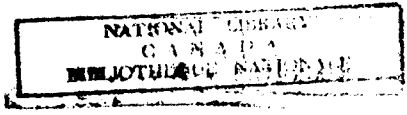


VOL. V.

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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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VOL. V.

APRIL, 1898.

No. 4

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THE JESUIT RELATIONS.

IN these days of cablegrams, telegrams and shorthand the idea of perusing sixty octavo volumes of three hundred pages each, devoted to the sayings and doings of a few members of a religious society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in one quarter of the globe, seems at first sight rather overpowering. Yet Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, evidently expected us to read all these volumes when he sent his agent to solicit our subscription to "*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the French Canadian Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.*" We undertook the task when we subscribed, and now we can say we have read eight of the series with interest, with pleasure and we trust with profit.*

Parkman tells us that "few passages of history are more striking than those which record the efforts of the earlier French Jesuits to convert the Indians—they are of dramatic and philosophic interest. The *Relations* appeal equally to the spirit of religion and the spirit of romantic adventure." Bancroft says, "The history of Jesuit missions is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America. Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." (A little inexact is the latter statement.) Kip writes, "There is no page of our country's history more touching and romantic than that which records the labours and sufferings of the Jesuit

*This paper was written November, 1897.

missionaries." Winsor speaks of "that series of wonderful letters known as the *Jesuit Relations*; while our own Kingsford remarks that "no newspaper correspondent ever made greater efforts more favorably to represent the cause he was advertising. The whole of the *Relations* are marked by extraordinary literary ability."

In these degenerate times when the accursed thirst for gold is the prime mover in the opening up and colonising of new lands, it is well to remember that it was far otherwise in the now despised seventeenth century. "Religious enthusiasm colonised New England, and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools, the Roman church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals and its seminaries. The influence of Calvinism can be traced in every New England village; in Canada, the monuments of feudalism and of the Catholic church stand side by side, and the names of Montmorency and Bourbon, of Levi and Condé, are mingled with the memorials of St. Athanasius and Augustine, of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola."* In the early days the strength of New France lay in its missions, and its colonisers thought more of giving heaven to the Indians than of gaining wealth for themselves. Governor De Montmagny fell down before the first cross he saw on landing, and rejoiced with exceeding great joy because his first act could be the standing god-father at the baptism of a poor savage. In Champlain's day the fort at Quebec was like a well ordered academy.

Of the Jesuits, Parkman says, "No religious order has ever united in itself so much to be admired and so much to be detested. Unmixed praise has been poured on its Canadian members. One great aim engrossed their lives, 'For the greater glory of God'—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*—they would act or wait, dare, suffer or die; yet all in unquestioning subjection to the authority of the Superiors, in whom they recognized the agents of Divine authority itself." And Bancroft writes, "Every tradition bears testimony to their (the Jesuits') worth. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of vain glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unutterable peace.

*Bancroft *Hist. of U. S.*, chap. 32.

The few who lived to grow old, though bowed by the toils of a long mission still kindled with the fervour of apostolic zeal."

The *Relations* are, in fact, the journals kept by the Jesuits while labouring to plant the cross among the Indians of New France. It was their duty to transmit to their Superior at Montreal, or Quebec, a written record of their doings; they had occasionally to come back from their distant fields of labour and go into retreat at the central home of the mission. The Superior annually made up a narrative, or relation, of the most important events in his large missionary jurisdiction which he forwarded to the Provincial of the order in France, who in his turn carefully scrutinised and re-edited the reports before he handed them to the printer. The *Relations* proper begin with Le Jeune's "*Brieve Relation du voyage de la Nouvelle France*," which appeared in a duodecimo volume in 1632, neatly printed and bound in vellum, and year by year there issued from the press of Sebastien Cramoisy, at the sign of the Storks, Rue St. Jacques, Paris, a similar volume until 1673, when the series ceased, probably owing to the influence of Count Frontenac to whom the Jesuits were distasteful. In addition to these forty volumes (technically known to collectors as Cramoisy's) many similar publications appeared, a few before but the majority after. The *Relations* at once became popular in the court circles of France, their regular appearance was always awaited with the keenest interest and assisted greatly in creating and fostering the enthusiasm of pious philanthropists who for many years maintained these missions. About half a century ago Dr. O'Callaghan, editor of *The Documentary History of New York*, and Dr. Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States* and Father Martin, S. J., of Montreal, drew the attention of the literary world to the great value of the *Relations* as store-houses of contemporary information. A scramble at once began for Cramoisy's, collectors found them very scarce, the devout readers of the XVIIth century had actually worn them out. The only complete set in America is in the Lennox library, New York. In 1858 the Canadian Government reprinted the Cramoisy's, with a few additions, in three large octavo volumes under the editorship of Father Martin. These, too, are now rare. Shea and O'Callaghan each brought out very small edi-

tions, chiefly of documents that had not appeared in print before. These are now being reissued by Mr. Thwaites, together with much material hitherto unpublished and some of the works of Abbes Laverdiere, Casgrain and Martin. The original text is given with an English rendering; we are promised maps, engravings, portraits and fac-similes of writings and notes historical, biographical, archaeological and miscellaneous. The series will consist of sixty octavo volumes.

These Jesuits wandered about the continent from the ice-bound rocky shores of Hudson's Bay and Labrador on the north to Kentucky and Louisiana in the south, and from Nova Scotia and Massachusetts in the east to Minnesota, Missouri and Wisconsin on the west; they launched their frail canoes upon the swift waters of the Mississippi, the St. John and the St. Lawrence; they braved the stormy winds and waves on all the inland seas, to add lustre to their Redeemer's crown by plucking brands from the burning; they visited such widely scattered tribes as the Abenakis and the Arkansas, the Cherokees, the Chickesaws, the Choctaws and the Crees, the Foxes and the Hurons, Iroquois and Illinois, the Miamis and the Micmacs, Neuters and Nipissings, Ottawas and Penobscots, Porcupines and Pottawattomies, the Seminoles and the Sioux, the Susquehannas and the Winnebagoes, the Wyandots and the Yazoos.

To descend from generalities to particulars. The series fitly begins with Lescarbot's *La Conversion des Sauvages*. Lescarbot was a Huguenot, lawyer, poet and historian. He was a protege of DeMonts and Poutrincourt; these adventurers, while allowed to have Huguenot ministers for their colonists, had undertaken that the natives should be converted only by Roman Catholic priests. A settlement had been formed at Port Royal, in Acadia, and a secular priest was there in 1610; Poutrincourt did not relish the idea of Jesuits coming into his fair domain, so Lescarbot describes with unction the baptism of the old chieftain Membertou and some twenty other Micmacs to satisfy the authorities in France that evangelistic work was making good progress without the Jesuits. Membertou was the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; he was of splendid physique, taller and larger limbed than most of the

natives, bearded like a Frenchman, grave and reserved, and at that time over one hundred years old.

Notwithstanding this good work the Jesuits did come, and we have in volume I letters from Father Pierre Biard and Father Massé (who were the first arrivals) describing first, the difficulties they had in obtaining passage to Port Royal, owing to the machinations of the heretic merchants of Dieppe, which, however, were eventually overcome by the queen and some of her ladies buying the whole ship and her cargo; then detailing the incidents of the voyage which lasted from the 26th January, 1611, to the 22nd May, during which time they were cabined in a vessel of sixty tons burden. Father Biard found to his surprise that the great cod-fish banks off Newfoundland (which island, by the way, he calls the "Azores of the great bank,") were neither sand nor mud banks, as he had thought when in France. The good priest on shipboard was "gay and happy and by the grace of God was never ill enough to stay in bed," although he writes "good Father Massé suffered a good deal, and we could not rest day or night. When we wished to eat, a dish suddenly slipped from us and struck somebody's head. We fell over each other and against the baggage, and thus found ourselves mixed up with others who had been upset in the same way; cups were spilled over our beds, and bowls into our laps, or a big wave demanded our plates." And yet they all felt like Brebeuf who exclaimed that he would cross the great ocean to reclaim by baptism one soul for our Lord.

The baptised Indians were found to be in an unsatisfactory state, with practically all their old savagery, customs, usages, fashions and vices; and quite oblivious of any distinctions as to days or times, prayers or duties. Some were very gracious, as the sagamore, who, hearing that the king of France was young and unmarried, was almost inclined to give his majesty his daughter to wife, provided he was handsomely rewarded by a few cloaks, bows, arrows and harpoons.

Volume I concludes with "an account of the Canadian Mission from 1611 to 1613, with the condition of the same Mission in 1703 and 1713, by Joseph Jovency, a priest of the Society of Jesus," and a graphic story "of the country and manners of the Canadians, or savages of New France," by the same, detailing

their customs, characteristics, superstitions, mode of living, and the game which they hunted. From this writer we learn that in the left hind hoof of the moose there "is a certain marvellous and manifold virtue; it avails especially against epilepsy, whether it be applied to the breast where the heart is, or whether it be placed in the bezel of a ring which is worn upon the finger next to the little finger on the left hand, or if it be held in the hollow of the left hand clenched in the fist. Nor does it have less power in the case of pleurisy, dizziness, and, if we may believe those familiar with it, six hundred other diseases."

The second volume contains a letter from Biard, dated 31st January, 1612, to the Provincial of the order in France, describing his work among the Red-men of Acadia, and his journey by land and sea around the Bay of Fundy, and another letter from him to the General of the order giving a full account of New France and its savages, the offspring (as he calls them) of Boreas and the ice; Father Fleche's work before the coming of the Jesuits, the beginning of their mission, and the labours and travels of himself and his fellow priest, with the conversions they had made and the prospects of their work.

Lescarbot follows with his "Last Relation of what took place in the voyage made by Sieur de Poutrincourt to New France in 1610"; and the volume closes with "A Relation of occurrences in the mission of New France during 1610 and 1614, from the published annual letters of the Society of Jesus." These last documents are in Latin. There is of necessity much of repetition, as each different writer gives his version of the same events and describes in his own words the land, its woods and its rivers, its climate, its peoples and their customs, languages and habits.

Speaking of their religion, Biard tells us that the conceptions of the Indians were limited to things sensible and material, that they could comprehend nothing abstract, internal, spiritual or general. Their whole religion consisted of certain incantations, dances and sorcery; they had no temples, sacred edifices, rites, ceremonies or religious teaching; no laws, arts, or government, save certain customs and traditions of which they were very tenacious. They had medicine-men who consulted the evil spirit concerning life and death and future events; and they

asserted that the Evil Spirit often came to them and approved or disapproved of their schemes and plans. They had great faith in dreams. Biard thought, however, that "of the one supreme God they had a certain slender notion, but they were so prevented by false ideas and custom that they really worshipped the Devil." Of the Indians of Cape Breton, Father Perrault tells us, (Vol. VIII) "We have not up to the present noticed any more religion among these poor savages than among the brutes." Lalemant in 1626 (Vol. IV.) speaking of the natives around Quebec, says, "They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in fact, they assure you that after death they go to heaven where they eat mushrooms and hold intercourse with each other." "They have no form of divine worship or any kind of prayers. They believe, however, that there is One who made all but they do not render him any homage."

On the other hand Le Jeune says they believed in certain Genii of the air who could foretell future events and were consulted through the medicine-men. At feasts the men threw some grease into the fire, saying, "Make us find something to eat. Make us find something to eat." He considered this a prayer and an offering to the Genii. He tells us (Vol. VI) that the children prayed, but "O my God what prayers they make; in the morning when they come out of their cabins they shout 'Come porcupines, come beavers, come elks!'" He heard Indians pray for the spring, for deliverance from evil, and for the Manitou not to cast his eyes upon their enemies so that they might kill them. They were great singers, and sang not only for amusement but for a thousand superstitious purposes; not one of them understood what he was singing, except when they sang for recreation. They accompanied their songs with the rattling of a drum; and the singing, the drumming, with the howling choruses of the spectators, were deemed very efficacious in restoring the sick and the dying to health.

At first some of the Indians accepted baptism merely as a sign of friendship with the French, so the Jesuits early determined to baptise no adult unless he had been well instructed in the mysteries of the faith and catechized. When teaching their language the crafty Red-men sometimes deceived the good Fathers, palming off indecent words and expressions upon them,

which they went about innocently preaching for beautiful sentences from the gospel.

Of the Hurons, Brebeuf says in 1635 (Vol. VIII): "It is so clear, so evident that there is a Divinity who has made heaven and earth, that our Hurons cannot entirely ignore it. And although the eyes of their mind are very much obscured by the darkness of long ignorance, by their vices and their sins they still see something of it. But they misapprehend Him grossly, and having the knowledge of God they do not render him the honor, the love nor the service that is due him. For they have neither temples, nor priests, nor feasts, nor any ceremonies. They say a woman named Eataentsic made the earth and men, and governs it with the aid of her little son, Jouskeha. He looks after the things of life, and is considered good; she has the care of souls, causes death, and so deemed wicked." According to the Montagnais, one Atachocan created the world and all that is therein. Once upon a time there was a flood and the world was lost in the waters, Messou sent out a raven to find a small piece of the earth, but water was everywhere; then he made an otter dive, but the flood was too deep; then a musk-rat was sent down and he brought back some soil, out of this Messou restored everything, and marrying a little lady muskrat he re-peopled the earth and lived happily ever afterwards. He gave a certain savage the gift of immortality done up in a little package, with strict orders to keep it closed, while he did so he and his friends were immortal; alas the man's wife was very curious and opened the parcel; the whole thing flew away and since then Indians have died.

Le Jeune considered the Manitou might be called the Devil, he was regarded as the origin of evil; after all, however, he was not so very malicious. His wife was a regular she-devil. He did not hate men, but he was present at every battle and scrimmage; those whom he then looked upon lived, the others died. She was the cause of all diseases; but for her men would not die; she feeds upon their flesh, beginning on the inside. Her robes are made of the hair of her victims; her voice roars like the flame of fire; but her language is not intelligible to mortal ear.

The Indians believed that not only men and other animals, but all things have souls which are immortal; the souls are the shadows of the originals. The souls of men and of beasts after death go away to the far distant west, eating bark and old wood on their dismal journey, seeing by night but blind by day. They deemed the milky-way the path of the souls to that happy land where the souls of the men hunted the souls of beavers and porcupines, running over the soul of the snow upon the souls of their snow-shoes, shooting with the soul of their bow the souls of their arrows, and killing with the souls of their knives.

The burial customs were very touching; the dead body was swathed and tied up in skins, not lengthwise but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees. It was placed in the grave in a sitting posture. Biard says, (Vol. III) they bury with the dead all that he owned, such as his bow, his arrows, his skins and all his other articles, even his dogs if they have not been eaten at the funeral feast (and so sent on in readiness for the deceased). The survivors added to these a number of such offerings, as tokens of friendship. A man's grave was marked with bow, arrow and shield; a woman's by spoons and ornaments. The obsequies finished they fled from the grave, and from that time on hated all memory of the dead. Only the souls of the buried kettles and furs and knives went off with the soul of the dead man to be used by him in the spirit land. LeJeune recounts the burial of several little ones who died in the faith. One wee corpse was handed to him wrapped in beaver skins and covered with a large piece of bark. He tenderly placed it in a coffin and buried it with all possible solemnity. "The simple people were enchanted seeing five priests in surplices honoring this little Canadian angel, chanting what is ordained by the church, covering the coffin with a beautiful pall and strewing it with flowers. When it came to lowering him into the grave the mother placed his cradle therein with a few other things, according to their custom. Then she drew some milk from her widowed breast and burnt it that her babe's soul might have drink." After the funeral the Fathers gave a feast of Indian corn-meal and prunes to induce these simple folk to come to them in case of sickness. One child before being given up for burial had his face painted blue, black and red. Father Le Jeune, however, refused on

another occasion to allow two dogs to be buried with a little girl in the cemetery, saying that the French buried there would not be pleased if such ugly beasts were placed among them. (Vol. VIII.)

We find in "The Occurrences of 1613 and 1614," and in Biard's letter of May 1614 (Vol. III) and in his *Relation* of 1616 (Vols. III and IV) accounts of the attack of the English upon the mission of St. Sauveur, under Argall of Virginia, and his destruction of the French forts at St. Croix and Port Royal, and the transportation of the Jesuits to the English colony and thence to England, whence they found their way to France. And in the *Relation* Biard again discourses of the French discoveries in Canada, its climate and its peoples, their dwellings, knowledge and customs; he dilates on his own movements around the Bay of Fundy, and tells of the colony on Mount Desert. He found that the natives while skillful wrestlers did not understand boxing at all, their way of fighting among themselves was like that of the women in France, "they fly for the hair and holding on to this they struggle and jerk in a terrible fashion, and if they are equally matched, they keep it up one whole day or even two, without stopping, until some one separates them."

Here we part with good Father Biard. This Argall of whom he said so much had, only a month or two before he shattered the hopes of the Jesuits, kidnapped the far-famed Poccahontas, the most interesting of all interesting Indian princesses, the benefactress and saviour of the Jamestown colony, craftily luring her on board his ship, then treacherously carrying her away from her home. Speaking of this destruction of Port Royal and St. Croix, Parkman says, "In a semi-piratical descent, an obscure stroke of lawless violence, began the strife of France and England, Protestantism and Rome, which for a century and a half, shook the struggling communities of North America, and closed at last in the memorable triumph on the Plains of Abraham."

For some nine years the Recollet friars attended to the spiritual wants of New France, but they found themselves unequal to the great task and so invited the Jesuits to return to aid in the evangelization of the Indians. In April 1625 three "black gowns" arrived; Charles Lalemant, our old friend of Port Royal, Enemond Massé and Jean de Brebeuf; and took up their resi-

dence temporarily with the Recollets at Quebec. In the fourth volume we have five letters of Lalemant's, (the head of the new mission,) the first announces their arrival to Champlain, the governor; the second gives the same news to the head of the Recollets; the third letter, written in August 1626, tells the General of the Order, at Rome, how they had diligently studied the language during the winter and that Brebeuf had been staying with the Indians. Next we have a letter from our Lalemant to his brother Jerome, (a Jesuit in France); in it he is not complimentary to the poor Indians; from morning till night (he writes) they have no other thought than to fill their stomachs; they are real beggars, yet as proud as they can be: polygynists; dirty; killing their parents when too old to walk, for their parents' good; practising unparalleled cruelties on their enemies, They believed that there is a hole through the earth, that the sun sets by going in at one end, rises by coming out of the other. He speaks of the difficulties of acquiring the language and of the slowness in converting the savages and says that he is sending over to France a little Huron boy to be educated.

In 1627 Lalemant went to France for supplies, on his return he was captured by the English Admiral, Kirk (acting on behalf of Sir Wm. Alexander to whom James I. had granted Nova Scotia), and sent back to France. In 1629, in ignorance that Kirk had captured Quebec, Lalemant again tried to return to Canada: the elements defeated this attempt and he and his band of missionaries were shipwrecked on the Canso rocks, two of the fathers were drowned; Lalemant escaped, and returning to France in a fishing vessel was again shipwrecked, getting to land this time on a shallop in his slippers and night-cap (truly an airy attire). The last letter in the volume tells the story of his perils by sea. In 1632 Emery de Caen arrived in Quebec to receive back that stronghold from Kirk and with him came the Jesuits Le Jeune and De Noue to re-open their mission.

Vols. V to IX are filled with the *Relations* of La Jeune, the new Superior in Canada, addressed to the French Provincial detailing the events of the mission in 1632 and following years; that of 1632 is the first of the Cramoisy series. The good father made good use of his eyes (these must have been excellent for by holding a firefly near a book he could read at night very

easily) and gives a very interesting description of the native costumes. He says, (Vol. V) "When I first saw Indians enter our captain's room, where I happened to be, it seemed to me that I was looking at those maskers who run about in France at Carnival time. There were some whose noses were painted blue, the eyes, eyebrows and cheeks painted black, and the rest of the face red; and these colors are bright and shining like those of our masks; others had black, red and blue stripes drawn from the ears to the mouth. Still others were entirely black, except the upper part of the brow and around the ears to the chin. There were some who had one black stripe, like a wide ribbon, drawn from one ear to the other, across the eyes, and three little stripes on the cheeks. Their natural color is like that of those French beggars who are half roasted in the sun, and I have no doubt that the savages would be very white if well covered. To describe how they were dressed would be difficult indeed. All the men, when it is a little warm, go naked, with the exception of a piece of skin, which falls from just below the middle to the thighs. When it is cold, or probably in imitation of Europeans, they cover themselves with furs but so awkwardly that it does not prevent the greater part of their bodies being seen. I have seen some of them dressed in bear skins just as St. John the Baptist is painted. This fur, with the hair outside, was worn under one arm and over the other, hanging to the knees. They were girdled around the body with a cord made of dried intestines. Some are entirely dressed. They are like the Grecian philosopher who would wear nothing he had not made. It would not take a great many years to learn all their crafts. All go bareheaded, men and women; their hair, which is uniformly black, is long, greasy and shiny, and is tied behind except when they wear mourning. The women are decently covered; they wear skins fastened together on their shoulders with cords; these hang from the neck to the knees. They girdle themselves also with a cord, the rest of the body, the head, the arms and the legs being uncovered. Yet there are some who wear sleeves, stockings and shoes, but in no other fashion than that which necessity has taught them." "In wearing the hair each one follows his own fancy. Some wear it long and hanging over to one side like women, and short and tied up on

the other, so skillfully that one ear is concealed and the other uncovered. Some of them are shaved just where others wear a long moustache. I have seen some that had a large strip, closely shaved, extending across the head, passing from the crown to the middle of the forehead. Others wear in the same place a sort of queue of hair, which stands out because they have shaved all around it. Oh how weak is the spirit of man." Lalemant says the men pulled out their beards to be more agreeable to the women.

The women of Canada certainly were industrious, even if the men were not, according to Biard not only did they fulfil the onerous duties that nature laid upon them, but in addition they carried dead game to camp, they were the hewers of wood and drawers of water; they made and repaired the household utensils; prepared the food, skinned the game and prepared the hides like fullers, sewed the garments, caught fish, gathered clams, often hunted, made the canoes and even set up the tents at night when on the march. So useful were they that the chiefs liked to have many of them to wife. The order the Indians maintained in their occupations aided them in preserving peace in their household. The women and the men both knew what they had to do, and one never meddled with the work of the other. The men made the frames of the canoes, the women sewed the bark; the men shaped the wood of the snow shoes, the women did the net work; the men went hunting and killed the animals, the women followed them and skinned the game and cleaned the hides. They would make fun of a man who did a woman's work.

Le Jeune (Vol. V, p. 181) says that the Indian women had great power, that if a man did not keep his promise to a Frenchman he thought it sufficient excuse to say that his wife did not wish him to do it.

The young women were not allowed to eat out of the same dish as their husbands nor to take any part in the management of affairs, and, in fact, were treated as children until they were mothers.

Graphic, too, is the Father's description of the tortures inflicted on some Iroquois prisoners by Montagnais Indians at Tadousac; the women were as incarnate fiends in their actions as were the men.

Le Jeune tells how he began his educational work with a little Indian boy on one side and a little negro (who had been left behind by the English) on the other.

Table napkins were not in vogue among the Indians near Quebec in 1633. Le Jeune in describing a dinner of roasted eels says that the little boy who handed them rubbed his greasy hands upon his hair, the others rubbed theirs on the dogs, while he was given some powder of dry and rotten wood wherewith to wipe his. The natives took fat or oil with their strawberries and raspberries, and deemed a solid piece of grease a *bonne bouche*. They particularly delighted in drinking water from a greasy vessel. At first they thought the French drank "blood and ate wood", thus naming the wine and biscuits.

Le Jeune in his efforts to learn the language of the Indians compiled a dictionary and a grammar, and paid his native teacher with tobacco; (some of the native tobacco pouches were made out of the hands of Iroquois, skillfully prepared with all the nails left on). He considered the pronunciation of the Algonquins altogether charming and agreeable, and that "though called barbarian the language was very regular."

The little school of two had increased to over twenty in 1633 and to them the good father taught the *Pater*, the *Ave* and the *Credo* in their own language; the *Pater* was in rhyme; there was a little catechising too; and the children were shown how to make the sign of the cross: the lessons finished, the pupils were rewarded with a bowl full of peas.

When a drunken Indian killed a Frenchman, the natives said it was the brandy, not the savage, who committed the murder, "Put your wine and your brandy in prison: it is your drinks that do all the evil and not we."

The Jesuits had expected that some of their number would return with the Hurons to their country, near what is now the Georgian Bay, after the annual visit of these savages to Quebec in the summer of 1633, and they anticipated great results from a mission among these Indians who were settled cultivators of the soil and not wandering hunters like the Algonquins around Quebec. All was arranged, but at the last moment a difficulty arose in consequence of the murder of a Frenchman by an Indian on the Ottawa, and the Hurons positively refused to give passage

to the Fathers. Great was the disappointment, greater was the spirit of resignation. "We hate the cause of this chastisement, but love the hand that strikes us, very confident that He who drew light out of darkness will draw good from this misfortune."

In his letter of 1634 (Vol. VI) Le Jeune is able to tell his Provincial that the mission to the Hurons has at last been begun and that Brebeuf and Davost, with three brave young men and two little boys, have gone to the Huron Country, without baggage, save the altar ornaments, and without money. In the *Relation* of 1634 Le Jeune gives a few samples to show that "the winter in New France is not so severe that some flowers of Paradise may not be gathered there:" the conversion, baptism and happy deaths of some seven savages are recorded at considerable length, "the first fruits of a land that had borne little else than thorns since the birth of the centuries." All were baptized *in extremis*: some of the Indians thought that baptism shortened their lives, it certainly shortened their names, e. g. Memichtigouchiouiscoucou was called Marguerite: Ouroutinoucaucu, Marie. Le Jeune had a definite plan for his work: he advocated the French making themselves feared by the Iroquois, and teaching the Canadian Indians to clear and cultivate the land, and establishing seminaries among them for the children. He gives a detailed account of the religious belief, habitations and superstitions of the Montagnais tribe (among whom he had passed the winter) their fasts, food, drinks, clothing, ornaments, rites and customs. He praises their intelligence, contentment, fortitude, good nature, generosity; but condemns them for their inveterate habit of mockery and ridicule, their want of compassion, their vindictiveness to their enemies, love of slander and lying, thieving habits, gluttony, drunkenness, impudent habit of begging, vile language and dirtiness in their habits, their postures, homes and eating. Their food he says "is very little, if any, cleaner than the swill given to animals, and not always even so clean. One day some shoes which had just been taken off, fell into our drink, they soaked there as long as they pleased and were withdrawn without exciting any special attention and then the water was drunk as if nothing had happened. I am not very fastidious (he adds) but I was not very thirsty as long as this malmsey lasted." He tells of their manner of hunting and fishing, and of sundry

and divers animals that lived in Canada; one of these at first glance he thought ought to be called Jupiter's little dog; later, he deemed it unworthy of being called Pluto's dog, no sewer ever smelled so bad; finally (he says) "I believe the sin smelled by St Catherine of Sienna must have had the same vile odor." The humming bird charmed him, he called it a little prodigy of nature, the flower-bird, the flower of birds, God seemed to him more wonderful in it than in the larger animals.

The Language, he says, was both very rich and very poor: all words for piety, devotion, virtue, for the things of the other life, the language of learned men, words referring to government, justice, rewards, punishment, the arts and sciences, were wanting from the lips of the Indians, as the thoughts of them were from their mind. Yet in some directions "this language is fairly gorged with richness". There was an infinite number of proper nouns which could be given in French only by circumlocutions, verbs such as neither the Greeks, nor Latins, nor any Europeans possessed the like; verbs to signify action towards a live object, other verbs to signify the same action towards inanimate things, and yet again other verbs for the same action towards several objects; different words were used to signify the same act upon land and upon water; different adjectives were joined to different nouns (*e. g.* the word for "cold" applied to a "dog," differed from "cold" applied to "wood"). Adjectives and nouns were conjugated like Latin impersonal verbs. Besides the names of each particular thing, they had an infinite number of words which signified several things together. In despair the poor priest exclaims "This is enough to shew the richness of their language. I believe they have other riches which I have not been able to discover up to the present."

Brebeuf tells us that the Huron language had distinctions of genders, number, tense, person, moods. In Cape Breton, according to Father Perrault, the natives were so clever that to disguise their language they added a syllable to every word.

Then we have in this *Relation* of 1634, (Vol. VII) an account of the wretched life, hair breadth escapes, hardships, dangers, and sufferings endured by this devoted missionary during the winter which he spent wandering through the forests and mountains on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence with a small

band of Indians. The bed he slept on "had not been made up since the creation of the world," the cold was bad enough, the heat from the fires in crowded cabins was worse, but the smoke was martyrdom, "it almost killed me," he writes, "and made me weep continually, although I had neither grief nor sadness in my heart." For hours at a time he had to lie with his mouth on the ground in order to breathe. Of the dogs he does not complain much, he was often thankful for the heat they gave him when lying on his legs or body. In summing up he says, "the cold, heat, annoyance of dogs; sleeping in the open air and upon bare ground; the position I had to assume, rolling myself up in a ball or crouching down, or sitting without a seat or a cushion; hunger, thirst, the poverty and filth of their smoked meats, sickness—all these things were merely play to me in comparison with the smoke and the malice of the Sorcerer, or medicine man, (who was one of the party) with whom I have always been on a bad footing." The Sorcerer was a terrible blasphemer and a fearful imposter, and God did not fail to strike him, for the year had not expired when his cabin took fire and he was dreadfully scorched, roasted and burned. During that terrible winter the good father often ate "scrapings of bark, bits of leather and similar things," and yet they never made him ill; once he made a good meal off the skin of a smoked eel which he had thrown to the dogs a few days before; hunger at times compelled him to seek the little twigs on the trees and eat them with delight. When the Indians had no food they frequently made a banquet of smoke, their fondness for tobacco was beyond belief. "Let us say with compassion that they pass their lives in smoke, and at death fall into the fire," remarks the pious Jesuit.

The seventh volume concludes with Le Jeune's "*Relation of what occurred in New France in the year 1635.*" Up to this time the *Relations* have been the production of the Superior alone, in this and subsequent ones the work is composite, the missionaries in the different parts of the field having sent to Quebec the reports of their labors, the Superior arranged them and added his own comments and story before sending them to France. Le Jeune begins with hopeful anticipations of the growth and prosperity of Canada and especially rejoices over the interest taken in the mission by the people of the old land; laymen were aiding with their

money, priests and nuns were longing to come over and help in the good work. At this time they had six different mission stations: St. Anne, at Cape Breton; St. Charles, at Miskow (on the Bay of Chaleurs); Notre Dame de Recouvrance, at Kebec, near the Fort; Notre Dame de Anges, (the oldest of all) half a league from Kebec; the Conception, at Three Rivers; and Ihon-atiria, among the Hurons; and the Superior expected shortly to have another one among these settled savages. The mission among the Hurons was deemed the most important, the greatest conversions were expected there and thither the greatest number of labourers should be sent. Scurvy had been epidemic at Three Rivers during the winter and many French had died, exhibiting in their manner of death "the altogether admirable effects of the grace of our Lord within their souls." Still the good man, when summer came, had to write "health prevails throughout all our settlements but not saintliness as yet." He hoped, however, if the Governors were careful Canada would be a "Jerusalem blessed of God, composed of citizens destined for heaven." Twenty-two savages were baptized during the year; of the nine thus admitted into the fold in older missions, six had passed out of this world when the Father wrote; of the thirteen among the Hurons, twelve went happily to God almost immediately they had entered His church here below. The famine had been sore in the land during the winter, dire tales of cannibalism came to the Fathers, and a poor savage who seemed to be groping for the light said, that of the many good things he had been told this prayer seemed the best of all to him, "Give us to-day our food, give us something to eat."

This summer two more fathers went joyfully up to Huron Mission "they had to go bare-footed into the bark ships of the Indians, for fear of spoiling them and they did this gaily, with glad eyes and faces." Rumors of Turkish privateers caused much anxiety in Quebec over the ships coming from France, but these happily arrived and with them another Jesuit, Father de Quen.

Father Brebeuf reported fully what befell himself and the other members of the Mission as they journeyed, the previous year, with their Red friends more than three hundred leagues to the Hurons' country by way of the Ottawa River: wading and pulling the canoes through some rapids and portaging round others made

the journey tedious in the extreme; thirty five times they carried their boats, and over fifty times dragged them. At every portage Brebeuf had to make at least four trips and the others had scarcely fewer. Food, too, was scarce. The Father paddled as continuously as the Indians and constantly had to walk in water, in mud, in the obscurity and entanglements of the forests, exposed to the stings of myriads of mosquitoes and gnats; there was not time enough to recite the Breviary, except when weary and worn they camped at night, so weary that the body could do no more, yet their souls were filled with deep peace, feeling they were bearing the cross for the honor of our Lord and for the salvation of the poor barbarians. Father Davost was robbed and left, on the way, among the Algonquins, and was worn out when he reached the Huron land. Daniel, too, was abandoned and had to get another canoe. Brebeuf himself was nearly drowned. He arrived among the Hurons on the day of our Lady of the Snows after thirty days continuous toil with only one day of rest, (the others took much longer), and was landed in the evening at the port of the village of Toanche. He had been there some years before, but when the Indians had left him he found that the old village had disappeared; so after prostrating himself and thanking God, Our Lady and St. Joseph, he set off in the gathering twilight to find shelter. Soon he was greeted and welcomed by friends and all was well with him, for the Hurons were exceedingly hospitable towards strangers.

The French settled themselves at Ihonatiria and soon had a cabin built, part was used for their home and part for their chapel. The Indians were astonished at the intelligence shewn by the French in their building. A clock created great astonishment, the savages thought it was alive as it struck, that it could hear (as one jocular Frenchman called out on the last stroke "That's enough" and it stopped); they named it "the captain of the day," and at last had to be told when it struck four it said, "Go away, we want to shut the door," when it struck twelve, "Come put on the kettle." The latter announcement was always heeded and the hungry savages were ever ready to eat with the French. Writing was beyond their conception. The wonderful things that the Jesuits had and did made the Indians docile and ready to accept what was told them concern-

ing the mysteries of the faith. Poor Brebeuf had neither the leisure nor the paper to say all he wished. He tells us that the Huron Country which was situated in the county of Simcoe, near the Severn River, could be easily traversed in three or four days, that its soil produced much good Indian corn, that there were some twenty towns and about 30,000 souls, that the language was not difficult to master, that it was very complete and regular and spoken by about a dozen other nations, the Tobacco Nation, the Neuters, Iroquois, Susquehannas and Cats.

Brebeuf was glad to find that the Hurons had only one wife each and that marriage was not permitted among relatives. However, he admits, the men made frequent changes of their wives and the women of their husbands. He deemed them lascivious, although in some leading points less so than many Christians who will blush some day in their presence "for there was no kissing or immodest caressing among them." They were gluttons, but often fasted two or three days at a time. They were lazy liars, thieves, pertinacious beggars and by some deemed vindictive. On the other hand our holy priest saw some rather noble moral virtues shining among them; there was a great love and union among them, they were extremely hospitable, wonderfully patient in poverty, famine and sickness, and met death without the slightest falter or change of countenance.

Father Perrault, of the Mission of Cape Breton, in his report describes the situation, climate, resources and natives of that island; he praises the honesty, docility and modesty of the people. The *Relation* ends with "various sentiments and opinions of the Fathers who are in New France, taken from their last letters in 1635," a collection of religious experiences, observations and opinions concerning their holy work, the qualifications of a missionary (affability, humility, patience and a generous charity), and a solemn vow taken by them to God, the Holy Virgin and her glorious spouse St. Joseph, to secure by the goodness of Our Lord, the conversion of the people, through the meditation of his Holy Mother and her Holy Spouse.

The latter half of vol. VIII and the whole of vol. IX are taken up with Le Jeune's part of the *Relation* of 1636; vol. X will consist of Brebeuf's contribution to that narrative. As usual the worthy Superior dilates at length concerning the baptisms

during the year and of the happy death and interesting burials of many of the 115 savages made children of the Church. He attributes much of the work done to the favour shown by heaven since the taking of the special vows referred to above. He records that the Indians seemed no longer vexed at the baptism of their sick children; for a while they had an idea that it was fatal to them, and now the more aged ones were beginning to wish to die Christians, and asking for baptism when they were sick, in order not to go down into the fires with which they were threatened.

“As a good house-wife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, as a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers and makes a new bundle of all,” so we have extracted what we present you from the works of these long-departed Fathers.

R. VASHON ROGERS.

CANADIAN LAW IN REGARD TO RESPONSIBILITY.

IF asked to write the saddest chapter in human history, one might fairly say that the cruel treatment of the insane, in times gone by, would furnish material for the subject. The Egyptians are said to have been gentle and forbearing in their treatment of madness, and from ancient medical writings it is learned that the Greeks had reasonable theories of the causes of mental defect, that is the Greeks who were furthest advanced in culture and science. Hippocrates was fully alive to the wonderful connection between body and mind, and realized the fact that insanity was not simply a divine visitation, but an outcome of bodily defect. The aesthetic culture and intellectual development of the Greeks gave way to the barbarism of the middle ages, and as can readily be understood, in the days of monasticism and religious asceticism, when the body was looked upon with contempt as being the lurking place of the devil, any rational theory of the causation of insanity had little chance to

live. Persons who were insane were naturally treated as having been given over to the possession of the devil, and as Maudsley suggests, they treated those possessed of the devil, as they would have treated the devil, could they have had the good fortune to lay hold of him. The cruel treatment of the insane, long survived the belief in diabolical possession, because the Church, aided by the metaphysicians, continued to block the way of scientific inquiry, and thought it wrong to enter on a study of mind by way of physical investigation. Even to-day, among the uneducated classes, the beliefs of the middle ages are commonly held, and it will be many a year before it will be possible to convince the average man, that Jack is not as good as his Master, in forming an estimate of a person's mental condition or measuring his responsibility. It is not difficult to understand this, for while it is true that the majority of the uneducated, and a large proportion of the so called well informed, speak of the brain as the organ of mind, as a matter of fact they regard the brain as something completely emancipated from the body, and in no way dependent on it.

If their beliefs are analysed, it will be learned that they see nothing incongruous in looking for healthy action in a diseased organ. In spite of the prevalent theory that all people are born equal, as far as responsibility is concerned, as a matter of fact every man is a law unto himself. Given a person with sound heredity and favorable environment, both physical and moral, and his equipment for the fight in life is somewhat different from that of the physical weakling, already damned by a poor heredity and bad surroundings; and yet these men are treated as equal, as far as regards responsibility, by many representatives of law and theology. The majority of newspapers take the same stand, and a very superficial study of the question reveals the fact, that in Canada at least, the subject of criminology is but little understood. Our penitentiaries and large prisons, as at present constituted, furnish all the proof necessary, to show that this idea of all persons being born equal in responsibility, is the one believed in by the many. Any one who takes the trouble to study practical psychology in a Canadian penitentiary, will be astounded at the want of regard for the subject of responsibility shown by our law, law founded on what is speciously termed good common

sense, when uncommon sense was really required in its proper development. Here will be found the born criminal ranked with the man who has under temptation made a mistake, to put it mildly, and been caught at it: the general paretic who committed crime as a result of gross brain disease herded with the moral imbecile; the treatment is the same in each case, the law recognizes no difference, and of course the sentence is the same when the criminal acts were identical. Any thoughtful man will at once admit, that not only should a proper classification of these different cases be made, but suitable treatment for each provided, The born criminal should be kept from society as long as he lives—the moral imbecile separated from him; and developed as far as his moral defect will permit, the paretic cared for in a properly equipped hospital, the man who has made his mistake kept from all of these classes, punished and yet inspired to better things, etc. Above all it is necessary that varying grades of responsibility should be recognized, and different treatment for distinct classes provided.

In studying the subject of responsibility the first great mistake made by the majority of people is that of treating mental deficiency, and mental disease, if we must fall back on such an unsatisfactory term, as one and the same thing. It is this misconception which proves so embarrassing to medical witnesses giving evidence before those who are utterly unable to appreciate the force or bearing of the difference, and when one comes to the subject of moral defect, woe be to the alienist who mentions such a condition as moral imbecility. It is not a difficult thing to make people understand that intellectual imbecility can and does exist, but that moral defect can be just as clearly marked as the intellectual, the majority of persons will deny. As a matter of fact such cases are far from uncommon: not a year passes that several do not come under notice, and as might be suspected, intellectual defect generally accompanies such deficiency, and the stigmata of degeneracy, as shown by physical imperfections, are almost invariably present. Of course we are all aware that there may be much intellect in conjunction with little morality, but it is a question if it is the best kind of intellect.

It would be impossible in a short paper to deal satisfactorily with such a large subject as responsibility, and one or two aspects

of the question must suffice. To speak briefly and in a general way of two states of mind admitted by law, under certain conditions, to modify responsibility, or at least to presume want of responsibility. These conditions are imbecility and insanity.

The term imbecility indicates, not disease of the brain, but a condition of defective brain development, in which the mind may show every degree of deficiency moral and intellectual, the gradations ranging between ordinary intelligence on the one hand and idiocy on the other. In some imbeciles there is great defect in general intelligence and marked development in some particular direction, such as abnormal musical ability of peculiar quality, as in Blind Tom's case, of marvellous memory or perhaps cunning. In other words there is congenital defect and natural incapacity, a condition different from that of want of development arising from neglect. No one doubts the irresponsibility of idiots, but when it comes to the question of imbecility we are on a battle ground where law and medicine are widely at variance, simply because Canadian law is hampered by the stern sense of what is called, in our determination to be loyal to Imperial interests in everything, British justice. Now I submit that it is not British justice, nor yet even British law, for as a matter of fact most of the English judges have long ago recognized the absurdity of legal contention for abstract definitions of mental conditions. In the absence of a standard man with whom to make comparisons, abstract definitions prove difficult to manage. Unfortunately in our law there is no half measure of justice, we have a simple method of arriving at conclusions, and with us the quality of mercy is not strained, nor does it drop as the gentle dew from heaven. If Carlyle's well known definition of England could be applied to our country, perhaps law as administered might meet the case, as the standard of responsibility would be fixed, but it is unfortunate for the argument that the race is not made up of fools, it is only a race a little deeper steeped in some kinds of ignorance than it should be.

It is freely admitted that in fixing the amount of responsibility in cases of imbecility, the problem is extremely complex, too complex, not unfrequently, for the twelve excellent jurymen who are chosen, not so much for their intelligence and ability to

grapple psychological problems, as for their inherited Anglo-Saxon quality called common sense.

To illustrate what common sense will do when put to the test: In Rockwood Hospital there was an imbecile, who to the passing observer appeared an amiable, quiet and inoffensive man, pleasant to converse with and on the surface possessed of an ordinary amount of intelligence. His heredity was sadly defective, and those who were not familiar with his history, and saw him poring over his Bible with diligence, regarded him as a fine fellow, and were apt to remonstrate if any one happened to differ from this opinion. As a matter of fact, this man was a moral and intellectual imbecile with a history almost too shocking to narrate. He did not learn to walk or talk at the same age as other children, but when he grew old enough to do these things showed a morbid desire to kill. He commenced with chickens, dogs and cats, then attempted to smother a baby, and at last committed rape, for which crime he was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted, and finally the young fellow was freed from the penitentiary, but had no sooner reached home than he commenced a new series of atrocities, disembowelling horses and cutting out their tongues. It would take too much space to give a list of this youth's crimes, but finally his mental defect seems to have been suspected, and he drifted from the penitentiary to Rockwood Hospital, where he attempted all sorts of atrocities, such as the mutilation of harmless dements. He escaped one night, stole a horse and was found just in time to prevent the torture of the animal. Again he escaped, because attendants could rarely be made to understand the Jekyll and Hyde characteristics of this amiable fellow. He had not been gone an hour before he attempted to commit rape, and the civil authorities deemed it advisable to give him a taste of Canadian law, in the hope of curing him of his evil propensities. He was arrested in the hospital wards, and subsequently tried. In spite of the fact that he was a patient in Rockwood when arrested, medical evidence to show his mental condition was not permitted, the prisoner was found guilty, and the judge sentenced him for a year, saying that under the circumstances he must be lenient. In a year's time Canadian law was to admit this man's full responsibility, and to allow him another chance to commit any

crime that might suggest itself. When in gaol, the prisoner won the confidence of the gaoler, who regarded him as well-behaved and trustworthy. The gaoler told me, on enquiry, that although a few cats were missing, he did not connect the prisoner in any way with their disappearance. I asked the young man what he had done with the cats and with Mikado like smile he gave me full details of their destruction in the gaol furnace. The truth of the matter was that this man was intellectually imbecile, and strange to say became a veritable fiend when he saw blood, the sight of which made him pale, agitated, and then intensely excited. Moral imbeciles are generally amiable, not unfrequently strong on definitions of morality and its demands; their crimes are committed, sometimes without any particular reason beyond morbid impulse, and then again their motives are beyond analysis. Their behaviour after the commission of crimes is characteristic and remarkable, generally denoting gentle satisfaction or complete indifference. It will always be a difficult matter to measure the amount of responsibility in imbeciles, and the wise man will not jump at conclusions too hastily when making a study of them, for experience teaches us that in most cases acts are of far greater import than words, and a complete life record is sometimes a revelation. As a matter of fact it may be said that the defect is generally greater than appears on the surface. As might be supposed, imbeciles furnish a promising soil for the development of brain disease, which is made evident by the occurrence of insanity; and when the little control which originally existed is destroyed a most dangerous condition of mind is induced. Among this class many murderers of the Shortis type are found, and their crimes are of singular atrocity, especially when sexual perversion is present. Now if it is a difficult thing for physicians who are dealing every day with imbeciles, to form a just estimate of their responsibility without careful and oftentimes prolonged observation, how absurd it is to suppose that a judge, lawyer and jury can settle the question in a few hours, by listening to evidence, limited and hampered by restrictions which frequently make this evidence ridiculous. If the contentions regarding imbecility are correct, how much greater are the difficulties when we come to deal with responsibility in disease of the brain, unless we take a broad-minded view, and at once discard the childish definitions

of insanity so often called on to do duty in Canadian courts of law. The moment the existence of general brain disease is admitted, medicine, backed by experience gained by thousands of physicians in the wards of hospitals for the insane, insists that the standards of responsibility as fixed by law, should at once be modified. Law, in its wisdom, proceeds by an ingenious method to fix cast-iron rules to judge the mental condition of every man, and its methods of analysis are as crude as they are absurd. As far as law is concerned, the physiology and pathology of the brain might never exist. Maudsley in his treatise on Responsibility gives an interesting historical account of the development of the present law. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Lord Hall laid down the celebrated "wild beast" theory, as it is called, in which partial insanity and total insanity were separated. In the trial of Arnold, a lunatic, for shooting Lord Onslow in 1723, Mr. Justice Tracy gave a complete definition of this theory. He said "it is not every kind of frantic humor, or something unaccountable in a man's actions that points him out to be such a madman as to be exempted from punishment, it must be a man that is totally deprived of his understanding or memory, and doth not know what he is doing, no more than an infant, than a brute or a wild beast, such a one is never the object of punishment." In the trial of Hadfield, in 1800, for shooting at the King, this doctrine was upset by the cleverness of Mr. Erskine, who in an eloquent address showed its absurdity.

In the next case of note, that of Bellingham, for the murder of Percival in 1812, although it was perfectly clear that Bellingham was insane, it was laid down by the Attorney General and Lord Mansfield, that although a man might be incapable of conducting his own affairs, he may still be answerable for his criminal acts, if he possess a mind capable of distinguishing right from wrong. This was the only modification until 1843 when the celebrated McNaughten case occurred. McNaughten shot Drummond under the influence of a delusion that he was one of a band of conspirators endeavoring to make his life wretched. After an interesting trial, which has become historical, McNaughten was acquitted upon the ground of insanity, thereupon the general public and the House of Lords became alarmed, just as the Canadian public does at the present time, and a certain series

of questions was propounded to the judges, regarding the law on the subject of insanity, when it was alleged as a defence in criminal actions. The answers to these questions still supply the legal fireworks in criminal trials in Canada. In a few words these instructions may be summed up as follows :

“ To establish a defence on the ground of insanity it must be clearly proved that at the time of committing the act, the party accused was labouring under such defect of reason from disease of the mind as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, he did not know he was doing what was wrong.”

If broadly interpreted this rule would excuse many acts of the insane, but in Canada it has rarely been read in any other sense than that of limiting its application to a knowledge of right and wrong in the abstract. If the rule had not been hampered by further limitations, it would not have been so generally condemned by physicians, but in reply to the question “ If a person under an insane delusion as to existing facts commits an offense in consequence thereof is he thereby excused ? ” To this the judges replied that “ on the assumption that he labors under *partial* delusion and is not in other respects insane, he must be considered in the same situation as to responsibility as if the facts with respect to which the delusion exists were real.” For example, “ if under the influence of delusion he supposes another man to be in the act of attempting to take his life, and he kills the man as he supposes in self-defence, he would be exempt from punishment ; if his delusion was that the deceased had inflicted a serious injury to his character and fortune and he killed him in revenge for such supposed injury he would be liable to punishment.”

From the medical standpoint such a theory is not only absurd, but preposterous and a very short practical acquaintance with insanity shows how impossible it is to apply such a rule. How can such a thing as *partial* delusion be defined ? In fact, the belief in a partial delusion is almost worthy of being called a delusion in itself. Under such a ruling, ninety out of every hundred patients in an Asylum could be proved fully responsible for all of their acts, and fit to enjoy liberty.

In regard to this theory Maudsley says, "the judges actually bar the application of the right and wrong theory of responsibility to a particular case, by authoritatively prejudging it; instead of leaving the question to the jury, they determine beforehand by assuming the possession of the requisite knowledge by the accused person."

To any one having a practical knowledge of insanity, the absurdity of the right and wrong theory is patent, as may be shown very easily by the examination of the most delusional patients in an Asylum. Let us take a case in point, one of paranoia in an advanced stage, where the mental defect is so clearly shown that no one can doubt it. The following interview is reported verbatim.

A.B., Male, Aged 38.

'Who are you?' 'I am a crowned king.'

'Where were you crowned?' 'At Corbett and Sullivan's championship fight.'

'What are you king of?' 'Emperor of Germany. The Emperor of Germany crowned me, and the arbitrators sanctioned it.'

'At what place?' 'In Canada I think.'

'Are you a Judge?' 'I was, and held the seat as senior in the Division Court, afterward removed to the High Court.'

'Are your powers mortal or divine?' 'Divine as far as the truth is concerned.'

'Are your physical powers great?' 'Just middling.'

'Did you ever hold the sun in your hands?' 'I did.'

'Did you ever hold the moon in your hands?' 'I remember the sun, but am not so certain about the moon, the sun was very hot.'

'How large was it?' 'As large as the top of your waste paper basket.'

'How hot was it?' 'It hurt the leather mits I had on, I think other powers were used on it.'

'What kept it hot?' 'It was hot weather.'

'How did it come?' 'It came down gradually by the powers of Masonry or the exchequer of the world.'

'Who won the fight?' 'Corbett.'

'Where is your crown?' 'The Emperor has it.'

'Where are your credentials?' 'I am told that some are here others in Almonte.'

'Have you the power to take life without punishment?' 'No now, but I shall if placed on my throne.'

'Kings have not that power now a days?' 'Yes they have if they sign a proclamation issued by arbitration, I have met the Emperor of Germany several times in Canada. Once at the great fight. He is a gentleman in every sense of the word, he came to Rockwood once.'

'What caused the trouble you went through?' 'The proclamation issued by all exchequers of all nations and Empires.'

'How did you suffer?' 'Abuse of all kinds, my body is marked up, I have the leopard's body right through and my body is spotted like a dog's.'

'What other abuse have you suffered?' 'My body has been torn by bears.'

'Did you see the bears?' 'Yes there were four, brownish black in color, two old ones and two young ones.'

'How did they catch you?' 'First at the door of a stable, I fought one and fastened it to a post, he got loose and I went out and sat on a fence, then four tackled me, I killed three with a scythe, I think I shot the fourth, but was so frenzied that I threw myself into the river and crawled out eventually on a small island.'

'Why were you sent to Rockwood?' 'To receive good health and to return to my Empire.'

'What is Rockwood for?' 'For insane people.'

'Do you come under that heading?' 'I was told so, was not insane when admitted, have not been insane although sometimes incapable of looking after myself as the result of drugging by society or government.'

'What is an insane man?' 'A man not capable of taking care of himself.'

'Are there many insane here?' 'There are.'

'Are many illegally detained?' 'None that I am aware of.'

'What is the difference between right and wrong?' 'It is right to love the Almighty and to serve him with faith, hope, and charity.'

'What is wrong?' 'To commit anything that the law of God forbids.'

'What is conscience?' 'The dictates of a man's own mind to tell him if he is doing wrong.'

'Is it wrong to kill?' 'Yes.'

'Is there any justification for murder?' 'No.'

'If an insane man committed murder what punishment would you inflict, if any?' 'I would not hang him but put him in safe keeping that his neighbours might be safe.'

‘Is any insane man responsible?’ ‘Never, neither God nor man can hold him responsible. Our Heavenly Father forgiveth, so should we.’”

What can be clearer than the insanity of the foregoing unfortunate, what can be more satisfactory than his conception of right and wrong when it is remembered that he is an uneducated man, and yet if we believe in the narrow interpretation of law so often given, this patient would be considered fully responsible. The interview given is merely one of many such held with the criminal insane, and is not picked out as a startling example.

There is an inborn consciousness in every true Briton that British law and tradition have something heaven-born about them, and there is a tendency in some parts of the empire, to even outdo the Britisher in loyalty to these and other things. So it is in regard to the administration of the lunacy law, while the British have not made any change in the wording of it, certainly in its administration they have been much broader than we have in Canada, and it is generally admitted that they have hanged but few insane of late years. Of course, it may be argued that medicine has no right to make suggestions to law in regard to the administration of justice. Medicine has no wish to dictate in regard to this, but it has a right which cannot be disputed to show that law founded on a misconception of the nature of insanity is not consonant with the scientific advances of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, each case of supposed insanity in criminal offences should not be judged by a cast-iron rule, but carefully and conscientiously studied by persons who are able to form opinions of value; opinions not founded on vague theories, but on facts not to be driven out of existence by the ridicule of theorists, who have derived their knowledge of the most subtle of diseases, chiefly by inspiration and study of volumes of law.

We hear a good deal of the speed and unerring justice of the Canadian law; if some of those who talk so glibly of these could know of the judicial murders committed in the name of law, and the judicial tragedies obviated by the doubts of Ministers of Justice in regard to the correctness of verdicts rendered, they would pause. Within the last few weeks even, we have seen the spectacle of an insane man self accused of murder being sentenced to

death. In this instance the mental defect was so palpable that the Minister of Justice very properly called a halt, and had the prisoner examined as to his insanity, with the result that he was transferred to the asylum for insane criminals. Post mortem revelations are sometimes grim reminders that law and justice are not always synonymous.

It is not proposed in this paper to deal with different forms of insanity, but merely to refer to some of these questions of responsibility, in a general way. As has been said before, insanity is a physical disease, and can be regarded from no other standpoint by the physician, and in regard to the questions of responsibility, alienists are not sentimentalists, as is so often claimed, but men who are imbued with the fact, gained by constant intercourse with the insane, that law is absolutely wrong in its judgment of the most afflicted of our race. Law is supposed to exist for the dispensation of justice, to punish wrong, and to prevent crime. If it can *prevent* insanity, so much the better for law; certainly the hanging of one lunatic will not prevent another from doing murder. The truth of the matter is that our law is merely a reflex of popular prejudice, prejudice so bitter that it does not take time to listen to reason. To-day the public willingly commits its insane to the keeping of hospitals, never questioning the opinion of those in charge of these institutions. Thousands of patients pass through the hands of the medical officers, and how often are they accused of doing injustice or of making mistakes in regard to the mental condition of those committed to their care? Let one of these medical officers go into a court of law to give testimony regarding the insanity of a murderer, and at that moment he is exposed to the taunts of a self-inspired cross-examiner, and asked to answer questions, as it was in one trial suggested, ranging from opinions regarding the fall of Adam to the construction of the latest rule in foot-ball. No one blames the lawyer because he is merely following the custom and taking every advantage of a defective system. Newspapers, especially of the sensational order, join in the hue and cry, thinly covered insinuations are made regarding the disinterestedness of so-called expert evidence, and editorials intimating that the law of God demands blood for blood are written by the score. What shall be said of sermons preached on the same subject? In other

quarters it is suggested—and this is the pet argument—better hang the criminal insane and rid the world of a burden. This is at least an argument, true, not based on our boasted humanity, but having a basis of reason, on the ground of what some people choose to call expediency. It is not a new argument, having been applied with far greater sense by the Spartans, who got rid of their weaklings at a tender age, thus saving expense and anticipating trouble. Of course, if the argument were followed to its legitimate conclusion, lunatics would not prove the only nuisances the world could flourish without.

The conflict of opinion, or the subject of responsibility in mental disease, between medicine on the one side, and law and public opinion on the other is perpetuated by a variety of circumstances. One cause is the common belief that true insanity is always marked by extravagance of conduct, violence, incoherence and evident excitement, in short is such a palpable thing that no one can mistake it. It rarely suggests itself to the uninformed, that the most dangerous forms of insanity are characterized by quiet and concealment of emotions, for the very reason that persons having delusions of persecution, purposely conceal their delusions from their supposed enemies. In dangerous forms too the intellectual derangement is sometimes scarcely noticeable, and the disease manifests itself through acts rather than words. Another popular bugaboo is that of malingering. It is often said, better hang a dozen insane men than allow one malingerer to escape. Leaving this absurd and heartless argument out of the question, the fact is that to simulate insanity requires not only genius, but a knowledge of disease possessed by few. The simulator invariably overdoes his part, and is soon detected, for like Tom the Fool, in *Lear*, he puts his extravagances together with a continuity and profusion quite uncommon to true madness.

Perhaps the greatest source of lack of confidence on the part of both the law and the public is the unfortunate system of getting so called expert evidence at trials. Law has not been spared, and it is only reasonable that medicine should receive the blame it deserves. It is asserted, and quite fairly too, that whenever the defence of insanity is urged at a murder trial in Canada, we have two sets of so called experts, one for the defence and

one for the prosecution. In view of what has been written, what explanation of such a state of affairs can be offered. The explanation is one which makes evident the necessity for a change. These so called experts are almost invariably asylum physicians with experience, on the one side, opposed by medical men who have theoretical knowledge, but limited opportunity to study and know insanity practically. It is a matter of history that in all important murder trials in Ontario, where the question of insanity has come up, asylum physicians have almost invariably arrived at similar conclusions quite independently, and opportunity after opportunity has arisen to prove their conclusions correct although opposed to the opinions of both law and the general public. The melancholy fact remains that their professional brethren helped to destroy the force of these alienists' evidence. Such things should not be, and the time is ripe for an advance. Law and Medicine should bury the hatchet if possible, and get together to evolve a new and better order of things. In any criminal case where mental defect is suspected, the State should appoint a commission, of say three alienists, to make a careful, and if necessary extended examination of the prisoner, for nothing is to be gained and much may be lost, by undue haste.

The alienists would necessarily be asylum physicians of several year's standing, and as these men are already receiving salaries from the State, they would be protected from the insulting accusations of being bought up. On their report the advisability of sending the case to trial could be determined by the legal authorities.

Many people assert that asylum physicians are faddists and theorists, but it can safely be asserted that the man who does best work in a Hospital for the insane is not the so called heaven born genius or theorist, but the broad minded practical man of common sense so dearly beloved by the average Briton. The Greek student does not acquire a knowledge of Greek verbs by inspiration and theory, the knowledge of anatomy is not to be learned in a day, an inkling of normal psychology requires more than an ordinary lifetime to acquire, and so what of the abnormal psychology? If common sense is to be the requirement in forming an opinion of responsibility in cases of mental defect, we may reasonably suggest, in the interests of humanity, that common sense backed by long experience and special education is likely to give more satisfactory results.

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ART, MORALITY AND RELIGION.

HEGEL characterises the Greek religion as the religion of beauty, contrasting it with the Jewish religion which he terms the religion of the sublime. The general appropriateness of the distinction is obvious. The beautiful implies the sensuous or imaginative presentation of a definite or concrete whole. Nothing is, in the precise sense, beautiful which cannot be clearly marked off, and apprehended in a single view. This holds good whether the object is a single thing—a flower, an animal, a man—or a connected series of events, such as is exhibited in an epic poem or a tragedy. The Greek religion therefore naturally maintained a close alliance with art, for the divine was in it conceived as a number of clearly defined individuals, identical with men in their essential nature, though free from the limits of mortality. The sublime, on the other hand, cannot be confined within definite limits, but escapes from the grasp of the presentative imagination; and therefore the Jewish religion, denying that the divine can be limited, is hostile not to all art, but to beautiful art. The Christian religion is the religion of the spirit. It is based upon the idea of the divine as manifested in all forms of existence, while yet it insists upon the infinity and spirituality of God. This complexity or superficial contradiction in the very essence of Christianity obviously raises a difficult problem at once; and we know from its history how there has been a tendency at times to exclude all art as irreligious, which has always been followed by an equally strong and irrepressible tendency to reassert its importance.

The term Art or Fine Art must be understood as including architecture, painting, sculpture, music and poetry. It seems at first sight strange to us that Aristotle should exclude architecture from the sphere of fine art. The species of art to which he particularly refers in the *Poetics* are the trio of music, dancing and poetry, which agree in the common element of rhythm,—rhythm of sounds, rhythm of bodily movements, rhythm of words; but

he adds to these, as inferior because less expressive, painting and sculpture. Architecture is excluded, and placed among the useful arts, because it is not an imitation or representation of *human* action; and such "imitation" is for Aristotle the characteristic of fine art. This limitation of its species points to a defect in Aristotle's general conception of Art, which has its source in the limitation of the whole Greek conception of life. Meantime, the best introduction to the question with which we are mainly concerned will perhaps be a consideration of Aristotle's theory of Art, and especially of poetry, as set forth in his *Poetics*.

"Art," Aristotle tells us, "imitates nature" (*ἡ τέχνη μιμῆται τῆν φύσιν*). Each of the terms here used requires explanation. (1) By "art" he does not mean merely fine art, but human activity as a whole, so far as it imposes a definite form upon a given material. This activity may be either with a view to the production of what is useful, or the production of what satisfies the highest needs of the soul. In this sense medicine and poetry are both arts; but the object of the former is the practical end of health, of the latter the creation of an object which is an end in itself. (2) "Nature," in Aristotle, is the end which each thing tends to realise, and in the attainment of which its existence (*ὄντῳ*) as a specific thing consists. The "nature" of a thing is thus what it is striving to become, and only as it attains its end can it be said to exist in the full sense of the term "existence." Thus the "nature" of a plant is to exist as a living being and reproduce its species, and only in this process of self-propagation and species-propagation has it any existence. The "nature" of man is to realise the whole of the rational activities which constitute his existence or essence as man, and only in so far as he does realise these is he man. (3) When, therefore, "art" is said to "imitate" nature, this means for Aristotle that man by his reason is able to grasp in idea the end or "nature" of the object with which he deals, and to employ means for the attainment of it. In one sense this "art" is an end which "nature makes," for the production of objects presupposes the faculty of reason, which constitutes the "nature" of man. But this "nature" is related to non-rational things as higher to lower, and from this point of view non-rational things are merely a material for the development of man himself. At the same

time man cannot realise himself without discovering and conforming to the "nature" of things. Thus, the physician must comprehend the "nature" of the animal organism before he can produce that balance of functions in which health consists, and in the attainment of this end he must follow the method of "nature," *i.e.* he must restore the organism to the condition in which it will restore itself. Every living being by its very nature is continuously striving after health; and, where this is not attained, there is some obstruction in the conditions, external or internal, which hinders the realisation of the end. The physician seeks to change the conditions, so that the organism may attain to the end which is implied in it. In this sense he "imitates" or follows nature. In the practical arts, then, the "imitation" of nature consists in the comprehension of the end of "nature" and the production of that end by rational means. Left to itself the organism cannot always adapt itself to the conditions required for the realisation of health, and art aids it by changing the conditions, and thus removing the hindrances to the realisation of the principle which is always at work. All the practical arts are in some way conducive to the realisation of man himself; and they all take their cue from nature. Even the cooking of food promotes the end of digestion, and, as Aristotle believed, follows the method of nature. And, in the higher sphere of politics, art seeks to secure the end of enabling man to live as his nature demands. For man is by nature a political animal: he naturally combines in families and tribes, and such unions are stages on the way to the higher union of an organised state.

The useful arts then "imitate nature" in the sense that the artist, seeing what nature is striving to accomplish and observing the means employed by nature, aims at the same end and adopts the same means, doing consciously what nature does unconsciously. In what sense, then, does fine art "imitate nature"? Obviously, it does not seek, like the practical arts, to produce a change in actual things, and therefore it does not employ the mechanism of nature in order to secure a definite end. The "imitation" must here be of a different character. Wherein, then, does it consist?

Aristotle expressly calls the arts of poetry, music and dancing "modes of imitation" (*μιμῆσις*), and by this he

partly means that they are copies or images. As such the products of fine art are obviously lacking in the reality of the objects of which they are copies ; they are no more real things than the reflections in a mirror. They have, no doubt, their own species of reality, but it is not the reality of actual objects. Their reality is dependent upon the fidelity with which they copy or represent the features of the actual, but they have not themselves any independent reality. What, then, do they copy or "imitate" ? They imitate "character, emotion and action," or, as we are also told, they are an "imitation of persons acting." This is a definition of the object of all art, and not simply of some forms of poetry, and to understand all that it involves is to understand Aristotle's conception of art.

(1) It will be observed that Aristotle regards art as limited to the representation of *human* life. This limitation is of great importance in a comparative estimate of Greek and modern art, and, indeed, it is ultimately connected with the fundamental distinction between the Pagan and the Christian conceptions of the universe. To Aristotle, as to the Greek mind generally, inorganic nature was not in itself an object of art, but was merely a subordinate element in the representation of human life. Ultimately this exclusion of inorganic nature from the region of art was based upon the dualism of the finite and the infinite, the world and God. Nature is not conceived of as in any sense an expression of the Divine unity ; but, as under the dominion of unchanging necessity, it is itself essentially dead and lifeless. No doubt Aristotle represents the world after the pattern of an ascending scale of being, the lowest being lifeless matter, and the highest man ; but this does not mean that there is any actual transition from one form of being to another ; nor does it mean that even the lowest is an expression of the divine nature. God is entirely beyond the world, not immanent in it ; and if the process of finite things is explained by their effort after completeness, this effort is not referred to God as its author, except in the sense that each thing is striving after the completeness realised only by God. For Aristotle God is not the creator of the world, or the spirit whose influence finite things feel, but a self-centred Being, complete in Himself, and in no way actively related to the world. Nature, then, is for Aristotle a realm of

blind necessity, unilluminated by any ray of reason; and hence it is not an object of art. This exclusion of nature from the realm of art, on the other hand, indicates that for Aristotle art is "imitation," not of mere external things, but of their ideal meaning.

Not only does Aristotle exclude inorganic nature from the sphere of art, but he also excludes all living beings except man. The artist may no doubt represent plants and animals as well as men, but only as adjuncts to his pictures of human life. The explanation is, that for Aristotle there is an absolute line of demarcation between the animals and man, the former being irrational, the latter rational. It, of course, follows that art is a representation of the rational life of man. This is what is implied in the definition of the object of art as "character, emotion and action," for these have a meaning only for a being whose life is carried on in the medium of reason. "Character" is the permanent ethical disposition, "emotion" the changing phases of the thinking subject, and "action" the external manifestation of his character and emotions. If, then, the artist has to "imitate" the self-conscious life of man, obviously he must be able to enter sympathetically into the inner life of man; he must, in other words, present before his own mind the "form," or ideal meaning of human life: and what he has to "imitate" is this ideal meaning. Now for Aristotle the meaning of human life is displayed in the various activities of the rational life, regarded from the point of view of the complete realisation of the rational nature. Human nature is, for him, like nature in general, a sum of balanced activities; it is the realisation of what man in idea is: and therefore the artist must be capable of representing man as he ideally is. On the other hand, he must represent the individual man, not man in general; and to do this he must employ sensuous imagery, not abstract conceptions; in other words, the function of the artist is to exhibit the ideal meaning of human life in concrete pictures, not in abstract ideas. His object is "men acting," *i.e.*, individual men as expressing their inner nature outwardly, whether in attitude, movement or speech.

The object of art, then, is to give a picture of human life in its ideal tendencies. "It is not the function of the poet," says

Aristotle, "to relate what has happened, but what may happen, —what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. . . . Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history; for poetry tends to express the universal (*τὰ καθόλου*), history the particular (*τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον*)."

Poetry, in other words, is not a record of all that a particular man has experienced in his life, but only of those experiences which have a universal significance, because they exhibit the ideal possibilities of human nature. The poet has, therefore, even when he deals with a historical character, to fix upon some connected system of experiences and leave out all that falls beyond this system. Hence, in Aristotle's view, he must avoid all that is trivial and commonplace, or rather he must introduce nothing which does not throw light upon the higher tendencies of human nature. In tragedy, at least, only the life of heroic personages is the central theme. These personages are not different in their essential nature from ourselves, but they are of a grander type and undergo experiences such as do not fall to the lot of ordinary men. But, just because they exhibit in their character, emotions and actions what we should ourselves experience under the same conditions, they reveal to us that of which man is capable, not that which men have actually experienced. To the objection that poetry is fiction, Aristotle answers that it is not mere fiction, but a representation of the possibilities of human nature. We may say, in fact, that poetic truth represents a world which is more rational than the actual, because all the disturbing elements of actual life are eliminated, and the fundamental tendencies of human nature are allowed to develop themselves unchecked. In this sense poetry is more philosophical than history. It is not philosophy, because it presents the universal, not in the medium of pure thought, but in the form of concrete pictures of an individual life, but it is higher (*σπουδαιότερον*) than history, because it presents what human nature is, when freed from disturbing and accidental elements.

When, then, is the *end* of fine art? In dealing with this question we must remember that, for Aristotle, all the arts are means to the one supreme end of human well-being. There is but one supreme end, viz., the perfect realisation of human life. The practical arts are not an end in themselves, but merely means

to this supreme end. They enable man to secure the satisfaction of his material wants, or to supply the conditions of his moral and intellectual life. Even society or an organised state is the means to the attainment of complete self-satisfaction, and therefore the political art is not an end itself, but the means to an end. The fine arts, on the other hand, are not means, but ends in themselves: they constitute a part of that complete well-being which is the supreme end. This explains why Aristotle regards fine art as consisting in rational enjoyment. It is an entire misunderstanding to suppose that he regards art simply as a means to pleasure. Art results in pleasure, but its aim is not the production of pleasure. The pleasure of artistic enjoyment consists in the contemplation of man as he is in idea. The pleasure which is thus experienced can be felt only by one who can enter sympathetically into the artistic product, but in the enjoyment of this pleasure he attains what is an ingredient in a complete life.

ART AND MORALITY.

Since the end of art is a certain refined pleasure arising from the contemplation of man in his ideal tendencies, we must not estimate an artistic product from its direct moral tendency. The function of the artist is different from that of the teacher or statesman; he does not aim at making men better morally or better citizens, but endeavours to paint men as under certain ideal conditions they would act and feel. "The standard of correctness in poetry and politics is not the same, any more than in poetry and any other art" (*ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρώπου ὁρθότης ἐστὶν τῆς ποιητικῆς καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς, ὁδὲ ἄλλης τέχνης καὶ ποιητικῆς*: xxv. 3). No doubt Aristotle is here tacitly criticising Plato, who regards poetry as a means of moral and political education, and who therefore excludes all but didactic poetry. From this point of view Plato condemns the representation of the gods as deceitful, rancorous, changeable, on the ground that it can only have a pernicious influence on the hearer. To this doctrine Aristotle answers that the poet may legitimately represent the traditional beliefs of the people. "It may well be that these stories are not higher than fact nor yet true to fact. . . . But, anyhow, this is what is said" (xxv. 7.) Would Aristotle, then, say that *all* traditional stories of the gods are a legitimate object of poetic representation? No; not all stories in their crude form, but only

those stories or those elements which fit in with a consistent poetic whole. Besides, as we shall immediately see, he does not admit that the genuine poetic enjoyment can result from the representation of unrelieved wickedness. We have also to remember that, unlike Plato, Aristotle regards mythology as containing in an implicit form a genuine insight into the deeper truth of things. The myth gives a provisional satisfaction to that feeling of "wonder" which is the impulse to a consciousness of the deeper meaning of the world. The traditional stories of the gods are, on his view, the first attempts of men to rationalise life; to trace things back to a higher source, and explain the seeming contradictions in the universe. No doubt they narrate what never happened, and give an imperfect representation of the divine nature; but, after all, they lift man above the confused particulars of sense and enable him to represent things from a universal point of view. It is some such idea as this which underlies Aristotle's defence of the poet's right to employ the legendary stories of the gods. The objection that what is represented as actual fact never occurred does not affect him; poetry is not history, but an ideal representation of what might be; and it cannot be tested by the prosaic canon of its literal accuracy. And even if it does not represent what ought to be, *i.e.*, the ideal, it may still suggest a truth higher than it expresses, as is done by the anthropomorphic representations of the gods and heroes. The question which Aristotle here raises is evidently of perennial interest. If nothing but severely accurate statements of the divine nature are to be admitted in poetry, what are we to say of all anthropomorphic representations of the divine nature? At the present time there is a strong tendency among philosophic thinkers to deny that we can frame any positive conception of the divine nature. The absolute, it is said, cannot be defined as personal or self-conscious, for such a definition implies that God is "such a one as ourselves." Suppose it to be admitted that this contention is sound—though this is to my mind a view which cannot be philosophically substantiated—is the poet to exclude all representations of the divine, or to speak of God in the colourless terms demanded by current philosophy? The answer cannot be doubtful. Such a God can have no meaning for the majority of men. A purely abstract being, of whom we can

say nothing except that of it we can say nothing, will not help us to realise the divine meaning of life. The religious consciousness demands a God who does not remain enclosed within Himself and separated from the world and the human soul, but a God who is "not far from any one of us," who is revealed in each drop of water and present in idea in our own souls; and if philosophy cannot justify the reality of such a God to the reflective reason, "so much the worse for philosophy." Aristotle, himself, conceived of God as self-involved and beyond the sphere of nature and human life; but, with a splendid inconsistency, he also maintained that such a conception is unfitted for poetic representation. This inconsistency is inseparable from his system; but it may be taken as foreshadowing that reconciliation of poetry and philosophy which, as I think, Christianity enables us to accomplish. This point will be afterwards considered; meantime, we may from it partly see how Aristotle was unable to get a perfectly consistent theory of art. Poetry, as he rightly holds, must be concrete: it must speak in terms of the imagination, and therefore it may be allowed to employ legendary tales which the critical intellect must reject as inadequate representations of the divine nature. The defect in Aristotle's view is, that he hardly allows sufficiently for the characteristic truth of poetry. The imagination is not a mere makeshift, which has to be set aside when we have reached the stage of reflective thought; it is essential to a complete view of the world. Reflective thought is always abstract in this sense that it grasps reality in the form of its universal possibilities. But the universal becomes unreal unless it manifests itself in an infinity of concrete forms; and these can only be presented by the imagination. We must, therefore, regard poetry as, from one point of view, higher than science on the one hand, and philosophy on the other. Science lives in a region of abstraction: it treats one aspect of things as if it were the whole. Poetry represents the whole in the part: it shows how each part contains the principle of the whole. Philosophy again grasps the whole as a system, but it does not present the life and movement of the whole in the parts. Thus science, art and philosophy are all required, and are complementary of each other. We must observe, however, that, as each develops, the divisions between them do not indeed disap-

pear, but they are found to harmonize more closely; in fact, the distinction between science and philosophy is ultimately conventional. Philosophy does not exclude science, but is the completion of science; and art is the concrete presentation of what philosophy grasps in the medium of reflective thought. In this way the "old quarrel" of philosophy and poetry may be reconciled.

JOHN WATSON.

(To be continued.)

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO RAILWAYS IN UNSETTLED COUNTRY.

BOTH the Conservative and Liberal parties have for many years given their approval to the policy of government aid in the construction of railways into the unsettled sections of this country. In pursuance of this policy, the Dominion Parliament and the Local Legislatures have voted large sums of money and extensive grants of land to numerous chartered companies which had been formed for the purpose of undertaking this construction. Excluding the debts incurred in building the Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railways, and the original subsidies to the Canadian Pacific Railway, a total sum equalling nearly one-fourth of our national debt has already been paid in cash as subsidies and loans by Canada and the provinces to various railways throughout the country, whilst an extent of country equal to nearly two-thirds of Prussia has been voted in all in land grants to railways by the Dominion, some of which land grants are, however, not yet earned. A large amount of these money grants has been given to aid railways in the populous and enterprising parts of the country where a paying traffic from the first has been assured. On the other hand, many of the subsidies have been given to railways constructed into new or sparsely settled country with the object of aiding the settlement of these sections and the development of their agricultural or mineral re-

sources—building, in fact, ahead of population in order to attract population. In this case the railways have had to create their traffic, and have been at a decided disadvantage when compared with those railways which had a traffic ready awaiting their construction.

The time has now come when we should examine whether the results expected from the building of these subsidized roads have been accomplished; whether population has flowed into the sections of country tributary to the roads; whether enterprise has been stimulated in these sections and their resources are being developed; and whether the roads themselves have risen to that point so much desired by bondholders and shareholders, of being paying investments. These are matters of great importance to the Government and to the public.

In the last published Canadian railway statistics—those for 1896—seventy-nine railways furnish more or less full details of their operations. Excluding the four short electric roads which all show unsatisfactory results, and the coal, tunnel and bridge companies, there are only ten railways in Canada which pay full interest on either their bonded debts or their preferred stocks, whilst there are fifty-nine railways which fall short of paying full interest on their bonds or do not pay interest at all. Going into more specific details, there were sixteen railways which in that year had not sufficient traffic to pay even the expenses of operating them; there were twenty-seven other railways which paid expenses but did not give enough to earn one per cent on their bonds; whilst sixteen other roads showed somewhat better results, but failed to meet their bondholders' interest in full.

This is a very serious state of affairs. A very large amount of bonds of these defaulting roads is held in Great Britain. The London Stock Exchange Daily List gives in round numbers twenty-one millions of dollars as the amount of bonds, held in that market, of six Canadian railways, not one of whose traffic returns would suffice to meet in more than small part the interest due to the bondholders. And what is the result of these defaults to this country? If the evil stopped with the discredit among investors of the particular roads in question, we might take courage and hope for an improved condition of their traffic in the early future. Capital is, however, very sensitive over disasters.

Not only have all new railways—good as their prospects may be for large and paying traffic—had every discouragement thrown in their way by British and American financiers, but every industrial enterprise from Canada seeking capital in Great Britain during recent years has had extreme difficulty in interesting investors there. Railways afford an important gauge of the trade of a country, and if their traffic and their dividends are unsatisfactory, the average investor living three thousand miles away cannot be blamed if he has a suspicion in regard to the enterprises which are dependent on that trade.

When looking for the causes which have led to the default of so many subsidized railways, we are met with the fact that of the sixteen roads which do not pay the expenses of operating them, twelve were built into unsettled or very sparsely settled country, and that of the whole number of fifty-nine Canadian railways before referred to as unsatisfactory in their traffic results, forty-two have been constructed chiefly or entirely into country in advance of settlement where the traffic had to be in large part created in each case by the railway itself. The only conclusion to be drawn is that we have gone too fast with our plans for the development of our unsettled lands. In the west we have subsidized roads into vast stretches of prairie country to accommodate a population which coming in thousands where tens of thousands were hoped for, has distributed itself sparingly like a fringe along the hundreds of miles of railway in this North-west country. We are, in regard to some railways there, a quarter of a century in advance of a population and traffic that would warrant the construction of an extensive, costly railway system. In the East again, we have the existence of timber limits and the alleged abundance of timber and of undeveloped and comparatively untested minerals to tempt us to subsidize roads in districts that are unfitted for agriculture, and thus expensive railways have been built to accommodate traffic which pays only the very lowest rates of freight. Under any circumstances the traffic returns are small, but should the minerals prove disappointing in quantity or quality, or foreign customs regulations close the mines, or should the timber limits become exhausted, as is inevitable in time, these railways are left with only an impoverished and scanty population to depend on for local traffic. It is on these occasions that the

interest due the bondholders is allowed to go to default and when an outcry against Canadian investments is heard.

Everyone will heartily approve of the desire of our governments to encourage the settlement of the wild lands of the country and the development of its minerals. The real point for discussion is as to how this encouragement can be given without detriment to the interests of capital. Our railways cannot be built without the aid of the British investor and many other of our industrial enterprises are also dependent for their funds on his good opinion. To forfeit that good opinion by building unprofitable railways and selling to him their undesirable securities is to do harm to the best interests of the country by making it difficult or impossible to float future enterprises. It can of course be said that the legal maxim *caveat emptor* applies and that every English and foreign investor is bound to examine into the security before he buys the bonds or shares. We, however, have better information than he can possibly have and should not offer to him what we would not invest in ourselves.

Where the government does not desire to build the road itself, the remedy lies (1) in examining more closely the capabilities of the district to furnish a paying traffic before a subsidy for a railway through it is granted, (2) in giving the subsidy only to one of the already well established and financially strong railways which will undertake to construct a branch into the district, and will guarantee to operate it and provide for the interest on its bonds.

Full personal investigation will probably lead to the governments refusing many subsidies, but where it does grant them it will have this security that no strong railway corporation, with the interest on the bonds to pay and its own credit to maintain, would undertake the construction of more track into the new district than experience and investigation showed would give remunerative results. The government would thus relieve itself from any possible implied moral responsibility arising from the assumption that because it gave a subsidy, it approved of the construction of the line and had confidence in its paying powers.

What, in fine, needs to be clearly emphasized is that it is not being true to our own interests to prejudice the British and foreign money markets against Canadian enterprise hereafter, by

encouraging now by subsidies the construction of railways into country which cannot possibly furnish remunerative traffic, unless the government guarantees the entire interest of the bonds of the subsidized roads or takes care that some other financially strong railway company provides for this interest. We can plead some ignorance in the past, but we have experience now to guide us.

A. T. DRUMMOND.

THE THEORY OF SOLUTION.

FOR many years chemists and physicists found themselves embarrassed when asked to define a solution. The liquid resulting from the disappearance of a solid in a liquid possessed properties very difficult of explanation. That a greater change had occurred than the liquefaction of the solid and its diffusion through the solvent seemed to be certain, especially in view of the effects of solution upon chemical action.

As early as 1851 Williamson explained the reaction between sodium chloride and silver nitrate by saying that in the solution of each there was some of the metal separated from the acid radical; that the free silver combined with the free chlorine and the resulting insoluble silver chloride passed out of the reaction while more of each radical was then set free and the action repeated so long as there was a supply of the original constituents. In 1857 Clausius said that in a solution of copper sulphate there were some dissociated molecules. Work done in late years seems to prove that this dissociation is much greater than before thought possible. The chief names connected with the investigation of solutions are those of Arrhenius, Van t'Hoff and Ostwald.

If in a tall jar we place a layer of pure water over a solution of sugar, being careful not to mix them, the sugar molecules immediately begin to diffuse through the water, and the water molecules through the solution, and these movements cease only when

the whole volume of liquid is homogeneous. If now a partition permeable to water molecules but not to those of sugar, be placed between such a solution of sugar and a quantity of pure water, a pressure is immediately exerted on the partition. This pressure has for its cause the tendency of the molecules of sugar to pass outward, and the tendency of the water molecules to pass inward. The partition prevents the sugar molecules from wandering, but admits the water molecules. The movement of water into the solution will, therefore, continue so long as the solution on one side of the partition is of greater concentration than that on the other. This pressure is called osmotic pressure, and an apparatus for measuring it has been devised. A porous jar is coated with copper ferrocyanide or other semi-permeable substance, and in this jar is placed the solution of sugar. The jar is then closely connected with a long tube containing mercury, which acts as a manometer. If such an apparatus be now placed in a vessel of pure water, the height to which the column of mercury will rise will give us a measure of the osmotic pressure. Pfeffer, from such an experiment, obtained the following results :

a 1 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 53.8 cm. of mercury.

a 2 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 101.6 cm.

a 2.75 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 151.8 cm.

a 4 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 208.2 cm.

a 6 per cent. solution of sugar gave a pressure of 307.5 cm.

Allowing for the possible experimental error, and the fact that the membrane is not entirely impassable to sugar molecules at high pressure, we infer from the above that the *osmotic pressure is proportional to the concentration of the substance in the solution.* It has also been proved that the *osmotic pressure is proportional to the absolute temperature.*

Let us now recall the well known laws governing the behaviour of the gases under changes of temperature and pressure. Mariotte's law is an expression of the fact that the *volume of a given quantity of gas is inversely proportional to the pressure to which it is exposed, while the temperature remains constant.* The law of Charles states that *if the pressure remains constant the volume of a given quantity of gas is directly proportional to its absolute temperature.*

We at once see that the converse of each of the above statements is true, viz.: *The pressure exerted by a given quantity of gas is inversely proportional to the volume it is allowed to assume, while temperature is constant; and that the pressure of a given quantity of gas is directly proportional to the absolute temperature if the volume be kept constant.* To account for the above facts we have Avogadro's theory, which is of prime importance: *All gases under the same conditions of temperature and pressure contain in unit volume the same number of molecules.*

We have seen in connection with solutions that the osmotic pressure is directly proportional to the concentration. As the concentration is inversely proportional to the volume, the osmotic pressure is inversely proportional to the volume. This is identical with Mariotte's law for gases. We also saw that the osmotic pressure is directly proportional to the absolute temperature. So we find that the laws of gases hold for solutions, and this astonishing fact has been thus stated by Van t'Hoff: *The osmotic pressure of a substance in solution is the same as the pressure it would exert if it were in gas form at the same temperature and occupying the same volume.* Another way of stating this would be to say that a molecule of any substance dissolved in a given quantity of water exerts the same osmotic pressure at the same temperature as does a molecule of any other substance in the same volume. Let us apply this in the determination of molecular weight. One gram-molecule of oxygen (32 grams) occupies at zero Centigrade, and 76 cm. pressure, the volume of 22.4 litres and, according to Avogadro's theory, so does a gram-molecule of any other gas. If now we compress this molecule from 22.4 litres to one litre the pressure it will exert, according to Mariotte's law, will be 22.4 times one atmosphere; that is 22.4 times times 76 cm. of mercury. If this law holds for solutions, one gram molecule of any substance dissolved in one litre of water must exert an osmotic pressure of 22.4 times 76 cm. of mercury. Let us take a 2 per cent. solution of sugar, *i.e.*, 20 grams per litre, which we saw exerts a pressure of 101.6 cm. We now have the relation: The weight taken, 20 g., is to the weight of the molecule, M , as the pressure found, 101.6 cm., is to the pressure exerted by a molecule, 22.4 times 76 cm.; or $20:M::101.6:(22.4 \times 76)$. From this $M = 335 +$. Theoretically, the molecular weight of sugar is 342,

and we consider the agreement to be very good when we take into account the imperfections in semi-permeable membranes. Similar results have been obtained for all soluble substances which do *not* conduct the electric current.

The usual method of determining the molecular weight of a substance is to reduce it to the gaseous state and compare the density of its vapor with that of hydrogen at the same temperature and pressure. In applying this method to ammonium chloride chemists expected to get a density of 26.8, and, therefore, a molecular weight of 53.4+. They did obtain as a result 13.4, and, therefore, a molecular weight of 26.8. A careful study of the experiment proved that while vaporized the salt is dissociated into ammonia and hydrochloric acid, thus yielding two molecules from one and occupying twice the expected space, and, therefore, giving a density only one-half the expected density. When we apply to ammonium chloride the solution method, as described above, we get similar results, showing that *in solution the salt has been dissociated*. All other substances that *conduct the electric current* behave in a similar way in solution, giving an osmotic pressure always greater than it should be, and the more dilute the solution, the more nearly is complete dissociation indicated by the pressure.

Arrhenius was the first to show that if in solutions we have the dissolved substances more or less separated into ions, we have an explanation of the abnormal behaviour above noted. He also found that those substances—and only those—which give abnormal osmotic pressures, are capable of conducting the electric current, and if these substances are dissolved in any solvent in which they give normal osmotic pressures, they, under such circumstances, lose their conducting power. Grotthus discovered that in solutions the electricity is carried bodily by particles of the dissolved substance, from one pole to the other. Faraday gave the name *ions* to the particles, and established the following law which is the basis of all electro-chemical work: All movements of electricity in electrolytes occur only by the concurrent movement of ions; and equal amounts of electricity move chemically equivalent amounts of the different ions.

Now, as all substances which conduct electricity give abnormal osmotic pressure, *i.e.*, have apparently too many molecules

present, and as the conduction of electricity by solutions is in virtue of there being ions present, formed from the molecules, then all electrolytes, *i.e.*, salts, acids and bases must, in solution, have ions present in them, and these act as molecules and increase the osmotic pressure. In infinitely dilute solutions the osmotic pressure is much greater than it should be, so we infer that in such solutions the molecules of the dissolved substance are approximately all dissociated into ions, each of which acts like a molecule in producing osmotic pressure.

A proof of this would be that the conductivity and the dilution of the electrolyte are mathematically proportional, and this has been rigidly proved.

In aqueous solutions, therefore, of acids, bases and salts, we have electrolytic dissociation into positive and negative ions, which are separated by the dielectric water. Alcohol produces this dissociation to a very slight extent, while ether, carbon disulphide, and other such solvents are inactive. The hydrogen of the acids and the metals of the bases and salts furnish positive ions, while the hydroxyls of bases, and the acid radicals of salts and acids form negative ions. A current of electricity passed through such solutions merely causes a concentration of positive ions at the negative electrode and of negative ions at the positive electrode. From a molecule of sodium chloride we get two ions, and therefore the osmotic pressure of its solution should, when very dilute, be twice the normal pressure, and this we find to be true. A molecule of sodium sulphate yields three ions, and the osmotic pressure agrees with this also. Let us now note that this theory will give explanations for phenomena which have long been known—but unexplained—by practical chemists.

A fundamental fact in analytical chemistry is that magnesium hydroxide is not precipitated by ammonium hydroxide if ammonium chloride in excess be present. In a solution of a magnesium salt to which ammonium hydroxide is added, the hydroxyl ions are the active agents in precipitation. By the addition of ammonium chloride, we greatly increase the number and proportion of ammonium ions, and thereby decrease the proportion of magnesium ions. As the proportion of ammonium ions increases there is a proportionate increase in the number of

contacts and combinations of ammonium with hydroxyl, and a decrease in the comparative opportunities of hydroxyl to combine with magnesium. In presence of excess of ammonium chloride the opportunities for hydroxyl to combine with magnesium will be so few comparatively that they may be disregarded.

It is found that barium is more completely precipitated as barium sulphate if an excess of sulphuric acid is present in the solution. The presence of the numerous SO_4 ions makes it almost impossible that any barium should escape contact with one of them, and hence precipitation is practically perfect. It is well known that KCl gives the reaction for chlorine, while KClO_3 does not do so. The reason for this we believe to be that the ionization of the molecule KClO_3 yields K and ClO_3 and no Cl ion. Again $\text{K}_4\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6$ gives no precipitation of $\text{Fe}(\text{OH})_3$ when ammonium hydroxide is added to its solution, while all simple ferrous salts do so. As in the preceding case we have no ferrous ions but K ions and $\text{Fe}(\text{OH})_6$ ions. Prussian Blue— $\text{Fe}_4[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6]_3$ though containing both ferric and ferrous ions gives the reaction for the former only, as the latter is not free in the ionic condition.

The hydrogen ion is that portion of an acid which gives it its acidic properties, therefore the strength of an acid will be in proportion to the extent of its ionization. We measure this by comparing the conductivities of the various acids when one gram-molecule of each is dissolved in one litre of water. The results thus obtained agree with those reached by other accepted methods of estimating this important property. Similarly that base is strongest which sets free the greatest proportion of hydroxyl ions per cubic centimeter of equivalent solutions. We find by the above method that phosphoric, tartaric and acetic acids yield in solution a few hydrogen ions, while hydrocyanic acid, hydrogen sulphide, etc., are but very slightly dissociated. The strongest bases—potassium hydroxide and sodium hydroxide—are very completely ionized; ammonium hydroxide much less; while such bases as ferrous hydroxide and magnesium hydroxide yield very few ions. It is probable that the action of water, as both a very weak acid and a very weak base is due to its being ionized, though to a very slight extent, indeed, as shown by its great resistance to the electric current.

An objection likely to be made to the above theory is that if we have free ions—say of chlorine—in an aqueous solution, they would pass out and be recognized by colour and odour. The potassium and sodium ions might also be expected to betray their presence by decomposing the water in contact with them. We should, however, remember, that we know little or nothing of the properties of these substances in the atomic state. The ions are also probably charged heavily with electricity, which would further modify their behaviour. Again, it may be objected that it is our most stable substances—potassium chloride, sulphuric acid, etc.—which are said to be most completely dissociated, and merely by the presence of excess of water. These substances are stable only when judged by such an arbitrary standard as their resistance to the dissociating power of heat. They are, on the contrary, very unstable chemically, as shown by their great activity when in contact with other substances. The above applications are only a few of those in which the theory will be found useful, and may be safely used until found inadequate or until a better theory is offered.

W. T. McCLEMENT.

THE MUSE AND THE MORTAL.

“DUCKS and drakes” was a seaside game of one’s boyhood. Its name is a shade unintelligible, perhaps, but the game was simple. A flat pebble or a splinter of slate was made to skim the surface of the waves, to dip and emerge, once, twice, thrice, or even oftener, a feat involving a little but not much skill—and then the plaything sank and was forgotten. It is a pleasant thing to find that centuries ago the Roman children amused themselves with the same game—it is one more proof that after all the ancients were human.

When one comes to ripened years, we find the same enjoyment in playing the game over again in literature. “Duck and drake” criticism will always be congenial to man. It is not *very*

difficult, it is essentially superficial, and when it is done we can forget it with a light heart. Another and more respectable name for it is the conjunct view. Perhaps after all it has a value. A friend of mine was one day playing with some celts, the stone axe-heads of our ancestors, and noticed that, lying on their sides, they would revolve freely one way and not the other. He was a mathematician, and he worked out the laws or, at least, found the cause underlying it all, and science gained something. Perhaps a little "duck and drake" criticism, turning on a point of some interest, may waken a desire somewhere to go deeper into the matter, and to work out more fully a line of study that can only be hinted at here.

We have heard a good deal of late of the interpretation of life by the poets, and it may be permissible to narrow down the range of inquiry to a single point, and by a process of comparison of some more or less typical views to attempt to reach a sounder judgment of their merits or demerits.

A study of Horace has led me to remark the persistence of a note in his poetry, which we are apt to miss in the general cheeriness of his utterances—the thought of death. By accident reading two other poets about the same time, who have the same thought continually recurring to them, I was led to try to arrange my impressions. To these I add two others, in whom I have long been interested, and I would wish to sketch (with the Aristotelian apology that it must be "in outline and not with precision") the outstanding features of the presentment of the thought by all five.

Robert Browning shall be my starting point*. He, if I read him aright, is, if any one, "sure of range above the limits here." Life and its work interest him, and death would seem merely one and not the last of a series of experiences. Life will continue thereafter and death is an episode and little more. Abt Vogler sees "on the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven a perfect round." The Patriot is calm in the face of martyrdom in his conviction, "'Tis God shall repay: I am safer so." The Poet may go through life in "that old coat"—"a second and the

*A friend whose province it is warns me I may not understand Browning, and as I am a law-abiding person and do not like to be found underneath the notice "Trespassers will be prosecuted," I enter this *caveat lector* , at the same point hoping my *obiter dictum* on the poet is not very far wrong.

angels alter that." The Householder's final flourish, "Affliction sore long time he bore," is corrected by the wife to "I end with—Love is all and Death is nought." The theme of "Evelyn Hope" is eventual completion. The Grammarian's funeral is full of the same.

"God surely will contrive
Use for our earning.
Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes :
Live now or never !'
He said, 'What's time ? Leave Now for dogs and apes !
Man has Forever. . . .'"

"Wilt thou trust death or not ?" He answered 'Yes.'

I let the poet tell his own tale, and I think it is clear. More illustrations could easily be gathered, but perhaps we may sum all up in a short piece. I quote intact :

PROSPICE

Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe ;
Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,
Yet the strong man must go :
For the journey is done and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last !
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No ! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
Of pain, darkness and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,

Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
 Then a light, then thy breast,
 O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
 And with God be the rest!

Passing to Horace, we find his ideas of life and death rest on an assumption diametrically opposite.

Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.

Life's sum is short and ever-teaching
 One lesson—frame not hopes far-reaching.

The suggestion of spring to him is once and again:

*Immortalia ne speres monet annus, et album
 Quæ rapit hora diem.*

That you hope not hopes immortal, the new year
 Preaches clear,
 And the onward rush of time that sweeps away
 The glad day.

Quintilius dies, and Horace reflects that he is dead and there's no more to be said—not heartlessly, but by way of comforting Virgil. Archytas dies and we all must die. He writes a fine ode to Dellius, *moriture Delli*—"Dellius doomed to die:" but it is hardly melancholy—its burden is "Make the best of life—die you must, whether you enjoy yourself or afflict yourself, so when pine and poplar weave a hospitable shade for you and the stream ripples and babbles hard by, what is better than the cup and the crown, for even the roses fall?" He does not, however, mean the life of indulgence, but the life of real enjoyment, depending on a well-balanced spirit which neither hope nor fear, desire nor sorrow, throws out of gear. *Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem.* His prescription for a happy life is to count each day one's last, in which case each to-morrow will be a glad surprise. A man should so live that when the time comes he may retire gracefully like a guest at the end of a banquet: *exacto contentus tempore vita cedat uti conviva satur.* Why vex yourself with great ambitions, why *sepulcri immemor* build the palace when you can be as happy in the cot or under the oak, why leave your wine to a scallawag* heir? Friendship and a farm will give you the best

*March, 1898, has seen this word added to the Parliamentary vocabulary by Lord Charles Beresford, and I make no apology.

of life. A bright, sunny, peaceful and joyous life is possible for every one. Death is not the Arch-Fear so much as the Arch-Fact, relevant only because it puts an end to the possibilities of life. Do not fear it, but remember it and live while you can. *Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.* It is the schoolboy and his holiday, to be the more enjoyed because school begins again so soon. Whatever we do, *ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus*, and where do good myths go when they die? A short poem may again sum up a poet's teaching :

Never seek you to learn, Leuconoe,
 What end the gods assign to you or me ;
 'Tis sin to be too curious. Meddle you
 Nor with Chaldeans nor Astrology.

Whatever comes, bear that, and ask no more
 If Jupiter have other years in store,
 Or if we see this our last winter break
 The Tuscan billows on the rocky shore.

Be wise and strain the wine, for life is short,
 Trim down your hopes. Look you ! grim Time makes sport
 To fly while thus we talk. The present snatch,
 The future trust not you in any sort.*

We can see that both these poets can look on death without whimpering, *siccis oculis*. One sees another life ahead and he trusts Providence, the other sees that even if this life is all, it is very good, and he thanks Providence (if there be one). Both enjoy and make the best of what is with them.

Our next man is different :

" Of Heaven or Hell he has no power to sing,
 He cannot ease the burden of your fears,
 Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
 Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
 Nor for his words shall ye forget your tears,
 Or hope again for aught that he can say,
 The idle singer of an empty day."

William Morris' *Earthly Paradise* is a delightful book, but throughout there is a nervous anxiety to remember to forget

*" A poor thing, sir, but mine own," said Touchstone. Once more I make no apologies, for no poet worth translating can be or ever has been fully translated,

death, which occurs again and again. The prospect cannot be calmly viewed as by Horace, it cannot be escaped, and it means misery. Happiness has always this canker of memory :

“ Yea, by so much the happier that we were
By just so much increased on us our fear...
For loss of youth to us was loss of peace.”

“ Striving my pleasure from my pain to sift,
Some weight from off my fluttering mirth to lift.”

“ I held my breath
And shuddered at the sight of Eld and Death.
Alas ! Love passed me in the twilight sun,
His music hushed the wakening onsel's song ;
But on these twain shone out the goldening sun,
And o'er their heads the brown bird's tune was strong,
As shivering, 'twixt the trees they stole along ;
None noted aught their noiseless passing by,
The world had quite forgotten it must die.”

It is Damocles *destrictus ensis cui super impia ceruice pendet*.

Damocles cannot get away from the sword, but instead of saying with Horace cheerfully, “ If it must fall, it must, but I can be happy till it does,” Damocles says “ I can't be happy unless I forget it is there.” It is a less manly tone and marks a lower grade than the genial, honest Sabine of Venusia.

A similar nervous sense of the nearness or at least inevitability of death haunts another, Christina Rossetti. Her moods vary a good deal. Sometimes

“ Life is not sweet. One day it will be sweet
To shut our eyes and die.”

Sometimes

“ If I might see another spring
I'd laugh to-day, to-day is brief ;
I would not wait for anything :
I'd use to-day that cannot last,
Be glad to-day and sing.”

Then she takes consolation in the next world, not quite as Browning does, because it completes this, but because it makes this insignificant and puts it out of the account. Again death *per se* comes upon her with a chill and a horror :

“ Not in a dream, but in the literal truth,
 With all Death's adjuncts ghastly and uncouth,
 The pang that is the last, and the last sigh,”

and so forth. Not a very healthy temper this. Not strong enough to get rid of the thought, she lives in its rather morbid company, fascinated by it as the bird by the snake, but not crushed. Perhaps two verses, almost the last she wrote, illustrate her attitude better than any else.

“ Heaven overarches earth and sea,
 Earth-sadness and sea-bitterness,
 Heaven overarches you and me :
 A little while and we shall be—
 Please God—where there is no more sea
 Nor barren wilderness.

Heaven overarches you and me,
 And all earth's gardens and her graves,
 Look up with me, until we see
 The day break and the shadows flee,
 What though to-night wrecks you and me
 If so to-morrow saves ?”

We come now to our fifth poet, Propertius, a contemporary of Horace and the embodiment of nearly everything Horace did not like—passionate, puling and pedantic. Three times he incidentally tells us of his constitutional pallor, how bloodless he is—a dandy, too, and a man of dissolute and self-indulgent life. His muse was his mistress, and Cynthia was no Urania. With all its elements of power (or, perhaps, skill) and grace, his verse is as little robust as himself, “ too white, for the flower of life is red.” It reflects his morbid humour, his self-consciousness, his gloom and querulousness. Mr. Postgate remarks on his “ ahs ” and “ heu's,” his “ egos ” and “ nosters,” his tears and complaints.” Probably a poor physique, further weakened by vice, may explain the morbidness and the absence of self-control.* Death has a horrible fascination for him, but not at all in the same way as for Christina Rossetti. He likes to picture himself dead, bones, ashes, dust, and then imagine what the passer-by will say, what the lover will say, what Cynthia will say.

*While it should be remembered that death is the common stock-in-trade of the elegiac poets, Propertius shows his individuality by harping on it to excess.

*An poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis ?
ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu ?*

Or canst thou tearless think upon my fate,
Nor to thy bosom gather up my bones ?

Will Cynthia be faithful to his ashes in the tomb ? He wishes to be buried from her house, and then if Maecenas drives past his grave, will he be so kind as to stop his British carriage and, dropping a tear on the silent ashes, say " Poor wretch ! a cruel woman was his fate." Then come hysterics. He will die in his youth and Cynthia will not care :

*Sic igitur prima moriere actate, Properti ?
sed morere, interitu gaudeat illa tuo.
exagilet nostros manes, sectetur et umbras,
insultetque rogis, calcet et ossa mea.*

In earliest youth wilt draw thy latest breath ?
Die, then ! and let her triumph in thy death,
My ghost, my phantom of her memory cheat,
Insult my grave, my bones tread under feet.

Cheerful predictions of this type are not always fulfilled. As it happened she died first and he forgot her—that is, after he had written a characteristic elegy about her ghost, who promises that their bones shall at last mingle in a *post mortem* embrace. No wonder Horace had no patience with " the new Callimachus."

A wave or two more to be topped and our pebble shall sink. The ancient feeling toward life and death may, perhaps, on the whole be illustrated (if such a thing can be done) by a single line of Virgil, which defies translation :

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The medieval is nearer Miss Rossetti's, and St. Bernard may serve us :

" Here life how vanishing ! short is our banishing ! brief is our pain ;
There life undying, the life without sighing, our measureless gain,
Rich satisfaction, a moment of action, eternal reward,
Strange retribution, for depth of pollution, a home with the Lord."

Browning shews a further stage. But to generalize is dangerous, for where are we to class Horace and William Morris ?

T. R. GLOVER.

SUMMER CLASSES.

FOR four summers past Queen's has offered instruction in various branches of science to teachers and others unable to attend during the winter sessions. The aim in this work has always been to guide and direct the studies of extra-mural students, to remove difficulties, and to repeat as many as possible of the thousand and one experiments and demonstrations so necessary for those who are reading for a degree without the assistance of properly equipped laboratories. The attendance has never been large, but the quality of the students who have come—their enthusiasm, their energy, their patient industry, their success at the subsequent regular University examinations have been so conspicuous, that the Senate has, this year for the first time, agreed to recognize the summer classes as an integral part of the work of the University. Henceforth, Queen's will be open for instruction every month in the year.

Hitherto the instruction offered has been in science only. In July, 1898, instruction is also offered in classics. The reasons that determined the Senate to place Latin upon the curriculum were twofold. In the first place, it was found that the summer students in science were generally unprepared to enter the junior class in Latin. In the second place, it was felt that public school teachers in villages and towns in which there is no high school should be encouraged to acquire a knowledge of Latin in order to teach the "continuation classes" authorized by the Minister of Education. Much as our school system is praised, we have not in Ontario reached John Knox's ideal—a graduate in every parish school. Instead, we have "a graduate" of one of our high schools and model schools, with her head crammed full of a strange medley of fashion plates, novels, and the appalling rubbish called psychology. Is it any wonder that with such teachers in charge, farmers' sons of 18 and 21 years of age, who twenty-five years ago used to go to school during the winter months, now decline to do so? Would they not attend if "Domsie" were the teacher? "Domsie," with his unerring scent for a "lad o' pairts;" who,

from his little country school, sent to college "seven ministers, four schoolmasters, four doctors, one professor, and three civil service men, besides many others to mercantile pursuits." The bald truth is that with teachers like Domsie and inspectors like the "Doctor," the public schools of Ontario could have done a thousand times more for our people than all the high schools and normal schools put together. The dead uniformity, the complicated machinery, the crudeness and inexperience of the teachers, the petty ambition of passing examinations, the self-conceit and self-complacency engendered in the pupils, are enough to crush out every vestige of a desire of knowledge for its own sake.

Queen's, the child of necessity, and nurtured by the gifts of her grateful sons, is trying to do what she can to place a Domsie in every country school. By her extra-mural work and her summer classes she offers to aid struggling teachers to attain a degree in arts, and she hopes in time to be able to form a public sentiment in favor of permanent teachers in our larger public schools.

With this aim in view we make no apology for inserting in the *QUARTERLY* the courses of instruction offered for the summer session of July, 1898:

A.—ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

Prof. A. P. Knight, M.A., M.D.

1. Beginners' class. Lectures with laboratory work.
 2. Advanced class. Histology, lectures and practical work with the microscope.
- Open to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

B.—LATIN.

Asst. Prof. A. B. Nicholson, B.A.

1. An elementary class dealing with grammar, easy reading and exercises in prose composition.
 2. An advanced class. The reading of an author, with prose exercises based on the text.
- Open only to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

GREEK.

1. An elementary class, as in Latin.
 2. An advanced class, as in Latin.
- Open only to those who have taken course 1, or its equivalent.

C.—CHEMISTRY.

Adolf Lehmann, Ph.D. (Leipsic).

1. A course of lectures in General Chemistry with laboratory practice.

2. Qualitative analysis.

3. Quantitative analysis.

Open only to those who have previously taken courses 1 and 2, or their equivalent.

OCCASIONAL LECTURES.—Occasional lectures will be delivered in the John Carruthers Science Hall by the following Professors :

Selected Topics in English Literature—Prof. J. Cappon, M.A.

Lectures in Political Science—I. The Economic Relations of Chemical Industries. II. The Biological Basis of Civilization. III. Bi-metallism. Prof. Adam Short, M.A.

Lectures in Mental Diseases.—I. Imbecility in Relation to Organic Evolution. II. Insanity in Relation to Organic Evolution. Prof. C. K. Clarke, M.D., Superintendent of Rockwood Hospital for the Insane.

Further information may be had on application to the Registrar, George Y. Chown, B.A.

A. P. KNIGHT.

THE THEOLOGICAL ALUMNI CONFERENCE.

THE Conference this year was the most successful yet held, as regards the numbers attending, the sustained interest, and the character of the papers and discussions. The general conviction is that these Conferences have passed the experimental stage, that they have come to stay, and that the aim now should be to broaden them to include alumni generally. In this as in some other matters, Queen's has set an example which other Colleges and Universities have followed, and we sincerely trust that they, too, shall receive benefit and suggest in their turn improvements and new ideas, or initiate movements for us to follow.

The programme of the seventh Conference, which begins February 13th, 1899, at 3 p.m., is as follows :—

MONDAY.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by Professor Dyde and John Marshall, M.A.

8 p.m.—The relation of the pulpit to political and social life, and to the press as the principal exponent of modern life. Papers by Rev. D. C. Hossack, LL.B., and John Cameron, Esq., editor *London Advertiser*. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Thomas, Peck, Currie and Thompson.

TUESDAY.

10-12 a.m.—Isaiah and Micah. Paper by Rev. W. G. Jordan. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Hutcheon and J. R. Fraser.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship. Professor Watson on "Christianity in relation to the State and Society."

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Prof. Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. Herbert Symonds. (Read *The Arian Controversy* by Gwatkin).

4.30 p.m.—Business meeting of the Conference.

8 p.m.—The outlook for the Canadian nation. Rev. G. S. Bland. The message of the Church to Canada and the Empire. The Principal. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Goodwin, and N. R. Carmichael, M.A.

WEDNESDAY.

10-12 a.m.—Prophecy in the 7th century B.C. Paper by Rev. A. Laird. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Atkinson, Houston, Moore and Jordan.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets. Prof. Cappon. Discussion led by George Mitchell, M.A., and W. L. Grant, M.A.

8 p.m.—The new Anthropology and its bearing on the work of the Christian preacher. Papers by Rev. J. A. Sinclair and Rev. Dr. McTavish. Discussion led by Rev. John Millar and Prof. Ross.

THURSDAY.

10-12 a.m.—The Prophet Jeremiah. Paper by Rev. John Millar. Discussion led by the Rev. Messrs. Neil McPherson, W. G. Jordan and S. G. Bland.

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by the Rev. H. Symonds.

8 p.m.—Ritschlianism; paper by Rev. Mr. Scott. The History of Christian Doctrine to the Council of Nice; paper by Rev. John Hay. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. R. Laird and R. J. Craig. (Books to be read: Ritschl's *Instruction in the Christian Religion*. Harnack, vol. I).

FRIDAY.

10-12 a.m.—The Psalter, Books IV and V. Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion led by Rev. Messrs. McGillivray and James A. Grant. (Book to be read: *The Origin of the Psalter*, by Cheyne).

Noon.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

3 p.m.—The Church in the 4th century. Professor Glover. Discussion led by Rev. H. Symonds and R. Laird.

8 p.m.—The relations between Legislation and Morality. Paper by A. Haydon, M.A. Discussion led by Professors Shortt and Dyde.

Admission to the afternoon and evening Conferences free to members; to others by ticket. Tickets for the week, 50c., obtained at the book stores; students' tickets, 25c., obtained from the Registrar.

Lunch will be served daily in the Museum for those members who give in their names on Monday evening to the Secretary.

Forenoon Conferences meet in the English class-room; noon and evening in the Junior Philosophy room; afternoon in Convocation Hall.

JOHN D. BOYD, B.A., Kingston,
Secretary-Treasurer.

G. M. MILLIGAN, D.D., Toronto, *President.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

The History of Canada. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. Vol. IX.

THE ninth volume of this valuable History has appeared, and it covers a period of twenty-one years, from 1815 to 1836, the eve of the Rebellion; one of the most important periods of Canadian History. It is characterized by the same exact research and judicious treatment which marked the earlier volumes,

By the Constitutional Act of 1791 Canada had been divided into two Provinces, to each of which a separate government had been accorded, consisting of a Governor, a Legislative Assembly elected by forty shilling freeholders, a Legislative Council nominated for life by the Crown, and an Executive Council, also nominated by the Crown, the members of which were not necessarily members of either House, and therefore not responsible to Parliament. The evils almost certain to arise from such a form of government become especially apparent in this ninth volume.

The men who composed the Executive were unimpeachable in their integrity of purpose, in their ability and patriotism, but they were lacking in the essentials of statesmanship; they had little of the large and far-seeing views which distinguish members of the British Executive. But the Home Government, unwilling to confide much power to the Canadian Executive, retained a large measure of authority in its own hands, though it may be supposed that it would be largely guided by the suggestions of the Governor and his Executive. The government of a colony 3,000 miles distant, and with which the means of communication were slow, would under these circumstances be naturally most unsatisfactory. The debates in the British Parliament show that the condition of Canada was very imperfectly understood even by the best and most able of the Cabinet Ministers, and when complaints and remonstrances from the Canadians were sent to the Home Government they received little attention.

When Lord Dalhousie, a man of great prudence and ability, was Governor these difficulties and these dangers were, perhaps, less apparent; yet his term of office was not without its trials, his character was not understood, and the Legislative Assembly showed to him a hostility which was wholly unjustifiable.

It is, however, very possible that the ill-will of the Assembly was rather due to the growing discontent with the general mode of government, of which he was the representative, than with Lord Dalhousie himself. His despatches exonerate him from blame, they show that he fully recognized his obligations both to the Home Government and to the colony, and that he conscientiously discharged his duties. His position, however, was anything but enviable, his actions were controlled by the Home

Government, and this gave to his administration a semblance of arbitrariness.

At the same time the Canadian Legislative Assembly was claiming for itself more extended powers and a fuller representation. After five years Lord Dalhousie left for England on private business, but he did not return. He was succeeded by Sir James Kempt, who, however, remained for only a little over two years, when Lord Aylmer entered on the duties of government.

The discontent in the Assembly, and among the French Canadian population generally, was growing. On the 8th of March, 1831, Mr. Neilson moved twelve resolutions—a Grand Remonstrance—and after a debate lasting some ten days, Mr. Bourdages moved that no subsidy should be granted till the grievances were redressed, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Lafontaine, afterwards Sir Hypolite Lafontaine. An acrimonious debate followed, in which Mr. Papineau took a prominent part, but the motion was defeated by 41 to 11.

Though Dr. Kingsford's accuracy throughout this interesting narrative cannot be doubted, we confess to a feeling that he does not fully appreciate the difficulties in which the French population was placed, nor sympathise with their complaints or resolutions. As we look back on that period we must acknowledge that the character of the government was very faulty, and under George III. and George IV. there was little improvement to be looked for. There was a lack of consistency and firmness in the successive English ministers, and the Colonial Secretaries were not marked by much ability or fitness for their office. The very great depression in Britain, which affected every element of trade and commerce, and the great suffering of the lower classes, engrossed nearly the entire attention of the British government, and almost in each successive Parliament for some ten years there was introduced a Reform Bill, and this tended to foster an almost continuous agitation. In this way the attention of the Home Government was entirely taken up with Home affairs, and it paid little attention to the necessities of a colony so distant, and whose conditions, and still more, whose advantages and capacities were not understood. The remonstrance or resolutions of Mr. Neilson while they stated grievances suggested no remedy.

No one Canadian and no one in England seems to have thought of advocating what has since proved the great panacea—the system of responsible government—which was only first advocated by Lord Durham in his celebrated report. But while we cannot fail to see the very actual grievances under which the French Canadian population was suffering, we do not think that they were justified in having recourse to arms in 1837-8. But this is anticipating Dr. Kingsford's next volume. The present volume closes with the prorogation of the Lower Canadian Parliament in September, 1836, the last Parliament of that Province.

To Dr. Kingsford this History has been a work of love, and he has certainly discharged this work with conscientious accuracy and with much ability, and we can strongly recommend his most valuable narrative to every student of Canadian or even Colonial History.

G. D. F.

Christianity and Idealism: The Christian Ideal of Life in its relations to the Greek and Jewish Ideals, and to Modern Philosophy. By John Watson, LL.D. Second Edition. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.75

It is pleasant to find that this excellent book, reviewed some time ago in these columns, has already in the course of a few months advanced to a second edition. We are not at all surprised that it should be so. It contains a helpful word for many. There is a large class of persons who feel on the one hand that in Christianity is given the noblest, most satisfying, truest conception of human life; on the other, that much in the traditional interpretation of it has become obsolete, hopelessly discordant with the way of looking at the world, which none of us can altogether escape imbibing from the mental atmosphere we breathe, in these latter times. Such persons will find here, what is a great help, a very convincing statement of what the faith of Jesus essentially is, as well as a masterly exhibition of the inadequacy of all such negative systems as would cut away the ground on which it rests. They will find, too, combined with that, the fullest recognition of the permanent contribution of ideas which the modern scientific movement has added to the intellectual heritage of mankind.

This second edition is very much enriched by the absence of the prefatory notice attached to the first edition—not the pro-

duction of Dr. Watson, and of quite a different spirit from his—and by the addition of three chapters—Materialism, Evolution and Human Progress—which, apart from the greater roundness they impart to the whole treatment, appear to us to be among the very best and most lucid in the whole book. It is shown in the most convincing way, and with the utmost possible brevity, that Materialism altogether fails to account for the whole wealth of reality as we know it, and that Evolution, when fully interpreted, inevitably leads to a view of the world as the progressive manifestation of self-conscious reason. On the whole we know of no work where the dominant ideas of our time are co-ordinated with Christianity with so much power and insight as in this little book.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

The Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes. Edited with introduction and notes by T. R. Glover, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Professor of Latin in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

This unpretending edition of the Olynthiacs is a piece of honest and able work, and can be heartily recommended for use in schools and colleges. The introduction is a remarkably clear, brief account of one of the most perplexed and obscure periods in Greek History, the rise of Philip of Macedon, and proves unmistakably that the author possesses in a high degree the qualities and training necessary for historical investigation. The notes are useful and bright. They are in fact, while showing abundance of learning, eminently and refreshingly free from that erudite dullness which is apt to cling to labours of this kind. The school-boy who studies here will have his fancy quickened and his author brought home to his own "business and bosom" by many flashes of felicitous translation, and by frequent quaint suggestions of similarity between those remote events and situations and the politics of his own time and country. He will feel that after all Hecuba is something to him and he to Hecuba. This little edition is a happy outcome and sign of that fresher and more living method of classical study which is nowadays happily taking the place of the time-honoured gerund-grinding and root-grubbing familiar to most of us in the days of our youth.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THOUGH war clouds lower everywhere, the real danger signal at present is hung out only over Western Africa, so far as Great Britain is concerned. It sounds almost incredible that

Will there be war with France? two nations like Britain and France should fight about Nikki and Boussa, places of which we know only the names, and which may be as valueless as

the Nootka Sound which excited all England against Spain in the eighteenth century. Twenty or thirty years ago, the mere suggestion would have provoked universal and irresistible ridicule.

But, right or wrong, public opinion is a unit on the point, that France—having taken possession of places which she knew to be under British protection and through one of which she could interfere with the free navigation of the Lower and Middle Niger—must, with or without phrases, give them up. On this all parties are agreed, the calm and philosophic London *Spectator*

going so far as to urge the immediate mobilising of a very powerful special service squadron, as an intimation to France that we mean business and are ready for war. The calling out of the

flying squadron in January, 1896, had such an effect on the German Emperor that, it is argued, it would be well now to try the same argument again. The effect would not necessarily be the same. The Emperor knew that in the event of war his fleet and his colonies would be in our hands at short notice. But the

French fleet is a different force altogether; and besides, M. Hanotaux—especially with the elections coming on—cannot afford to retire from an untenable position as quietly as the Kaiser.

Still, he is a strong, level-headed man, and unless he has the promise of Russian support—a most unlikely contingency—he will retire; for it is as clear as anything future can be, that

• France stands to lose much and to gain nothing in a war with a decidedly stronger naval power.

The reason why the cabinet refuses to yield to France on the Niger, though it has yielded in Siam, Madagascar and Tunis,

The key to British policy. shows the importance of free river routes and open ports to a commercial people. For these it must be ready to fight. France has been allowed—in the

course of her eager advance from the north—to cut off the hinter-land of some of our old West African colonies, and thus to doom them to stagnation or atrophy; but the line is peremptorily drawn when she encroaches on a river which is navigable for hundreds of miles up to Say, where the cataracts commence, and beyond which, therefore, no claim has ever been made by Great Britain. Her position is similar everywhere else. No

objection was made to Germany taking possession of extensive sandy deserts on the south-west coast of Africa and making as much as she possibly could out of them ; but Walfisch Bay, the only harbour on the coast, was retained, and over it the Union Jack continues to fly, in the interest—it may be said without the slightest phariseism—of the German colonists, as well as of every one else for all time. On the opposite side, when it was decided by arbitration that Delagoa Bay, the only good entrance through the swamps and marshes of the east coast to the healthy uplands of the Transvaal, belonged to Portugal, Great Britain was satisfied when her contention was agreed to, that it was not to be sold to any other power until she had the opportunity given her of declining to buy. The same policy dictated the acquisition of Zanzibar and Mombassa, in exchange for the free hand given to France in Madagascar. Sir Herbert Kitchener's advance up the Nile, and the treaty recently concluded with "the king of kings," whose defeat of the Italians has made him respected by European powers, have for their purpose the one end of securing the Nile, from the mouth to its sources, a necessity in this case because a civilized country in control of the sources could—if it chose—dry up the river and turn Egypt into a desert. The same consistent policy, in her own interest but none the less in the interest of small states and all that desire freedom of commerce, dictates the course she is pursuing in the far East, without hasting and without wavering, regardless of the clamours to strike here, to clutch there, to seek alliances with somebody or, at any rate, to do something, before she is hopelessly outwitted and outgeneralled. Why not unite with the Dreibund? was once the cry. Then, when Italy's weakness was revealed and Germany became unpopular, and Austria Hungary was threatened with paralysis through internal racial dissensions, the same wise men suggested an understanding with Russia and France. And later, when it looked as if Russia, France and Germany had agreed to partition China, the cry became, unite with Japan or you will be overwhelmed. "The weary Titan," as Matthew Arnold preposterously called her, calmly listens, attends to her own business, keeps her powder dry, and states her position as the friend of all and the enemy of none. Open ports and the great rivers free to the commerce of the world, there is her motto, and its common sense is so apparent that her enemies now say, "why, we never meant anything else," and even the United States slowly awakes to see that not only is her Pacific coast vitally interested in the success of British policy, but her whole commercial future also, regarding a region so vast and densely peopled that the possibilities of trade expansion are simply illimitable.

Possible, or rather probable, conflict with Spain regarding Cuba is also opening her eyes to the fact that her only reliable ally in the hour of danger would be the mother country. The language of Count Goluchowski regarding the necessity of a European commercial alliance against the United States was significant; for if antagonism is generally felt to exist, it will easily break out into war on a plausible pretext. The best guarantee against that is the conviction that not only would Britain not be a party to any such alliance, commercial or military, but that she would be on the other side, and therefore that its first result would be a permanent union of the English-speaking peoples, while opposed to them would be a heterogeneous combination bound together by a rope of sand. For the last two years everything has pointed to a war with Spain over Cuba, yet the Republic has for various reasons hesitated. The sinking of the *Maine* may be the spark to light up the dread conflagration; but apart from that, the forces at work have been tending irresistibly to collision. The inhuman measures of General Weyler, which have led to the slow starvation of a quarter of a million people, aroused the conscience of the Republic two years ago, and though he has been recalled, recent consular reports and the speech of Senator Proctor attest that there is no improvement in the situation. Conscious as our cousins are of irresistible strength compared with that of Spain, the wonder is that they have restrained themselves so long. The British people in like circumstances would not have been so patient. What would have happened had Armenia been in British waters or in the Mediterranean! It is said that they have not done much for Crete. They have put a fence around it, over which no Turkish soldier is permitted to cross. That is something gained, and that will be held until the Powers decide what is best for its future. As Britain and Russia have agreed on Prince George for its ruler, the chances are all in his favor in spite of the angry protest of Turkey. His appointment will be the dawn of hope for long-suffering Crete.

It is true that the expulsion of Spanish troops will not settle the Cuban question, any more than the departure of the few Turkish regulars left in the island will pacify Crete. Colour, racial and religious animosities, which have flamed fiercely for generations, do not soon die out. The blacks, half-breeds and whites, who are in arms against Spain testify to her unfitness to rule, but they themselves are equally unfit for self-government. The wealthy and intelligent classes in Havana and other towns are not only pro-Spanish but even opposed to autonomy. Is the regime of freedom to begin with expelling them? Having made herself responsible for their

The United States
and Spain.

The future of Cuba.

separation from Spain, can the Republic wash her hands of all responsibility as regards their future? Few Americans would favor annexation, for their form of government makes no provision for dealing with a mass of people unprepared for citizenship and destitute of the guiding and controlling elements to be found in every Southern State. They shrink even from Hawaii and with a sound instinct. Cuba they would not take in, at any price. In the hands of Britain it would soon be turned into a garden of the Lord. But that is out of the question. No wonder then that the Republicans, who abused Cleveland two years ago for not interfering, are now crying for "more light." They will not get any, yet they cannot delay longer. Only the first step is clear, and until that is taken, no progress is possible. As surely as Turkey must give up Crete, must Spain give up Cuba. What a pity that she had not sold it to the States when she ceded Florida!

The progress of events, both in their immediate neighbourhood and on the other side of the globe, is making it evident thoughtful men that the future of the world depends upon a good understanding between Britain and the States natural allies, Britain and the States. A formal alliance is not needed. Their interest is the same, and so is their heart. Their greatest interest is peace, and the thought, or rather passion, which stirs them is the welfare of humanity by the extension of liberty, the reign of law and the establishment of justice. The one discordant note heard amid the general harmony is Mr. Michael Davitt's, and he has simply revealed his own limitations, with his consequent inability to rise to the height which the times demand. He is dominated by personal feelings, while his Celtic temperament makes him constitutionally unable to take an objective point of view. How far greater a man is Mr. Olney, reminding his Harvard hearers that there is a patriotism of race as well as of country! Why cannot Irish celts think of the duty of the hour, instead of waving "the bloody shirt" of 1798, the sight of which ought to excite only shame on both sides? Ireland is not suffering now from a single one of the grievances which roused her north into rebellion a century ago. This Session all parties are uniting to extend to every county and municipality in Ireland the full measure of Home Rule recently conferred on England and Scotland. Another concession is in sight, yielded not so much to the spirit of justice, as to the sentiment that the Imperial Parliament ought to give to Ireland all that a Nationalist Legislature sitting in Dublin would be likely to give. Trinity College is open on the same terms to all students, and so is the Royal University, with its colleges in Belfast, Cork and Galway, but because there is not "a Roman Catholic atmos-

phere" about either, it is quite certain that before long a Roman Catholic University shall be established and liberally endowed from public funds. Such a concession to religious prejudice would not be made in any other country than Great Britain, and Lord Salisbury's party in the House and the country will require a good deal of "educating" before it takes shape in a Bill, while the Nonconformists are sure to protest so vigorously that the last shred of their alliance with the Nationalists will probably snap. But, whether the Irish celts fall in with the movement or not, the great forces all tend to reunite the English-speaking race; and recent events in China have imparted to them a decided impetus.

It seems to me that it depends upon Japan whether there shall or shall not be war this year in the far East. Russia is not ready, even if her policy were war. She must first complete her great trans-continental railway through Siberia to the Pacific. Neither France nor Germany has anything in particular to fight for. None of those three Powers means to antagonize the policy of Britain. But Japan feels sore. She was forced to give up Port Arthur and the Liao-tong peninsula, on the plea that China must not be despoiled on the mainland; and now the Power that interfered most energetically is coolly appropriating the spoil. It is difficult for us to define the processes of the Japanese mind and conjecture what course of action Japan in the circumstances is most likely to take. But the lessons of her own past ought to teach her the wisdom of not attempting conquests on the mainland. Her people are ingenious and industrious, but they are not wealthy, and the masses are not warlike. Let her husband her resources and assimilate Formosa, which is about as much as she can digest for a generation. She will thus remain a strong Island Kingdom and naval power, whom nobody will attack, and whose alliance will be sought. But, by attempting what is beyond her strength, she invites irretrievable disaster. Of course, there is always the possibility of her initiating a policy, which would involve consequences for the world, by inducing the Chinese to accept her leadership in a united effort on the part of the yellow race to fight the whites; but there is no sign in China of the virility and unity which such a policy would call for, or of any readiness to submit to the sacrifices, especially of national vanity, which it would immediately entail. In the meantime a readiness to try conclusions with Russia seems to have been hinted at, and Russia has understood the hint to the extent of withdrawing her agents from Corea. Should Japan, however, try to push this advantage farther, she may have to reckon not only with the Russian, but with the French fleet, and with the

Prince who has gone to the far East to preach "the Gospel of the Consecrated Person" of the Kaiser, and to preach it with "the mailed fist."

The annual meeting of the Canadian Branch of the British Empire League brought out clearly our unanimity regarding the indivisibility of the Empire, and our increasing sense of national responsibility. Politicians formerly spoke respectfully of the League, but kept at a respectful distance from it, deprecating, too, anything in connection with it savouring of practical politics. The sentiment, like that of the sermon on the Mount, was excellent; but keep it as far away from life as possible. No one knew where it might strike; and, consequently, those who attended its meetings were regarded as men who dreamed dreams and had no political future. All that has been changed. Half a dozen cabinet ministers and the leaders of the opposition in the Senate and Commons, besides representative men from Brantford, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and the Maritime Provinces, attended the last annual meeting in Ottawa, and none of them was afraid of nailing his colours to the mast-head. "We are Canadians, and in order to be Canadians we must be British," was the watchword. In considering how to make the Empire a more effective political unity, every one recognized the wisdom of proceeding along the lines of least resistance, meeting each necessity as it arose with a convention which would form a precedent, and taking up actual responsibilities, without attempting to formulate a cut and dried scheme, based on theory. Thus, the question of framing a Canadian branch of the Naval Reserve was discussed and the principle adopted. As the fleet is indispensable to an oceanic, world-wide commonwealth, it is believed that the government has resolved to make a beginning in this matter. The first vote may not be large, but it is important to take the first step. As regards our military arm, we have undertaken the government of nearly half a continent, and to think of doing that without a force ready for all emergencies would be as absurd as to offer to control London or New York without police. This very year we are likely to have from one to two hundred thousand gold-seekers in the Yukon territory, including daring, rowdy and reckless elements, accustomed to the use of Winchester, the majority of them convinced that there can be freedom only in connection with the great Republic. More unlikely things have happened than a vigorous attempt on their part to organize an independent administration, and we practically invite such an attempt, if our courts are not backed by adequate military force, with reserves ready. It is absurd to call ourselves a nation if we do not accept the responsibilities of national life.

The British Empire
League in Canada.

Shirking them will lead to dishonour, as well as to tenfold the expenditure that would be necessary now. Other matters discussed were the food supply of Britain, the Pacific cable, and cheaper postal rates for letters, newspapers and periodicals within the Empire. The Postmaster-General has taken this last named subject in hand, and has laid down in connection with it a simple and comprehensive principle which met with the hearty approval of the League. He proposes that in every case the domestic rate should carry the letter or paper to the remotest corner of the Empire. Thus, for example, the Canadian three-cent letter rate for an ounce would be adequate, instead of as at present ten cents being needed. The same principle would apply to Britain, Australia, Africa and India. They could make their rate what they thought proper,—a penny, twopence halfpenny, or fivepence, or anything they liked for their own territory, and that would carry to every territory under the flag. This would be the actual federation of the Empire, so far as postal matters are concerned. There is to be a conference in London on the subject in June, and Mr. Mulock should attend it in person and press his views on the Postmaster-General of Britain. Pressure will be needed, because the British department, though well managed, is exceedingly conservative and detests innovations, especially if they involve the slightest loss of revenue to begin with. There is a political as well as a financial aspect to the question which should not be overlooked. There is a literary aspect, too, for at present we are discriminating against British journalism, and certainly not to our intellectual or moral gain.

Everyone is in favour of the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Montreal; but the evidence of Mr. Greenshields before the Commons' Committee is sufficient to show that investigation of the bargain made by the Government is imperative. According to him, he and his brother shareholders were willing to sell their railway to the Conservative Government for about a million, while anything over that—calculated at a million and quarter more—was to be divided between the shareholders and the go-between, in the proportion of one-third to the former and two-thirds to the latter! Mr. Pacaud's "gold mine" looks very small beside such a Klondyke as this. It seems that Mr. Greenshields lent himself to this attempt to plunder the country; also that Mr. Farewell and Mr. Ryan—whose evidence has not been given so far—had not influence enough to persuade the former government to consent to our being plundered; also, that the same gentleman thereafter succeeded in leaseing his railway advantageously to the present government, and—"the deal" having failed because of the Senate's veto—succeeded in selling it to them—subject of course to

ratification by parliament! The more thorough the investigation of such an affair the better.

The rank and file of the Liberal party, or those who are most in evidence at Ottawa and other party centres, are clamouring for what amounts to the distribution of offices according "to the victors belong the spoils" system. The Spoils System. It might be idle to point out to them the immorality of this, but they might see that it is also bad politics. They wish their party to remain in power for more than this present term; if it does, a good many of them will get permanent offices, through the operation of death and superannuation, and if it does not, even those who get them now according to a bad system will lose them within two or three years. Is it wise to turn present incumbents and their friends into most active and relentless fighters, for the sake of giving an office to a supporter who is thereafter muzzled, and making several other supporters dissatisfied? For there are not enough offices to go round the crowd. I know of scarcely a single case in which this has not been the consequence of needless ejection or superannuation. Party heelers may be satisfied, but the silent vote—and it is that which wins elections—is disgusted. The United States has sickened of the spoils system, and is now recovering sanity, and slowly but surely climbing up to the British principle that public office is a public trust. We have hitherto been in advance of our neighbours in this matter. Are we now to array ourselves in their cast-off rags? If so, the party which makes itself responsible for such an offence against its own professions and the national conscience will have to pay the reckoning. Excuses will, of course, be offered, even the amusing excuse, that the influence of Ottawa society is all but omnipotent and is completely on one side, but they will avail nothing. We ought to go forward, but if that is out of the question, let us stand firm and not go backward.

The best friends of democratic government are disappointed with its working. It has developed grievous evils which they had never suspected as likely to arise. One of them The boundaries of is the constant pressure on its leaders to attend to innumerable petty details, needed in order to keep the party machine well oiled, until little time is left for the consideration of the weightier matters of general policy or for unsettled questions. Everything that can be put off till to-morrow is put off, and as every day brings its tasks, to-morrow's recede into the dim distance, and are neglected until a catastrophe occurs which teaches the old lesson over again, that "unsettled questions have no regard for the repose of nations." There is the boundary between Alaska and Canada, for instance. It Alaska. should have been determined long ago, but having been put off

till now, we are not likely to reach a settlement without bad blood, great cost to the deepest feelings of thousands, and large expenditures that would otherwise have been unnecessary. It is enough to point out that Dyea, Skagway, Pyramid Harbor and Wrangel, that is, every natural doorway from the ocean to the Klondyke is in territory claimed by Canada, and which at least might have been easily secured at any previous moment in our history; but no government could spare time to look into the matter; and if it had, instead of receiving thanks, it would have been abused for wasting time and money on worthless and frozen Arctic or sub-Arctic regions! The Pacific cable is another instance. The day after war breaks out, every section of the Empire would give millions for it, whereas, though it has been practically demonstrated that we could get it now, without cost, at the expense of a little energy and forethought, no one seems to think it his business. The reason is plain. Every cabinet minister has already more to attend to than he can handle very well; and scores of individuals press on him the importance of their axes. Woe to him if he does not grind these! And selfishness is always blind to the public welfare and the highest interests.

The result of the general election in Ontario is satisfactory in so far as it has given us an opposition more formidable in numbers, and it is said in ability, than the last House boasted. The loss of the government of Messrs. Gibson and Dryden is serious, and the country can so ill afford to lose them that it is to be hoped that they may find seats before long. As to the election itself, the *Globe* says that "upon the whole it was clean and straight-forward on both sides." No doubt, with the present governments at Ottawa and in the provinces, this seems to the *Globe* the best of all possible worlds, and it therefore takes a genial view of the late contest. But its optimism will scarcely be shared by independent observers, who kept their eyes open on polling day in cities like Kingston, Toronto, London and Hamilton. Great efforts had been made by agents to get voters on the registers; but it leaked out that numbers of these had no intention of voting unless for a consideration. A seedy-looking lot loafed round the booths, and it was evident to the most careless observer that they were waiting to get their two dollars apiece before entering. Hundreds got what they waited for. Both sides bought. In Kingston, a prominent conservative said, "our supply of two dollar bills unfortunately gave out first;" while the Hamilton remark was, "Even old-time voters on the Liberal side stood out to be paid, and not getting it, voted against Gibson." It is a disgrace to us as a country and a disgrace to both parties that such should be the

The Ontario General
Election.

case; but it is folly to shut our eyes to facts and to cry "peace, peace," when there is no peace. Men who are honourable in business and members of churches engaged in the humiliating and degrading business. They will take the word of their associates in business matters, but they will not in politics; else they would enter into a mutual agreement not to bribe, and thus defeat the scallawags, who are ready to sell themselves or their country to the highest bidder.

How shall we escape from the pollution? Not by any short cut. Not by good men saying, "Politics are so contaminating that we will have nothing to do with them in the future." That means to hand over their country to the forces of evil. Not by the old method of prohibiting the poor from voting, and so keeping them out of temptation. They have the franchise now, and woe to the party which tries to take it from them! No, there is no way for us but by appealing to the nobler elements in all men; by utilizing the forces inherent in the church, the press, the school and the college, and bringing these to bear effectually on the people generally. This educational method may be slow, but in the end it will prevail, if only men have faith in God and faith in themselves.

In using to the utmost every means for elevating citizens to a higher conception of national life, we should also set our faces against everything that tends to corrupt the people, and to make them regard the franchise as a right rather than a trust. Nothing has done more to lower the tone of our cities than bonus by-laws, which have generally to buy their way through. Every proposal of a bonus should be scrutinized with the greatest jealousy, for more reasons than one.

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