctrine of Prophet or Apostle, and the inward light in the minds of all members of Christ's body.

If we turn now to Irenaeus and Cyprian, we find a theory of the Church not merely different from this, but practically the very opposite of it. Here the Church is a perfectly palpable quantity, an external institution visible to all eyes. There are certain outward marks which are indispensable to the true Church. It is not conceivable without a certain fixed legal organisation. It is not now, as once, every assembly of Christian men, though their numbers be a minimum, which can claim the presence of Christ, and with it the power to exercise the entire functions of the Church. In order that any assemblage of Christians can do so, it must act under the direction of properly constituted offices, bishops, presbyters and deacons. No true and valid ministry of the Word and Sacraments is possible without them. And not only so. It is not an ecclesiastical oligarchy we have before us. It is an absolute monarchy. The powers of all officials but one are merely derivative and subordinate. There is in each separate and local community a single head, the sole organ in the last resort of all authority, doctrinal, administrative and judicial. This is the Bishop. Without him there is no Church. Cyprian writes\* : "*Ecclesia est in Episcopo,*" and he goes on to say that whoever is separated from the bishop is not in the Church, and is therefore outside the pale of salvation. The bishop is the successor and representative of the Apostles, and has the grace of truth (*Charisma veritatis*) in virtue of his office. Therefore he is the only authoritative teacher. He cannot be deposed, even in the case of mortal sin, by his community without recourse to a

\*Epistle 66, 8.

†Iren. iv, 26, 2.



synod of his peers. Cyprian, representing the old tradition of the people's right to depose unworthy officers, opposed this, but the Roman Bishop Stephanus about the middle of the third century succeeded in obtaining a recognition of the principle.

Thus the bishop is raised to a position of absolute sovereignty over his flock. He is absolute in all matters of church government and discipline. Not only is he the authoritative revealer of God's truth; he has the sole right to apply it to all practical exigencies that may arise. He has in spite of Montanists and Novatians the right of absolution from mortal sin. He is the priest of the community, and properly the only priest. The presbyters are but his shadows and his delegates. He has the entire control of the Eucharist. It cannot be celebrated without his permission—by his own hands or through some one specially commissioned by him. This is the more significant, because the doctrine of a bloody sacrifice in the Mass, the indispensable means of removing sins, is already maturing. The bishop, and no other, offers up to God the atoning blood of Christ, without which there is no salvation. His priesthood is all inclusive and complete. He is the sole representative of the people before God and of God to the people. There is but one check on this tremendous power. So far as the single community is concerned the process of centralisation can go no further; but as yet the various communities, each with its sovereign ruler, are at least in theory independent and equal. There is as yet no one bishop who claims to be *Episcopus Episcoporum*. Already, however, there are abundant signs that the time for this is also coming. Rome holds a preponderating weight of dignity and influence: the process which has already gone so far has only to advance a little farther in the direct line of its course, the unity of organisation realised in each community has only to be applied to the whole Church and the papacy will be there full-blown.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

(To be continued.)

THE UNNAMED LAKE, BY FREDERICK GEORGE  
SCOTT.\*

“ With child-faith dead, and youth-dreams gone like mist,  
We stand, at noon, beneath the blazing sun  
Upon life's dusty road, our course half done.  
No more we stray through woods where birds hold tryst,  
Nor over mountains which the dawn hath kissed ;  
In glare and heat the race must now be run  
On this blank plain, while round us, one by one,  
Our friends drop out and urge us to desist.  
Then from the brazen sky rings out a voice,  
' Faint not, strong souls, quit you like men, rejoice,  
That now like men ye bear the stress and strain,  
With eyes unbound seeing life's naked truth.  
Gird up your loins, press on with might and main,  
And taste a richer wine than that of youth.' ”

The spectacle of the man who, though he has found the dreams of his youth to be vain, still bears his part in life cheerfully, believing that if he resists what is sordid, selfish and grinding, he will in the end have his reward, and “ taste a richer wine than that of youth,” always inspires, even though the toiler, in keeping his eye fixed upon the goal, misses the joy and the beauty of the things at his feet. In the foregoing sonnet Mr. Scott is probably sketching his own inner life, and other poems in this little volume fill in the picture.

Such expressions as ‘ the silences of God,’ ‘ the battles of God,’ ‘ the breath of God,’ ‘ the bosom of God,’ ‘ God's errands,’ scattered through the book, reveal the way in which the poet regards his vocation. He at least seeks to believe that nature is, as Gæthe has called it, *der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid*, a living dress woven in the loom of time and showing forth the divine mind. The pattern of this garment, to continue the figure, it is the work of the poet to disclose, even when he sings of some special object, since the little flower, as seen by the poet's eye, contains something of God and man. In sympathy with this view Mr. Scott has spoken of the primal elements of creation as

\**The Unnamed Lake and Other Poems*, by Frederick George Scott. Toronto :  
William Briggs.

“ the dark voids where God went on His ways,” and of the stars as “ like grains of golden sand which God had scattered loosely from His hand.” More than that, in *A Song of Triumph* the poet, using the fact of evolution, has sought to proclaim that nature has been slowly working out the divine scheme, by which

“ Man shall behold, in the gold of the firmament passing in heat,  
The face of the Proved and Beloved who descends with the stars at  
His feet.”

We have to do, therefore, with a poet who has a serious purpose, not one who finds in a solitary flower a symbol of his own aloofness from the world, not one who calls upon others to take an interest in the ebb and flow of his private moods, not the idle singer of an empty day.

A fastidious reader, when weighing the phrase, ‘ the silences of God ’, and the other similar phrases mentioned above, would, I believe, find them somewhat too insistent, and somewhat, also, too inflexible. An idea, held with perfect freedom, will be varied in expression, and will take the form of suggestion rather than of direct announcement. It is not a surprise, therefore, that the general cast of Mr. Scott’s idea of God should be, as we may say, theological. The process of evolution, leading onward to the day when man is to find a “ throne in the bosom of God,” is said to involve the passing of the firmament in heat and the crumbling of the planets in space, and the real harmony of nature and God, without which the divine love is deprived of its substance, seems to be for the time being forgotten. Such a view of God almost justifies the devotee of passion, who refuses to gain heaven by the sacrifice of the joys of earth.

In *A Dream of the Prehistoric*, where nature is regarded as the region of law, the same contrast between nature and God appears ;

“ But the law, that was victor of old, with its heel on the neck of the  
brute,  
Still tramples our hearts in the darkness, still grinds down our face in  
the dust.”

From this tyranny of law the human spirit escapes into freedom.  
“ Let us mount in the glory of manhood, and meet the God-Man face  
to face.”

The poet rightly dwells upon the union of man with the divine as the completion of human life, but this union cannot be obtained by setting aside nature. It is better to think with Browning that "all's love" and "all's law."

This break between the nature of God on the one side and the physical universe and human want on the other, introduces into Mr. Scott's finest verse a pathetic note of disquietude and estrangement. The sonnet entitled *The Heaven of Love* is an interesting example :

" I rose at midnight and beheld the sky  
 Sown thick with stars, like grains of golden sand  
 Which God had scattered loosely from His hand  
 Upon the floorways of His house on high ;  
 And straight I pictured to my spirit's eye  
 The giant worlds, their course by wisdom planned,  
 The weary wastes, the gulfs no sight hath spanned,  
 And endless time for ever passing by.  
 Then filled with wonder and a secret dread,  
 I crept to where my child lay fast asleep,  
 With chubby arm beneath his golden head.  
 What cared I then for all the stars above ?  
 One little face shut out the boundless deep,  
 One little heart revealed the heaven of love."

A short poem, such as Wordsworth's *Daffodils*, though it does not undertake to justify the ways of God to nature, may yet be so pervaded by the feeling of the beauty, truth and goodness of nature as to create in the reader a confident joy. In this poem daffodils dance in sprightly glee, praising the Eternal, just as of old the little hills had been said to clap their hands. Again, in Browning's *An Incident of the French Camp*, the courage of the lad in planting the flag in the market-place of Ratisbon, and the fine modest pride which sends him, when he has only a few minutes to live, galloping with the news to Napoleon, not only suggests the valour of all the troops on the occasion, but gives us a heightened faith in human heroism. The confidence and joy which exhale from these poems are not different from the hushed sense of unassailable security which takes possession of those who enter into the spirit of a great tragedy. Mr. Scott is, no doubt, well aware of this. Indeed, in order to steep his verse in the

calm faith, which is a characteristic of all great poets, he has only to take more fully to heart his own wise words :

“ But the music poets make  
Is a deathless strain,  
For they do from sorrow take,  
And from pain,  
Such a sweetness as imparts  
Joy that never dies.”

He has to wring joy out of the human heart itself, and also, we may add, out of nature, however hard this task may be, if he is to sing all the notes of “ A Song of Triumph.”

S. W. DYDE.

---

### CURRENT EVENTS.

---

MUCH speculation is current these days regarding a possible Anglo-Saxon alliance as the result of the present outburst of cordiality between England and the United States. Some Anglo-Saxon who have closely watched in the present and traced in Alliance. the past the relations between England and the United States have long held that it only required some such occasion as this to bring out the strong latent sympathy and common interest between them. The very volume and variety of the mutual gibing and teasing in which they were wont to indulge in fair weather, indicated quite plainly the depth and strength of the current which bore them on together. But, although for the moment something has occurred to reveal to the common man the strength and depth of this bond, there is no occasion for either expecting or desiring that it should issue in a definite alliance. Formal alliances are not at all adapted to the Anglo-Saxon temperament, whether English or American. Temporary agreements for specific purposes are all very good when occasion requires. But blanket alliances, intended to be durable and to front the unseen, are, for democratic peoples like the Anglo-Saxons, neither workable nor desirable. Free and independent development of the parts, accompanied by constant intercourse and mutual interchange of ideas, is the only feasible ideal, whether for the Anglo-Saxon world as a whole, or for that scattered collection of variously governed communities which make up the British Empire.

To develop to the greatest possible degree a free and spontaneous intercourse, material and spiritual, between all parts of

the English-speaking world, is an object of the highest importance and worthy of all effort. But when the attempt is made to unite together distant portions by formal bonds, however perfect they may seem at the time, much injury is sure to result and the aim certain to be defeated. This is due chiefly to the temperament of the Anglo-Saxon race, the natural character of their methods of progress, and the rapidity with which the details of modern life, especially in English-speaking countries, tend to change and recast themselves. The most skilfully constructed bonds for mutual support would cease to fit easily almost as soon as adjusted, and in a short time would be found irksome and cramping. On the other hand the free cultivation of a good understanding between the various branches of the Anglo-Saxon world would undoubtedly result, in the hour of need, in a spontaneous outburst of hearty sympathy and active co-operation, such as the stipulated requisitions of the most carefully framed treaty or federation could never equal.

Much the most important outcome of the present war for the people of the United States, is likely to be the raising of the question as to whether the United States is to maintain its former integrity, or to set out on a career of colonial expansion. In choosing the latter course the possibilities, alike for the nation itself and for the world in general, are so varied and so momentous that the thought of them may well give pause to its wisest citizens. And indeed the wisest are those who hesitate most, while the ignorant and novelty-struck, being doubtless in the majority, seem quite prepared to launch forth blithe of heart on any sort of expansive course, quite oblivious of the very great change of policy involved. It is impossible to discuss the subject here, we can only mention a few of the important problems to be faced.

To take over any of the Spanish colonies, outside of the West Indies, would involve the giving up of the Munroe Doctrine, the essence of which is to meddle with nothing outside of America and to permit no outsiders to interfere with America. Is the United States prepared to throw over at one heave the parting injunction of "the father of his country," and what has hitherto been her one principle of international politics?

Can a republic, with a constitution like that of the United States, undertake to carry on a colonial system? Have the people of the United States realized that to manage, or rather to refrain from managing a colonial empire is one of the most difficult tasks which a nation can undertake, that only one nation has been at all successful in this line, and that their own separate national existence resulted from a blunder of that nation?

Have they considered what it would mean to assume the control and the responsibility of the old Spanish colonies, mismanaged for centuries and stereotyped in a perverted system of customs, habits, social life and general administration? Are they prepared, as a republic adapted for national not for international purposes, their international machinery being very diffuse, clumsy and slow-working, to undertake that active part in international politics which the possession of a scattered colonial empire must involve?

Should the United States decide on the expansive policy, beginning with the Spanish colonies, the world will no doubt benefit, and in the end possibly the country itself, but in the meantime it will have a bad half century before it, and the indulgence will come high.

So much has been written of Mr. Gladstone since his death that scarce anything worth saying remains unsaid. But of the things that have been said it is worth noting that all the best pens agree in emphasizing, amid his many remarkable qualities, the intensity of his moral nature. From this resulted at once his absolutely dauntless courage and his overwhelming influence with men on all great occasions. What has not been noted so often is that this intensely personal moral quality, while contributing so greatly to his pre-eminence as a domestic statesman, yet led to most of his failures as a foreign statesman. He found it difficult, if not impossible, to judge of states in their relations to each other by any other standards than those which apply to individuals. Hence it is that some of the most troublesome of Britain's foreign difficulties to-day are the results of Mr. Gladstone's one-sidedness in this respect.

His attitude on the Irish question was also determined much more on moral than on political grounds. Even at the very last, after so long an experience as first minister, we find him taking an extreme position on the Armenian question. He sought to force the government to go directly and single-handed to the assistance of the Armenians, regardless of international consequences of the most alarming nature. As is obvious from his many utterances on the subject, he regarded the whole matter from an elementary moral point of view.

How rare, however, to find a politician with such intensity of moral earnestness as the mainspring of all his purposes.

In every way Mr. Gladstone was a thoroughly British product. Nowhere but amid the higher grades of British spiritual life could his great natural qualities have been brought to such rich and full maturity, and it is with the strictest justice that his country may claim a very large share in the honour of his achievement.

It is to be hoped that we shall have an adequate biography of him for a study of the lives of great men is more refreshing and instructive than volumes of theory on life.

A nation is known by its great men, and through them by its great deeds. The lives and deeds of its great men come in time to be the living past of the nation. They are its standards, its self-respect, its conscience. If Canada would truly prove its British connection it must first produce the intellectual, social and political climate capable of bringing to similar maturity the latent powers of those who are potentially her great men.

The coincidence of several whole or partial harvest failures last season has caused an advance in the price of grain. This circumstance has given rise to the usual crop of mushroom alarms about the precarious nature of the food supply of Great Britain. The uncertainty of all earthly things is frequent subject of pious remark or cheap philosophy, not being difficult of proof. If the other strong nations in the world were to unite of a sudden and pounce upon Britain with the object of destroying her it would doubtless fare ill with her; but in such a case there would be much more serious questions to consider than where she might get food. She certainly could not get it from her colonies. So, if some fine morning the earth were to grow dizzy with her whirling and fall into the sun, there would be more serious problems arise than how the change would affect the tariff. It were well before worrying overmuch about the variety of Britain's food sources and the dangers which are possible in transit, to ponder a little the question as to what conceivable combination of circumstances would make it to the interest of the nations to deprive themselves of the benefits of the British markets, especially in this age when national policies are determined no longer on dynastic but on commercial lines. Dependence upon others for the means of life by buying and selling is the rule of modern life for both individuals and nations. Whether is the lot of the citizen more precarious now when he depends upon others all over the earth for the supply of his daily wants, or when as one of a small feudal group he lived under the shelter of a moated castle and with his family produced all his supplies?

S.



# EARLY NUMBERS OF QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.



There is a constant demand for early numbers of the QUARTERLY from subscribers who wish to complete their sets. The stock of Volume I and of Nos. I and III of Volume II is exhausted. Any parties who are willing to return their copies of these numbers at the original price are requested to communicate with the Business Manager,

N. R. CARMICHAEL, M.A.,  
Queen's University.

---

## The Making of the Canadian West

By REV. R. G. MACBETH, M.A., Author of "The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life."

PRICE \$1.00, POST PAID.

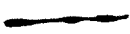
CONTENTS.—Musings of the Old—The Pathos and Peril of Change—Armed Rebellion—The Plot Thickens—Some Counter Efforts and their Results—Collapse of the Rebellion—The Making of a Province—Contact with the Outside World—A "Boom" and Another Rebellion—Campaigning on the Prairies—Rebellion at an End—Religious and Educational Development.

"Many requests from the readers of his book on 'The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life' have led the author, the Rev. R. G. MacBeth, to continue the history down to recent date in another volume. Mr. MacBeth is a native of the country, and belongs to a connection that came into close contact with the principal men and incidents of the earlier days, and he himself, as a student, lawyer, soldier and clergyman, is qualified to tell vividly the story of Manitoba's political as well as religious and educational progress."—*Winnipeg Free Press*.

WILLIAM BRIGGS, Publisher, 29-23 Richmond St. W., TORONTO.

---

## ANNUAL VOLUMES FOR 1897.



- |                            |                  |                           |                 |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| The Adviser, 35c.          | Chatterbox, 90c. | Family Friend, 50c.       | Sunday, \$1.00. |
| Band of Hope Review, 35.   |                  | Friendly Visitor, 50c.    |                 |
| Boys' Sunday Annual, 50c.  |                  | Infant's Magazine, 50c.   |                 |
| British Workman, 50c.      |                  | Little Folks, \$1.00.     |                 |
| Child's Companion, 50c.    |                  | Light in the Home, 50c.   |                 |
| Child's Own Magazine, 35c. |                  | Our Little Dots, 40c.     | The Prize, 50c. |
| Children's Friend, 50c.    |                  | Pansy's Sunday Book, 75c. |                 |
| Children's Treasury, 35c.  |                  | Sunday Magazine, \$2.25.  |                 |
| Cottager and Artizan, 50c. |                  | Good Words, \$2.25.       |                 |

PRESBYTERIAN BOOK OF PRAISE in a great variety of type and binding.

**UPPER CANADA TRACT SOCIETY,**

102 Yonge Street, Toronto.

# QUEEN'S QUARTERLY,

PUBLISHED JULY, OCTOBER, JANUARY AND APRIL,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF ALUMNI AND FRIENDS OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON, CANADA.

Publishing Committee:

JAMES CAPTON, M.A.

A. P. KNIGHT, M.A., M.D.

G. Y. CHOWN, B.A.

G. M. GRANT, M.A., D.D., CHAIRMAN.

N. F. DUPUIS, M.A.

A. SHORTT, M.A.

J. MACNAUGHTON, M.A.

G. M. MACDONNELL, B.A., Q.C.

DONALD ROSS, D.D.

R. V. ROGERS, Q.C., LL.D.

JOHN HERALD, M.A., M.D.

All business communications should be addressed to the Business Manager,

N. R. CARMICHAEL, M.A.,

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,

KINGSTON, CANADA

## KINGSTON SCHOOL OF MINING AND AGRICULTURE

Incorporated by Act of Ontario Legislature, 1893.

SESSION 1898-9.

Department of Mining and Assaying.—Classes open Sept. 26. Prospectors' course begins Jan. 10, 1899.

Department of Dairying (Fortnightly Classes), commencing Dec. 1, 1898, to April 8, 1899.

Department of Veterinary Practice commencing October, 1898.

For Calendar containing information about Fees, Courses of Study, &c., apply to  
W. MASON, Bursar, Kingston, Ont.

## QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF MEDICINE

AND

## ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

A Thorough Course in Medicine and Surgery Leads to the Degree of M.D. and C.M.

Practical and Clinical Instruction is given in the amphitheatre of the Kingston General Hospital, L'Hotel Dieu Hospital for the Insane, and the Provincial Penitentiary.

Exceptional advantages are afforded for the study of Practical Anatomy.

The Forty-fifth Session commences on Tuesday, October 4th, 1898.

Animal biology, including physiology, histology and embryology, is in charge of Dr. KNIGHT, who devotes his whole time to them. Each student, during his course, mounts over an microscope specimens, illustrating physiology and embryology.

Pathology and bacteriology are now taught by Prof. W. T. CORNELL, who devotes his whole time to these important branches.

Further information and Calendar may be had from the Dean, PIPE FOWLER, M.D., or DR. HERALD, Secretary, Kingston, Ont.