

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1899.

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Early Records of Ontario.

•• THERE appears to be at present among Canadians an awakening interest in the course of the development which their various institutions have followed. This is of great importance, in as much as an intelligent interest in the past development of our institutions is the best preparation for a wise and patriotic interest in their improvement and progress for the future. As Queen's University is favourably situated with reference to much of the historic ground of Ontario, the management of *The Quarterly* have thought that it would be both appropriate and timely to devote a limited portion of its space to the issue, from time to time, of some hitherto unpublished records of typical institutions.

As the next number of *The Quarterly* will introduce a new volume, it is intended to begin in it the publication of some of the earliest municipal records known to exist in Ontario. These are connected with the old Midland District, of which Kingston and Adolphustown were the centres. The records will include both Town Meetings and Quarter Sessions of the District.

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JULIAN.

οἷόν με εἶδες τοιοῦτον καὶ γράψον. Julian, *Epistle 65.*

ONE of her most illustrious sons has called Oxford the home of lost causes and impossible beliefs, and whether this be true or not the possibility of its being true is not the least of her charms. For it is one of the amiable traits in man's nature to love what is old for its own sake. Our affection for progress is not always utterly disinterested, but the love of the past is the purest of passions. And we are so made, or many of us are, that we love the old the more because it is the lost cause. It may be a weakness, but it is a gentle weakness. Yet it is apt to mislead us, as great passions do, and we sometimes allow age and defeat to obscure in our lost cause or our fallen hero features that would repel us in a triumph. Thus in some measure has it come about that there is a kindly feeling for Julian beyond what his worth really merits, and it is reinforced by the malignity and hatred with which ecclesiastical writers have, or are supposed to have, pursued his memory. The tradition grew that he was a champion of reason and enlightenment against the crudity and darkness of Christianity, and indeed these words are practically Julian's own. But the reason and enlightenment of which he thought and wrote would have seemed to many who have admired him for their sake as crude and foolish as the dogmas of the Church against which he protested.

The Julian of the eighteenth century is, after all, as far removed from the truth as the monster drawn by theological spite,

and interesting as both may be as creatures of the imagination, the real Julian is more interesting, because, as is often the case with real people, a more complicated character. He mocked at Moses and blasphemed Jesus, but he was not a free thinker. He was hated as a persecutor, though again and again he declares his wish and his intention to maintain religious freedom. Many rulers have upheld religion, very few have been so deeply conscious of divine guidance or so utterly dependent upon it as he. For most men the religion of Christ seems to supply the closest, the most vital and the most absorptive communion with the divine; to some it has seemed to draw too much upon faith. But Julian decided it was a cold, an external thing that cut a man away from heaven and left him godless in a godless world. For some it has been a divine alchemy transmuting everything it touched to gold. For Julian it did the reverse, and for the gold of Homer and Plato offered the lead of Matthew and Luke. It was a blight upon the Greek spirit which had given life to the world for a thousand years. We can now see that this Greek spirit had died long since a natural death, but the Greeks of Julian's day fondly hoped it was living in them still, and Julian voices the horror with which they began to feel the chill of death and the natural, if rather irrational, hatred they felt for what they supposed to be its cause.

"Draw me as you have seen me," wrote Julian to a painter. In one way this is easy to do, for few men have ever let mankind see into their inmost feelings as he did; but it is difficult, too, for the atmosphere in which he lived was not ours, and many things look strange to-day which were not felt to be unnatural then. Zeus and Athene are not now, and we can only with difficulty conceive them ever to have been for thinking men, even with all the generous allowances philosophers might make, a possible alternative to Christ. Yet are they stranger than Krishna and Kāli? Is it not possible to-day for a man to halt between two opinions in India, and find in the philosophy or theosophy of thirty centuries of Hinduism an attraction which may outweigh Christianity? When we think of the age of Julian we must never forget that the Brahmo-Somaj exists to-day.

The fourth century saw the last great persecution of the

Church end in failure, and the new religion recognized and honoured by Constantine. With him a new spirit came into the Roman Empire. Hitherto so long as a man did a loyal citizen's duty, the State did not intervene to regulate his belief. But now Constantine, weary of the civil disorder the Arian quarrel made at Alexandria and then communicated to other places as the infection spread, called a council of the Church and invited them to decide what the Christian faith was, and he would then see to it himself that there should be no more quarrelling about it. He was, however, disappointed, for the quarrels went on, and when he died in 337 they were still unsettled. Whatever might have been Constantine's own religious position, his son's was clear. Constantius carried to the inevitable halting place the theory that a man's belief is the State's concern. He did not aim at reconciling the factions for the sake of concord, but at converting them all to his belief. His aim was that of Justinian or Henry VIII—to dictate to his realm what it was to believe. This affected Christians at once, and signs were not lacking that the heathen ere long must in their turn be Arian, Semi-Arian or Nicene, as the ruler might require.

Constantine left behind three sons and a number of nephews and other relatives, but whether the deed was the army's, done to secure "the seed of Constantine"—a phrase a man might conjure with at this time—or whether it was the work of Constantius, this great family was thinned down, and the sons of Constantine were left to rule the world alone. Two only of their cousins survived, the sons of their father's half-brother, Gallus and Julian. Gallus was thought to be so ill as to render murder unnecessary, and Julian was so small—six years old—as to be overlooked. It was a dark beginning for a life, like "the unspeakable tale from some tragedy" rather than the record of a Christian house, and Julian lays the guilt on Constantius, "the kindest of men." (*Ep. Ath.* 270 C.) In later days Constantius, who had a conscience too, looked upon his childlessness as Heaven's criticism of his deed, but it did not keep him from wishing to add Julian to the list of the slain.

Julian was left to the care of his kinsman, the great Semi-Arian Bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius of Nicomedia,* and

*Amm. Marc. xxii, 9. 4.

of a eunuch Mardonius, who had been his mother's tutor. Some have tried to lay on Eusebius and others of his party the blame of Julian's Hellenism, but this seems unjust. Great ecclesiastical statesmen have rarely, perhaps, the leisure to teach little boys, and whatever leisure and inclination Eusebius may have had to teach Julian, he died when his charge was nine years old. Mardonius had been reared by Julian's grandfather and was a faithful servant who watched well over the boy. He had a passion for Homer and Greek literature*, and when the lad would ask leave to go to races or anything of the kind, the old man would refer him to the 23rd of the Iliad and bid him find his races there. To him Julian may have owed in some measure his life-long love of Homer. Thus from the nursery the old order had laid its charm upon him.

A sudden edict from Constantius removed his two cousins to a rather remote place in Cappadocia. Macellum has been described as a castle or a palace. Very probably it was both. Julian makes out, when he is attacking Constantius' memory, that there he and his brother were shut off from schools, companions and training suitable to their age and rank (*Ep. Ath.* 271), but from another source we learn it was a place with a magnificent palace, baths, gardens and perpetual springs, where he enjoyed the attention and dignity his rank deserved, and had the literary and gymnastic training usual for youths of his age. (Sozomen V. ii, 9.) Of course he would have no noble companions save his brother, but this was inevitable. Constantius seems to have meant to keep them in reserve, out of his way and safe from plotters who might make tools of them, but still available and properly trained in case of his needing them himself. Later on it was easy to represent these years at Macellum as bleak exile.

As to Gallus, Julian says that "if there were anything

*For Mardonius see *Misopogon*, 352 A. He was a Hellenized Scythian, and perhaps it was in some measure due to him that Julian was so entirely out of touch with Latin literature, but the Greek sophists with whom he consorted were of one mind in neglecting Latin. If *Epistle* 55 be written from Gaul or the West, as I think, we have Julian's views on the tongue half his Empire used—almost his only allusion to Latin—playful no doubt:—*τὰ δὲ ἐμά, εἰ καὶ φθεγγόμεν Ἑλληνιστί, θανόμεν ἄζιον· οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἐχθροβάρωμενοι διὰ τὰ χωρία*. Constantine, on the other hand, addressed the Nicene Council (mainly Eastern and Greek-speaking Bishops) in Latin, but when presiding over the debates he intervened in Greek. (*Euseb. Vita Constantini*, iii, 13.)

savage and rough that afterwards appeared in his character" (and it seems generally agreed that there was a good deal) "it developed from this long residence in the mountains." Whether Gallus would have done better in Constantinople is very doubtful. Nero, Domitian and Commodus do not seem to have derived much benefit from the polite atmosphere of Rome. For himself, "the gods kept him pure by means of philosophy,"* and this, I think, implies teachers, for boys seldom originate in philosophy, and in later life Julian's views were mostly borrowed.

From Macellum Gallus was summoned to be made Caesar by Constantius, to govern Syria in true tyrant fashion, to rouse the Emperor's ill-will, to be recalled and put to death. Julian later on tried to make political capital out of his being put to death untried, but from the pages of Ammianus Marcellinus we learn that whether tried or not (and those were not the days when political offenders were over-nicely tried), Gallus richly deserved his fate.

The suspicions of Constantius extended to Julian, and for some time he was kept at court under his cousin's eye and within reach. But the Empress Eusebia was his friend and reconciled her husband to him, and got leave for him to live in Athens. For this Julian was always grateful to her memory.

Julian had spent six years at Macellum, and since then had moved about Asia Minor with some freedom attending the lectures of great teachers of the day. Some he was forbidden to hear, those who knew him evidently not being impressed by any great stability in his character. He now went to Athens† and revelled in his opportunities of meeting there men whose acquaintance he counted among the best gifts of life. We have a picture of him drawn by his fellow-student, Gregory of Nazianzus,‡ which has been described as "a coarse caricature," but which, nevertheless, seems to me not unlikely to be fairly true if a man's nature does reveal itself in look and gesture. Julian's own writings give us the impression of a fidgetty, nervous tem-

**Ep. Ath.*, 272 A.

†An interesting study of students and professors in the Athens of Julian's day will be found in Mr. Capes' *University Life in Ancient Athens* (Longmans). He brings out the connexion between the city government and the "University," which explains Julian's addressing his manifesto in 360 "to the Council and People of the Athenians."

‡Cited by Socrates, *E.H.* iii, 23, 18.

perament, and his admirer, Ammianus, tells us a number of stories which betray a want of repose. Gregory in Athens remarked (or says he remarked) a certain changeableness and excitability in him, beside a rather loose-hung neck, twitching shoulders, a rolling eye, a laugh uncontrollable and spasmodic, a spluttering speech, and an inability to stand or sit without fidgeting with his feet*. All these signs seem to point one way, and if we realize that his temperament was restless, effervescent and emotional, and his training had not been of a kind to correct his natural tendency to be nervous and erratic, we may find less difficulty in explaining the variety of his religious opinions.

He enjoyed the student's life, but he was to be called away from it. The exigencies of the Empire had compelled Constantius to associate Gallus with himself as Caesar, and the fact that Gallus had been a failure did not alter the situation. Julian was the only available person to fill his place, and Constantius, with some constitutional hesitation and reluctance, made him Caesar and sent him to Gaul to free the country from German invaders. It was an honour Julian could have done without, and as he drove back to the palace in his purple robe he kept muttering to himself the line of Homer (*Il.* 5, 83):

ἔλλατ'ε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ νοῦρα κραταῖ.

Him purple death laid hold on and stern fate.

The story, told by Ammianus (xv. 8), sums up the situation. The scholar is dragged from his study to be invested with the purple, which had been his brother's ruin and may be his own as easily, if a eunuch whisper it at the right moment to the suspicious Constantius; and he cannot draw back, for stern fate wills it so, and all that the purple means is that he will die with less leisure for the development of his inner life.†

So "torn from the shades of academic calm," Julian was plunged "into the dust of Mars"‡ in Gaul, at first with but little direct responsibility. For this he was very angry with Constantius, though at the time he could say nothing, and he believed (or it was said so) that it was a matter of indifference to the Emperor whether he slew the Germans or the Germans slew

*Sir William Fraser tells us Disraeli's one mark of nervousness as he sat in Parliament was a restless crossing, uncrossing and re-crossing of his legs.

†Amm. Marc. xv. 8, 20: *nihil se plus adsecutum quam ut occupatio interiret.*

‡Amm. Marc. xvi. 1, 5.

him, for in either case the Empire would be freed from menace.* But, as Sozomen points out, if Constantius had merely wanted to kill Julian, he could have done it without marrying his own sister to him and putting him in so conspicuous a position. Constantius indeed loved to keep things in such a way as to be able to have both of two mutually exclusive alternatives but it was surely not strange or outrageous of him to entrust only a little power to begin with to an untried man. As Julian proved himself worthy of more power, and his colleagues shewed themselves unfit for it, Constantius gave him more, till he had supreme command in Gaul. After his wont, however, he surrounded Julian with creatures of his own and withdrew from him almost his only friend in the provinces, the trusty Sallust.

It was not to be expected that Julian would be successful as a soldier, but he was. Indeed a modern critic has said with some justice that it was only as a soldier that he was great.† He was popular with the soldiers, for he would share their privations and he led them to victory. He won the regard of the Gauls by ridding them of the Germans, and by reducing the land tax about 70 per cent., and he had the respect of the Germans, for he could beat them in battle and keep his word with them when his victory was secure. His ambition was to be like the Emperor Marcus Aurelius,‡ and though a very different man, he did attain to a certain likeness to him by dint of honourable devotion to duty and the cultivation of the higher life.

He was too successful in Gaul to retain the good-will of Constantius, and the wits of the court amused themselves with jokes about the "goat" (in allusion to his beard), the "purple monkey," and the "Greek professor,"§ and with darker insinuations that must ultimately mean death for him. Constantius grew nervous, and as war with Persia was imminent, sent to Julian to demand a considerable number of Gallic troops. Unless Ammianus has made a slip in his dates, there was not time enough for the men to reach the seat of war to be available for

*Zosimus (iii, 1) puts this very amiable suggestion into Eusebia's mouth!

†Boissier *La Fin du Paganisme*, i, 138.

‡Amm. Marc., xxii, 54. An ambition avowed likewise by Diocletian. (*Hist. Aug. M. Antonin.*, 19).

§Amm. Marc., xvii, 11, 1. *Capella non homo - loquax talpa - purpurata simia - litterio Graccus.*

the campaign. Whether they were really wanted for the war, or the order was sent merely to weaken Julian, it was a blunder. He could reply that Gaul could not safely be left without them in view of the Germans, and the troops could say, and did say, that the terms of their enlistment exempted them from service so far from home.* Julian wrote and the troops mutinied, and exactly what Constantius was trying to prevent occurred. The soldiers hailed Julian Emperor. He was reluctant, but without avail. They raised him aloft on a shield, and crown him they must and would.† It is interesting to note that, a crown not unnaturally not being forthcoming, Julian rejected the first two substitutes proposed, a woman's gold chain and some part of a horse's trappings, but submitted to be crowned with a soldier's bracelet (360 A.D.)‡

The fatal step was taken, but it is characteristic of the Roman Empire, though neither of the men was strictly Roman, that though civil war was inevitable, each should go on with the work he had in hand for the state. Sulla had not returned to deal with his enemies in Italy till he had crushed Mithradates. Negotiations, if such they can be called, went on for a while, till in 361 the two Emperors marched against each other. They never met. Happily for everybody, Constantius died on his march, and all Julian had to do was to have him buried.

Julian was now sole Emperor, and could at last freely avow the faith he had held in secret for some years and openly proceed with the religious reformation he intended to effect. He could plead the precedents of Constantine and Constantius for his attempts to remould the belief of his subjects, and his first step was to recall the Nicene bishops his predecessor had banished and to proclaim toleration for all religions.

Before following out the steps of his reformation, it will be well to study his own mind and learn if possible how he came to change his faith, and what he found in Hellenism that Christianity could not offer.

One of the watchwords or catchwords of the Antiochenes

*Amm. Marc. xx, 4, 4.

†Cf Sulpicius Severus *Dial* II (I) 6, 2. *Magnum imperium nec sine periculo renui nec sine armis potuit retineri.*

‡Amm. Marc. , xx, 4, 17. *primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo.* The whole affair shews a German rather than a Roman tone prevalent in the army,

with which they annoyed Julian was "Chi and Kappa*"—the initial letters of Christ and Constantius, and it has been suggested that this same association had helped to drive Julian from the Church, that Christianity suggested merely Constantius and was hateful accordingly. But I do not think that this is reason enough, if reason at all, for his change of faith. Julian was a man of emotions, so that it is possible that such an association may have influenced him, but we hardly find a trace of it in his writings or his letters. He would have us believe that from boyhood he had been devoted to King Sun, but this need not mean much. No one likes to appear inconsistent, and if we change our minds we are apt to try to find some underlying unity which shall transform a right-about face to an ordinary and natural development. The Church historians† tell us (and I see no reason for rejecting their testimony because they are Church historians) that Julian was at one time a reader in the Church, that he was devoted to the martyrs and had some notions of monasticism. It is easy, no doubt, to say these statements are not true, but it does not disprove them. The explanation given by their authors is that he affected all this zeal as a cloak. Certainly on the eve of marching against Constantius he celebrated Epiphany in a Christian Church,‡ to secure Christian support presumably, but I do not think we should explain his early Church views by making the charge of hypocrisy. From all we can see of him it is clear he had a deeply religious nature, and it is surely against all probability to suppose that it was entirely dormant till he attained the light which Hellenism offered. Rather is it likely that his early Christianity should be perfervid, that he should have a passion for the martyrs and feel a peculiar unction in doing his semi-clerical duty as a reader. How came he to change?

We have seen his early training in Greek literature and the effect it had upon an enthusiastic nature. It was with him as

*Julian *Misopogon*. 357 A.

†Socrates *e.h.* iii. 1, is a long chapter devoted to Julian. A large part of the book (iii) concerns him. Similarly Sozomen's bk v comprises the story of Julian, and though not perhaps equal to Socrates, contains some important original matter. Theodoret (iii, 28) is a lighter weight.

‡Amm. Marc., xxi. 2. 4. *Ut omnes inliceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fugebat. . . . feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dicitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam sollempniter numine discessit.*

with many a good bishop, an abiding possession. It was not considered inconsistent for a Christian to be a master in it, in fact one of the bitterest complaints Christians made against Julian was that he attempted to shut them off from it. Still it is a factor in the case. Then he had had some training in philosophy, in Plato no doubt. When in 349-50, the years of seclusion at Macellum were ended, and he was free to choose his teachers with one or two exceptions, he was about nineteen years of age, well read in the literature of ancient Greece, and possessed with a passion for the Greeks of the great days, such as, perhaps, no one to-day can feel, unless his ancestors were Jacobite Highlanders. It was a romantic, a sentimental enthusiasm, and therefore superior to reason. Now he met a man whom we may not improperly call his evil genius, the theosophist Maximus of Ephesus. Hellenism did not produce many martyrs, and an attempt has been made to beatify Maximus to fill the gap, but the true charge on which he was put to death, on which, too, Christians were often enough put to death, was magic*. Magic may seem to us a harmless thing if foolish, but to the Roman government it generally connoted political disaffection.

There is a fascination for some minds in the occult, and Maximus had evidently a magnetic personality. The stories vary as to whether Julian hunted him up or he Julian. It is not improbable that they mutually attracted one another. Maximus at once got an influence over his pupil that time made stronger, and to the end of his days Julian had for him a deep affection and as deep a respect, almost an awe.† To most minds it is inconceivable what attraction Buddhism can have for the Western and yet Madame Blavatsky made and kept converts, and her influence was apparently as potent after her death as in her life. Maximus in like manner completely fascinated Julian, and Julian's enthusiasm for Church work vanished in the glow of a new faith. The fervent Evangelical and the ardent agnostic not unfrequently make the most fervent and ardent of Catholics. The old religion was not extinct, it had still a thousand glorious traditions that linked it to all that was great in the past, it was

*Amm. Marc, xxix, 1, 42. The context implies that it was a political case.

†His public attentions to Maximus annoyed Ammianus, who sums them up as *ostentatio intempestiva*. xxii, 7, 3.

reinforced by the syncretistic philosophy of later Greece, which blended the thought of Hellas, the mysticism of the East and the ritual of Egypt in the most charming of mixtures, and in Julian's day it might seem stronger, larger and richer than ever before, especially if the believer willed to believe, as Julian did. His Christianity had been sincere, if emotional merely, and his conversion was genuine, if it too rested chiefly on the emotions. He had communion now with Mithras and the gods, he had the consciousness of being their prophet and of resting on their support, and after all was clear by the death of Constantius, he might freely indulge in the most delightful celebrations.

It will be of interest to read in his own words what his religion meant for him. He had gone to Athens already a Hellen in heart, and thence he was summoned to Milan, to be made Caesar eventually, though this was not quite clear at first. "What floods of tears and what wailings I poured forth," he writes to the Athenians,* "how I lifted up my hands to your Acropolis, when this summons came to me, and besought Athena† to save her suppliant and not forsake me, many of you saw and can testify; and above all the goddess herself, how I asked that I might die there in Athens rather than face that journey. That the goddess did not betray nor forsake her suppliant, she shewed by what she did. For she led the way for me everywhere and set around me on every side angels (or messengers) from the Sun and Moon to guard me. And it befel thus. I went to Milan and lived in a suburb. Thither Eusebia used often to send to me in a kindly spirit and bid me boldly write for whatever I would. I wrote her a letter, or rather a supplication, with language of this nature, 'So may you have heirs, so may God give you such and such, send me home as soon as possible;' but then I thought it might not be safe to send such a letter to the palace to the Emperor's wife. So I besought the gods by night to shew me whether I ought to send the document to the Empress. And they threatened me with a shameful death if I sent it. And

*See note on p. 249.

†The hymn of Proclus to Athena is an interesting parallel. He prays Athena of the Athenian Acropolis for mental light, forgiveness of sin, freedom from disease, a fair gale on the voyage of life, children, wife and wealth, oratory and eminence (*πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἡ ἐνὶ λιασίν*). Proclus, it may be added, was the philosopher of the 5th century A.D., who won the proud title of *ὁ ἀτάσχατος* the successor i.e. of Plato!

that this is true I call all the gods witness. So I refrained from sending the letter. From that night a reflection came to me which it is, perhaps, worth while you should hear. Now, said I, I am thinking of resisting the gods, and I have thought I could better plan for myself than they who know all things. Yet human reason looking only at what is present is lucky if it can just avoid error for a little.....but the thought of the gods looks afar, nay, surveys all, and gives the right bidding and does what is better; for as they are authors of what is, so are they of what will be. They must then have knowledge to deal with the present. For the while, my change of mind seemed wiser on that score, but when I looked at the justice of the matter I said, So you are angry, are you? if one of your animals were to rob you of your use of itself, or run away when called—a horse, perhaps, or a sheep or a cow—and yet you yourself who would be a man, and not one of the many or the baser sort either, rob the gods of yourself and do not let them use you for what they would. Look to it that in addition to being very foolish you are not also sinning against the gods. And your courage, where is it? Absurd! You are ready to toady and cringe for fear of death, though you might cast all aside and trust the gods to do as they will and divide with them the care for yourself, as Socrates bade, and do what concerns you as best you can and leave the whole to them, hold nothing, catch at nothing, but accept what they offer in peace. This I considered not merely a safe but a fitting line of conduct for a wise man...and I obeyed and was made Caesar." (*Ep. Ath.*, 275-7.)

Ever thereafter he walks by faith, trusting the gods to look after him. While in Gaul he wrote two panegyrics on Constantius—a fact which distresses some of his admirers, but he could not help himself. He is not exuberant in them, and yet he is able by his art to make us feel more kindly to his cousin than he did himself. But I refer to them because beside doing his duty as a citizen by his ruler, he yields to his besetting temptation which clung to him through life, and preaches. In the second panegyric he says, "The man, and still more the ruler, all whose hopes of happiness depend on God and are not blown about by other men, he has made the best disposal of his life." (*Or.* ii, 118D.) In a very undisguised homily he wrote in Gaul on the

Mother of the Gods, he gives thanks that whereas he was once in Christian darkness he is not now*. When Constantine recalled Sallust, Julian consoled himself with another homily: "Perhaps the god," he says, "will devise something good; for it is not likely that a man who has entrusted himself to the higher power should be altogether neglected or left utterly alone." (*Or.* viii., 249). (We do not always allow enough for the awful loneliness of a monarch or of one in Julian's position, yet it must be considered in estimating them). "It is not right" he goes on "to praise the great men of old without imitating them, nor to suppose that God eagerly (*προθύμως*) helped them but will disregard those who to-day lay hold on virtue, for whose sake God rejoiced in them."

He feels that in a very special sense he is the chosen vessel of heaven. In his myth in his seventh oration the conclusion of a very easily-read riddle is that he, the least and last of his house, is directly chosen by the Gods to restore the old faith. In his letter to Themistius he accepts the rôle of a Herakles or a Dionysus, king or prophet at once; he feels the burden more than man can bear, but neither desire to avoid toil, nor quest of pleasure, nor love of ease shall turn him away from the life of duty. He fears he may fail in his great task, but counts on aid from the philosophers and above all commits everything to the gods.

In the moment, perhaps the supreme moment of his life, when the soldiers sought him to hail him Emperor, he tells us he was in his chamber—and thence I prayed to Zeus. And as the noise grew louder and louder and all was in confusion in the palace, I besought the god to send a token, and forthwith he sent a token (he quotes a word or two from the *Odyssey*)† and bade obey and not resist the will of the army. Yet, though these signs were given me, I did not readily yield but held out as long as I could, and would accept neither the title nor the crown. But as one man I could not prevail over so many, and the gods who willed this to be urged them on and worked upon my will, so about the third hour, some soldier tendering his bracelet, I put it on with reluctance and went into the palace, groaning from

**Or.* v, 174B.

†But he does not say what the token was—the line of Homer (*Od.* 3. 173) merely illustrates his request and its gratification. It was believed at the time that the philosophers by the aid of magic and theurgic rites had not unfrequently such manifestations.

my heart within as the gods know. And yet I ought, I suppose, to have been of good courage and trusted to the god who gave the token, but I was terribly ashamed and wanted to get out of it in case I should seem not to have been faithful to Constantius." (*Ep. Ath.*, 284C).*

Elsewhere, in the *Misopogon* (352 D), which is not like the letter just quoted a manifesto of the date of his revolt, he uses the same language. "This office the gods gave me, using great violence, believe me, both with the giver (Constantius presumably) and the receiver. For neither of us seemed to wish it, neither he who gave me the honour or favour, or whatever you like to call it—and he who received it, as all the gods know, refused it in all sincerity. Again writing his uncle Julian (*Ep.* 13) he says, "Why did I march (against Constantius)? Because the gods expressly bade me, promising me safety if I obeyed, but if I stayed, what no god would do.....so I marched, trusting all to fortune and the gods, and content to abide by whatever pleased their goodness." Before he started he "referred all to the gods who see and hear all things, and then sacrificed, and the omens were favourable." (*Ep. Ath.*, 286D.)

This is the language of the Puritans, and men have called Cromwell a hypocrite because he openly avowed his faith in the guidance and control of Providence in the several steps he had from time to time to take in his difficult task of guiding the Commonwealth. The same may be said with about as little justice of Julian. It is curious that the last thing some critics of history and politics can believe in is sincerity, and yet it is the key to the characters of more than Cromwell and Julian.

As prophet and as chief priest of his religion Julian had to take practical measures for its maintenance and propagation. He saw at once its weakness. The old faith, which he re-christened Hellenism, fell short of the new at once in creed and conduct. Three centuries of Christian experience and thought had built up a body of doctrine, point by point tried and proved, and the Christian could rest on the rock of the Church. The heathen had no dogma, no certainty. This philosopher said one thing,

*The same kind of plea, however, was made twenty years later by the tyrant Maximus to St. Martin. (*Sulp. Sev. vita Mart.* 20.) *se non sponte sumpsisse imperium sed impositam sibi a militibus divino nutu regni necessitatem defendisse et non alienam ab eo Dei voluntatem vidcri, penes quem tam incredibili eventu victoria fuisset.*

and that another, and every man could choose for himself and be uncertain, solitary, a lonely speculator, when he had chosen.* Hence the Church was stronger than her adversaries. To meet this difficulty Julian conceived the great idea of the Holy Catholic Church of Hellenism. All the great philosophers conspired to witness to the truth; all said, if rightly understood, one thing. By dint of a little confusion, a little judicious blindness, one might believe this. As a substitute for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, he had a great superstructure of universes, and one or two gods proceeded from the great original τὸ ὄν. ὄλος or ὄλιξ, ἔξ ὄλου. The Sun played a great part in all these speculations, "for whom and by whom are all things."† The Jews were dragged into the wondrous fabric, for they, too, worshipped the great Supreme, though clannish narrowness made them exclude the other gods.‡ What exactly was the place of these other gods it is a little difficult severally to determine, but his system of Divinity had but a very few years to grow in and must not be inspected too closely. His homilies were generally "knocked off" in two or perhaps three nights, "as the Muses can testify." They ramble and digress and leave us confused. But the great thing was that Hellenism had a system of Divinity and all the philosophers bore witness to it. If it were a little abstract, it was not after all for the common people. This was a fatal weakness, but it could hardly be helped.

In the second place there was no doubt in Julian's mind that his new Catholic Church suffered from disorder, and from the careless lives of its adherents. He tried to organize his priesthood and to improve its morals. He is most emphatic on their sacred character, which he means to make others respect, and which the priests would do well to respect themselves. He writes them charges like a bishop, lecturing them on their

*Of Lucian's *Hermotimus*, a great part of which may be read in Mr. Peter's English in *Marius the Epicurean*.

†For the adoration of the Sun compare the hymn of Proclus (412-485 A.D.) c. g. l. 34.

εἰκῶν παγγενέταο θεοῦ, ψυχῶν ἀναγωγῆ.
 κέκλυθη καὶ με κάθηρον ἀμαρτανόος αἰῶν ἀπίστῃς, κτῆ.

‡Julian seems always to have been very friendly toward the Jews, and endeavoured at one time to rebuild the Temple for them, but the design fell through, baffled by the accident or miracle of fire and earthquake. See *Ep.* 25, a striking letter, and *Ep.* 63.

E.g. *Ep.* 49, from which I have taken some of what follows.

social deportment and on their sacred duties. They must not frequent theatres, nor read erotic novels, nor infidel books like the works of Epicurus ("most of which the gods, I am glad to say, have allowed to perish"); they must speak and think no unseemly thing. Their families must be orderly and go regularly to the temples*. Their sacred robes are for temple use, for the honour of the gods, not to flaunt in the streets. Decencies must be observed in temple service. The magistrate or officer within temple walls is as any other man. He is annoyed when men applaud him in a temple; † there they must adore the gods and not the Emperor. Again, the Galilaeans (for so he calls the Christians) beside influencing people by their sober lives gain great influence by their hospitality to the poor and the wayfarer, and to counteract this Julian ordains great guest houses and provision for their maintenance that Hellenism, too, may win men by its charities. Above all things he preaches holiness. All service done in holiness to the gods is alike acceptable‡.

One thing was wanting. When this life is done the Christian Church offers a sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection. What had the Catholic Church of Hellenism to bid against this? No more than the shadowy hopes of Socrates and Plato. In one place (*Fragm. Epist.*, 300) he writes hopefully: "Consider the goodness of God who says he rejoices as much in the mind of the godly as in purest Olympus. Surely we may expect that he (πάντως ἡμῶν οὕτως) will bring up from darkness and Tartarus the souls of us who draw near to him in godliness? For he knows them also who are shut up in Tartarus, for even that is not outside the realm of the gods, but he promises to the godly Olympus instead of Tartarus." This sounds very familiar and with a word or two altered might be a passage from a father of the Church. The Catholic Church of Hellenism was not above borrowing from its rival. As he does not date his letters we cannot tell whether this or another letter (37) represents his final view. There he writes to a friend to say he wept to hear of the death of the friend's wife, but here is nepenthes for him

*He was highly annoyed to find that the wives and families of some of his priest preferred the churches. Sozomen v. 16.

†*Ep.* 64.

‡Some of his ideas are curious: funerals by day dishonour the Sun (*Ep.* 77) εἰς ἄνθρωπον πάντα καὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον πάντα.

as good as Helen's. Democritus of Abdera told King Darius, who was sorrowing for his queen, that he could raise her from the dead if he would write on her grave the names of three that never were in mourning. "But if you cannot, why weep as if you alone know such a sorrow?" The same story, or one very like it, is told of Buddha, but its comfort is a little cold.

Julian's relations with the Christian Church remain to be discussed. To an erring priest he wrote (*Ep.* 62) that he would not curse him, as he does not think it right, for he remarks that the gods never do it. It was only consistent with such a temper not to persecute, and he sedulously maintains that he does not and will not. But, says Ammianus*, when on the bench he sometimes asked litigants their religion, though it never affected his decisions. While all creeds were lawful, he felt it only right to give higher honour to the true faith and its adherents. Any other course would be dishonouring to the gods.† But, of course, this was not persecution. When he recalled the exiled bishops, when he made the Catholic restore Novatian churches, when he coquetted with Donatists, he was only carrying out a liberal measure of toleration. No doubt, but the English Non-conformists have never felt specially indebted to James II. Men said, heathen men said, Julian recalled the exiles to kindle anew the flames of discord.‡ When he made bishops restore heathen temples they had destroyed, they called out on persecution; they, too, had consciences and might destroy but could not build up heathenism. So far, perhaps, no one could say Julian was strictly unjust. But when the mob of Alexandria rose and slew George the bishop, all he did was to write a letter of gentle rebuke—they ought not to have broken the law; they should have trusted to him and justice; but for Serapis' sake and his uncle Julian's he would forgive them (*Ep.* 10.) Indeed he seems to have been less anxious that no more bishops should be killed than that none of George's books should be lost (*Ep.* 9, 36). When bishop Titus of Bostra wrote to inform him of his efforts and his clergy's to preserve the peace, he wrote to the people of Bostra and put an unpleasant construction on the bishop's letter and invited them to rid themselves of him. (*Ep.* 52.) But of

*Amm. Marc. xxii, 10, 2.

†*Ep.* 7. προσημασθαι μέντοι τοῦς θεοσεβέεις καὶ πάλιν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδένα.

‡Amm. Marc. xxii, 5, 4, is very explicit about this.

all men Athanasius roused his special hatred. He had in virtue of the decree of recall returned to his see of Alexandria. Julian wrote to the Alexandrians in March, 362, to say he had never meant to recall the bishops to their sees; it was enough for them not to be in exile; Athanasius, who has been banished by so many decrees of so many Emperors, might have the decency to wait for one restoring him to his so-called episcopal throne before boldly claiming it to the annoyance of pious Alexandrians; he must now depart (*Ep.* 26). When Athanasius dared to baptize some Greek ladies instead of going into exile, Julian wrote in October of the same year peremptorily ordering his removal (*Ep.* 6). A month or so later he had to write again, for he had miscalculated Athanasius' influence in Alexandria. He is surprised and shocked at the Alexandrians, but they may trust him, for he knows all about Christianity after twenty years of it, and now he has been following the gods twelve years. Still if they will not be converted, there are other possible bishops beside Athanasius, whom he banishes from the whole of Egypt (*Ep.* 51)*. The great bishop was not concerned. "It is but a little cloud and will pass," he said,† and went into hiding in Alexandria itself, and in less than a year the little cloud had passed away and he was free again.

It may be said that nothing very terrible has been mentioned as yet, and perhaps it was not going too far when he cancelled all the immunities and exemptions granted to the clergy by Constantine and Constantius, though if he did (as alleged‡) compel widows and virgins to refund grants made to them in past years, he would seem to have been a little too exacting. But a zealot, whose principle is the equality of all sects and the preference of one, stands in slippery places. The Syrian historian in his *Life* (or *libel*) is highly indignant about this robbing of the Churches. Western indignation was greater on another score, as we shall see. The great old centre of Christianity in Syria was Edessa, and the Arian Church there gave Julian an opportunity by its attack on the Valentinians, which he gladly seized. He confiscated the Church property by an edict, assigning as one of his

*He concludes with a flout at Athanasius' person—*μηδὲ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου-πιστος ἐβουλήσας*—which, if a little unnecessary, still reveals one side of his own character.

†Sozomen v, 15, 3.

‡Sozomen v, 5.

grounds "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven."* This may have been rough and ready justice, but the next step to which I refer was oppression of a most irritating kind.

It is a strange thing, perhaps, in view of the general carelessness about education, that a government has only to incur suspicion of playing with it in the interests of one or another religion to arouse ill-will. Of all acts passed to worry the English Nonconformists, none angered and alarmed them so much as that of Queen Anne's reign, which checked their educational freedom. In the same way Julian roused the Church to fury through the western world by a rescript forbidding ancient literature to Christians. It was in more ways than one an unhappy thing for his new Catholic Church that the real Catholic Church was devoted to the old literature. In the east Christians read Homer and Plato, and in the west they steeped themselves in Virgil and Cicero, and in both east and west they were a match for the heathen in all things pertaining to a liberal education, more than a match, for there is a marked difference in general between heathen and Christian writing of the day. This was unfortunate for Julian, for it disproved one of his theories—that the Galilaeans were illiterate and barbarous and divorced from that ancient world which meant so much to all educated people. If his theory had been right, his policy was absurd and unnecessary; but he bears witness against himself, that Christians are not without a share in the old culture. He realized in fact that they valued it so highly that they would not give it up. Accordingly he enacted† that whereas a man cannot teach aright what he believes to be wrong, and whereas it is highly desirable that those who teach the young should be honest men, and it is incompatible with honesty for a Christian to expound the poets, orators and historians of old who held themselves (Thucydides‡ among them, it seems) sacred to the gods while he himself believes in no gods, henceforth it is forbidden to

*Ep. 43. ἵν' εἰς τῆν βασιλείαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπαυδοῦσθαι πορευθῶσι.

†The Decree may be read among his Letters: Ep. 42. Without citing Christian testimony, it is enough to quote the opinion of an honourable heathen, Ammianus, *obruendum perenni silentio*. (xxii, 10, 7.)

‡On the other hand, Dean Stanley (*Eastern Church*, Lect. i, p. 123) says, "Along the porticos of Eastern Churches are to be seen portrayed on the walls the figures of Homer, Solon, Thucydides, Pythagoras and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity." We may wonder which character would have most surprised Thucydides.

Christians to teach ancient literature unless they first prove in deed their honesty and piety by sacrificing to the gods. This edict was to produce one or both of two results, either young Christians must grow up without classical education, which was not likely to be their choice, or they must go to the schools of heathen, who would if they did their duty give them a bias toward Hellenism. Probably Julian was thinking of his own youthful studies, but heathen teachers were not all alike and were not in general propagandists. The immediate result of the decree was that some of the most famous teachers of the day threw up their profession. Then came a strange phenomenon*. A father and son, both called Apollinaris, set to work and made a new Homer out of the Pentateuch, and a Plato out of the Gospels. It has been suggested that the Christian people admired these works, but from the synchronism of their disappearance with the death of Julian it seems that Socrates, the most admirable of Church historians, is representing the common view when he applauds them rather as products of enthusiasm than as literature. If the Apollinaries failed of fame as authors, the younger, the Gospel Platonist, made his mark in Church History as an independent thinker, though the Church did not finally accept his views.

Such, then, was Julian's religious policy, but what was its success? Was society with him? It might be expected that the hour for a reaction had come, and there were certainly a good many heathen left. The philosophers, whose spirit he had caught, and the nobility of the city of Rome, with whom he had no relations, were ready to welcome a return to the old ways. But Julian was at heart a Greek, leaning eastwards, and had not much support in Italy, while the philosophers, after all, were out of touch with the world at large. It must be confessed that the reaction was not very spontaneous; it was an attempt to galvanize a revival by the *fiat* of a ruler, and though there was an appearance of life about it, it was not living. Julian has to confess (*Eþ.* 49) that Hellenism does not yet thrive as he would like to see it, but the fault does not lie with the gods, but with their worshippers. The heathen were past revival. They might resent being forced into the background by the Christians,

*Socrates, iii, 16, 1.

but they only wished to live in quiet as they pleased. They had no mind for martyrdom, and almost as little for Julian's violent revivalism. They would not be regular in attendance at temples, they did not care to sacrifice very much, and in short they would make no efforts for their religion. True, the mob enjoyed breaking Christian heads*, and creatures of the court affected conversion and a quickened life, but Julian was hardly pleased with either. He had practically no converts from among the Christians—none of any weight. Hecebolius, a rhetorician, came over, to return to the Church promptly on Julian's death. A bishop, Pegasus, who seems to have been a pagan at heart under his episcopal robes, now avowed his faith or unfaith.† But whether regarded from the heathen side or the Christian the revival was a failure.

Julian's reign was short (361-363), and we think of him chiefly at Antioch‡. He was received there in 362 with enthusiasm, for the heathen element was not small, but the pleasure-loving populace was no more to be influenced by Julian's exhortations to a godly, righteous and sober life than by Chrysostom's twenty years later. His attempt to transform Daphne from a pleasure resort to a shrine again was a ludicrous miscarriage. A martyr, Babylas, had been buried there by none other than the Emperor's own brother, Gallus, and before a martyr Apollo was mute. Julian ordered the "dead body" to be removed, and it was removed by a great procession singing, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images."§ One of the singers was arrested and tortured, so angry was Julian, but only one; for his constancy shewed what might be expected from others, and Julian resolved to "grudge the honour of martyrdom."

His revivalist failure was aided in Antioch by his blunders as

*Theodoret (iii, 6) gives a lively picture of heathen processions—"Corybanting" through the streets (*ἀντὶ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ χοροῖς βαλταῶν τειχῶν*) and abusing the saints. He adds the information that they got as good as they gave, without much advantage to public order.

†See *Ep.* 78, a very interesting letter, for this curious person.

‡See Amm. Marc. xxi, 9, 4. *Videre properans Antiochiam orientis apicem pulcrum* (here speaks the Antiochene). *in speciem alienius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eois partibus adclamentis.* But was it a good omen that he should arrive just when the women were wailing for Adonis?

§Theodoret, iii, 10.

an economist.* He was massing forces there and prices rose in consequence. It had been a good season and everything was plentiful, and the mob did not understand how prices were so high, and greeted the Emperor with the cry, "Everything plentiful, everything dear." Anxious to win applause, for his admirer Ammianus says he ran too much after cheap glory,† he summoned the leading citizens and gave them three months to find a remedy. When none was forthcoming, he lowered the price of grain by an edict, which had the surprising effect of driving it out of the market. Then he fetched grain himself from the Imperial granaries and sold it at his own price, and the dealers reappeared as buyers. Altogether he affected nothing but the irritation of every class, and jokes about making ropes of his beard were bandied round the city.‡ He had made himself ridiculous at once with his corn laws, his sacrifices, his mob of court philosophers (instead of Constantius' court bishops), his homilies and his pietism. He was not very tactful always,|| and he lacked ballast, and his virtues won him as much ill-will as his foibles. With the best intentions, the purest motives, and the highest character, he had made Antioch thoroughly hostile, and the world over his reformation was producing disorder and ill-will. He now wrote a "satire" on Antioch, which he called "The Beard-Hater" (*Misopogon*), perhaps as undignified a production as was ever penned by a monarch.§ Under cover of shewing up his own faults, he lets out all his spleen at the Antiochenes, till one is really sorry to see so fine a man giving way to such littleness. The final jest of Antioch was superb. Felix, an officer of high rank, and Julian, the Emperor's uncle, had recently died, and the populace went about shouting *Felix*

*For this story see *Misopogon*, 368 C; Amm. Marc. xxii, 14, 1; Socr. iii, 16, 2; Soz. v, 19, 1.

†Amm. Marc., xxii, 14, 1. *popularitatis amore*; xxii, 7, 1. *nimius captator inanis gloriae*.

‡Amm. Marc., xxii, 14, 2, gives some other jokes—none very brilliant. Julian, it seems, was a "monkey-face," with a goat's beard and the walk of Otus and Ephialtes.

§He confesses to being *λαλιώτερος*. *Ep.* 68.

§Socrates iii, 58, complains not unjustly τὸ δὲ διασύρειν ἢ σπώπτειν ὡχέτι φιλοσόφον ἀλλὰ μὴν ὡθὲ βρασιλέως. Ammianus, an Antiochene, is not at all pleased with this production of his hero. (xxii, 14, 2.) A keen, almost acrid, humour ran in the family, Constantine being noted for his *εἰρωνεία*, etc. (Socr. i, 9.)

*Julianus Augustus**—a *double entendre*, which must have been doubly exasperating for being strictly loyal. Julian finally left the city, vowing he would never see them again—a vow which was grimly fulfilled—and taking a cruel revenge on his enemies by setting over them a governor well known to be oppressive.†

Rid of the city, he was back in the camp, where he had won his early successes, and where his real greatness could shew. The long-standing quarrel with Persia was to be settled at last, and Julian would do what Constantius had played at. Sapor had three times besieged Nisibis and had been ravaging Roman territory too long. Julian set out on a punitive expedition. One or two letters written by the way survive—one telling of a little address on Hellenism he gave at Beroea to the city council, convincing, he regretfully adds, but very few, and they were converted already (*Ep.* 27.) If the expedition was not very richly blessed with triumphs for Hellenism, it was in other ways more of a success. The Persians were thoroughly cowed and their land laid waste, till an unfortunate act of rashness altered the look of things. When he had gone as far as he meant and was outside Ctesiphon, the capital, Julian was induced to believe that the fleet of vessels which had escorted him down the Euphrates was of no further use, and to avoid its falling into Persian hands he gave the fatal order to burn the ships, only to realize at once, but too late to save them, that it was a blunder. Even so the retreat might have been free from disaster but for an accident. The Persian cavalry harassed the army on its march, and in one of the frequent skirmishes Julian was fatally wounded. He was carried to his tent, and there he died after some final words to the friends about him.‡ He surveyed the principles that had guided him in life, care for his subjects' good and trust in the wisdom of Providence. He had sought peace, but when duty called to war he had gone to war, though he had long well known he was "to die by iron." His life had been innocent, his conscience was at rest, he had only thanks to the eternal divinity for the manner of his departure. So he died, an

*Amm. Marc., xxiii, 1, 4.

†Ammianus (xxiii, 2, 3.) actually says Julian remarked *non illum meruisse sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis hujus modi judicem convenire*. On any other authority the story might seem doubtful.

‡Amm. Marc. xxv, 3, 15.

irreparable loss to the Empire*, for his successor in the months of his reign did more harm than decades could repair, and if the world had rest from Julian the preacher, it might well regret Julian the soldier.

A word or two must be given to Julian's writings, which reflect his personality in a striking way. His style was moulded on great models† and is formally good. The effect is marred, however, by a tendency to digression and afterthought, and a finikin concern for side issues. It was not to be expected that he could help being didactic; he had a mission, and in season, and sometimes out of season, he is pleading and exhorting. His three panegyrics, two on Constantius, the third on Eusebia, roam off into discussions on education, true kingliness, books and so forth.‡ His other five so-called orations are really treatises, two theological on the Sun and the Mother of the Gods which are far from clear, three moral. Of these three two deal with the Cynics and are a little wearisome in their fault-finding. The eighth is addressed to himself—a series of reflections to console him for the loss of Sallust.

His letters fall into two classes, the elaborate polite type consisting of a quotation, a compliment, and perhaps an invitation, many of them addressed to philosophers, the others of a practical character, some of them edicts, some letters on religious thought and life, some friendly and intimate. Three long letters stand apart, those to Themistius and the Athenians, and one which is fragmentary, and these shew him at his best and most serious. They give the clearest picture of his manliness, his purity and piety—of the intense seriousness and dutifulness of his nature.

His elaborate work against Christianity can only be pieced together from the fragments quoted by Cyril, but it may not be a great loss, for we can see in others of his writings that he

*It may be urged that had he lived his policy would have made within the Empire disunion more than enough to outweigh the loss of the provinces under Jovian. Possibly, but the fact is unaltered that his death was highly unfortunate coming at that moment, and we do not find that the persecutions of other heathen Emperors were so unhappy in their results as those of certain Imperial heretics. Still we must realize that his early death was at least happy for his name.

†He observes fairly well the Demosthenic canons about hiatus, and the concurrence of short syllables. More probably he followed his teachers.

‡Here one wonders whether he may not have digressed of set purpose to avoid dealing with his subject.

was not at his best when he mocked. Two other books remain, "the Misopogon" and "the Caesars." Of the former I have spoken. The latter is humorous with an underlying seriousness. There is a banquet of the gods at which the Caesars are in turn subjected to criticism and a select few are bidden set forth their ideals. While Julius and Constantine might, perhaps, complain of their treatment (the latter particularly, as self-indulgence does not seem to have been his aim), Marcus Aurelius carries the day, for his theory of life was "the imitation of the gods." The piece concludes with a burlesque view of Christian baptism, and an announcement by Hermes that Mithras the Sun God has chosen Julian for his own.

The general effect of Julian's life was to prove how dead a thing heathenism was. His Hellenism was not the old religion, it was a blend of various philosophies with a large admixture of Christianity. It testified at once against Greek philosophy, Greek religion and Greek morals. The philosophy led from nowhere to nowhere, was a jumble of everything, with nothing in the long run to rest a life on. The religion was worse, a vacuous and external thing of ritual, trance and superstition. The morals were uninspired. To reinforce all Julian borrowed from the faith he hated—borrowed partly consciously, as when he conceived of the Catholic Church of Hellenism, but largely unconsciously, and there, perhaps, he shews more conspicuously the strength of the Church. Of all attempts made by Roman Emperors to crush the Church, his was the best conceived—he alone realizing that to crush without offering an alternative was impossible, and the alternative he did offer was the best then conceivable. He saw, as others had not seen, that it would be easier and more satisfactory to convince than to force men, and though events seemed trending to the use of more force as time went on, the fact remains to his credit that he at all events began by repudiating it. Yet, however much we may honour him for his great gifts, his honourable conceptions and his spiritual life, the fact remains that he failed as men fail who build without foundation. The conclusion to be drawn from his failure seems to be that a religion which is merely morality touched with emotion, will not fill the human heart.

T. R. GLOVER.

THE CLASSICAL TEACHER OF THE PRESENT.

THE study of the Classics has for centuries been regarded as an important part of every comprehensive scheme of education. The day of its relegation to the sphere of pursuits outgrown and outworn is still far distant, if present indications are to be trusted; for both the numbers and the enthusiasm of the students who elect to study the language, literature and life of Greece and Rome are ever on the increase*. This condition, auguring well for the future, is not due so much to change in the subject itself as to constant growth of the intelligence and steady improvement in the methods of the Classical teacher. It is not, however, the teacher in general we are to consider, so we may dismiss without notice those personal qualities, physical as well as mental and moral, which all successful teachers possess in some degree. Nor is our subject the nature and results of Classical culture, or the reason for its existence and its relation to modern life, which were discussed by Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton University, in an able paper before the Classical Conference held at the University of Michigan in the spring of last year.† The Classical teacher must, of course, have a wide and appreciative knowledge of the literature of Greece and Rome and the history which forms its background; he must have an accurate and scientific grasp of the languages themselves and an historic view of the development of forms and constructions; these and much more are taken for granted. In the present paper attention is directed to some auxiliary sciences, which are for their own sake worthy of serious study, but which place in the hand of the Classical teacher the means of enriching his courses and of making his instruction more delightful to himself, as well as more profitable and interesting to his students. These aids have long been used to a greater or less extent, but have not been everywhere employed to the fullest advantage. Never before have they offered such abundance of material, never before have they been so accessible, as to the Classical teacher of the present. If his function is to interpret

*The number of pupils studying Latin in secondary grades in the United States has within a few years increased from 100,000 to 248,000.

†"The True Spirit of Classical Culture," *School Review*, Nov., 1898.

the literature, and through it the spirit and life of Classical antiquity, he must be ready to make the fullest use of all available means to that end.*

One of the most valuable aids to the Classical teacher is a knowledge of Epigraphy. Year by year, nay, day by day, the busy spade of the investigator is turning up ancient monuments in all parts of the Roman world, until the total number of Latin inscriptions now edited, considerably exceeds one hundred thousand. Here the student has a vast storehouse of material for the study of language, and public and private life, as well as for the elucidation of the literature; and the historian often finds his latest theory overthrown by the discovery of some long-buried fragment. Such a fragment is a part of the so-called Elogium of Turia, which was recently dug up near the via Portuense on the right bank of the Tiber. Two considerable portions of this monument have long been edited, and are now preserved in the Villa Albani. Mommsen, following Filippo della Torre, identified the noble lady of the inscription with Turia, the wife of Q. Lucretius Vespillo, who is mentioned by Caesar, Valerius Maximus and Appian. The details of the inscription, so far as then extant, corresponded perfectly with the narrative of the historians. Proscribed by the second Triumvirate, Vespillo had to flee from the assassin, and was finally saved by his wife, who concealed him in his own house so that he could not be found ("inter cameram et tectum cubiculi," Val. Max. vi, 7, 2). But the new fragment, eleven lines long, adds further details and shows that not Turia, but some other high-born Roman lady, otherwise unknown to us, is meant. The glimpse of pure and noble womanhood and domestic peace which this record affords is invaluable, and wonderfully refreshing by way of contrast to Juvenal†. History does not often occupy herself with simple virtue; but such inscriptions as this serve to show that in private life during the last days of the republic, the leprosy of immorality had not reached so acute a stage as a superficial view might lead us to suppose. It must be confessed that these most enduring records are by no means the least interesting part

*The principles here applied to the Latin field may be extended to the teaching of any ancient language; and not alone in the College and University, but in the school. See "The Enrichment of the Classical Course in Secondary Schools," by Professor Clifford H. Moore, *School Review* for June, 1898, p. 460.

†See *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct. 1898.

of ancient literature. Whether we decipher the alphabets roughly scratched on a wall by childish hands, or peruse the affectionate words of a husband inscribed on the tomb of the wife with whom he had "lived for thirty years without suspicion," or gaze on the inscription from the front of a Jewish synagogue at Corinth—probably the very one in which the Apostle Paul preached—we are brought more closely into touch with antiquity than is otherwise possible.

In Suetonius (*de Gram.* 17) we are told that M. Verrius Flaccus, the preceptor of the grandsons of Augustus, had set up to public view in the forum of his native town, Praeneste, the Fasti, prepared by himself and engraved on marble slabs. In 1771 some fragments of this calendar were found and arranged by a scholar named Foggini, who succeeded in making out the months of January, March, April and December. These, together with a portion of February discovered later, are now published in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. In October, 1897, the report came from Palestrina (Praeneste) that workmen had brought to light a fragment of marble about five by eight inches in size, which was at once recognized as part of the famous Fasti of Verrius Flaccus. The inscription indicates the celebration proper to the first day of August, for it mentions the sacrifice offered on that day to Hope in the temple dedicated to her in the Vegetable Market. But the importance of the new fragment lies in an addition which appears in no other calendar, namely, VICTORIAE · VICTORIAE VIRGINI · IN · PALATIO. The temple of Victory on the Palatine was very ancient and celebrated, having had its origin in a shrine built by the primitive inhabitants of the hill. In 294 B. C. it was rebuilt by the consul L. Postumius Megellus, and in 204 B. C. the famous holy stone of Pessinus, which the Romans venerated as the image of the Magna Mater, was placed within its walls. In the ninth chapter of his thirty-fifth book, Livy says that M. Porcius Cato dedicated a shrine to Victory the Maiden near the temple of Victory (194 B. C.). The passage caused difficulty because nowhere else in the literature is there any mention of Victory the Maiden, and some scholars were inclined to dispute the statement of Livy as to the existence of such a divinity at all. Weissenborn in his commentary says: "Whether

the temple of Victory on the Capitol or the one on the Palatine is meant, cannot be decided." But this inscription settles every difficulty, establishes the truth of Livy's statement and shows that the worship of this goddess was maintained till imperial times, not only in the principal temple to Victory on the Palatine, but also in the adjacent shrine dedicated by Cato to Victoria Virgo, and that in both the annual festival of Victory was celebrated on the first of August.

Thus do inscriptions aid us in the elucidation of ancient authors, while the evidence they furnish to the student of ancient history is even more valuable. C. Cornelius Gallus, born in Gaul of poor parents, about 70 B. C. went to Rome at an early age and entered upon a literary career. At the time of Caesar's death he had already attained to distinction, and his intimate friendship with the most eminent men of his time, such as Asinius Pollio and Vergil, as well as the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, indicate what a loss literature has sustained in the disappearance of his poems. Ovid (*Trist.* IV 10. 5) placed him among elegiac poets in the same rank with Propertius and Tibullus, and we know that besides his four books of *Elegy* he made translations from Euphorion. Of all the product of his genius only one poor pentameter has come down to modern times, and that by a mere accident. Vibius Sequester, in speaking of the river Hypanis as a boundary line between Asia and Europe, quotes the words of Gallus: "uno tellures dividit amne duas." After the death of Julius Caesar, Gallus joined the party of Octavianus and followed him in all his campaigns. In the battle of Actium he played an important part, and when Egypt was constituted a Roman province, he was appointed its first prefect. This high position he held for nearly four years; then incurring the displeasure of his master, he was exiled and his property confiscated. His proud spirit, unable to endure this disgrace, drove him to suicide. The exact nature of his offence will probably never be known, though, according to some accounts, he spoke insultingly of Octavianus, when in his cups. Dio Cassius (LIII 23) informs us that Gallus was unable to bear his prosperity and high position, for his vanity led him to commit many follies in Egypt, such as setting up his own statues everywhere and placing on the pyramids inscriptions of his glorious

deeds. Three years ago, when one of these boastful inscriptions from the pen of the first prefect of Egypt suddenly came to light, it seemed as if Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Octavianus, Gallus, whose genius sparkled even in that brilliant age, Gallus, whose vanity finally destroyed him, had risen from the dead and spoken to us across the centuries. Captain Lyons, R. E., while making investigations in the neighborhood of the temple of Augustus at Philae in February, 1896, found a granite stele, at the top of which is the figure of an armed horseman trampling on a fallen foe who vainly tries to defend himself with a shield. Below is a trilingual inscription in hieroglyphs, Latin and Greek. The Greek is not an accurate rendering of the Latin and the hieroglyphic text differs widely from either of the others, not even mentioning the name of Gallus but only that of Caesar. The inscription which is one of the most interesting and important discovered in recent years, was first published in the *Athenaeum* of March 14th, 1896, and a little later in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy. The following is the English version given by Rev. J. P. Mahaffy on the basis of the Latin and Greek with the source indicated by initial letters :

"Gaius Cornelius, son of Cnaeus Gallus, a Roman knight, appointed first prefect (L.), after the kings were conquered by Caesar, son of Divus (L.), of Alexandria (L.), and Egypt—who conquered the revolt of the Thebaid in fifteen days [having won two pitched battles, together with the capture of the leaders of his opponents, G.], having taken five cities [some by assault, some by siege, G.], viz, Borexis, Coptos, Ceramicæ, Diospolis the Great, Ombos (?); having slain the leaders of these revolts (L.), and having brought his army beyond the cataract of the Nile to a point whither neither the Roman people nor the kings of Egypt had yet carried their standards (L.), [a military district (?) impassable before his day, G.] : having subdued, to the common terror of all the kings, all the Thebaid [which was not subject to the kings, G.], and having received the ambassadors of the Æthiopians at Philae [and guest friendship from their king, G.], and received their king under his protection, and having appointed him tyrant of the 30-schoeni district of Lower (?) Ethiopia—makes this thank-offering to the Dii Patrii (?) and to the Nile, who aided him in his deeds."

More and more students of antiquity are coming to see the importance of inscriptions and the direct bearing of Epigraphy

on their work. More and more editors of ancient authors are using the records of the monuments to throw light on the vexed questions of the language, life and history of ancient times, but as yet by no means to an extent productive of the best results. As a rule years elapse before the readjustments of thought, necessitated by the discovery of important inscriptions, find a place in histories and editions; as far as large numbers of text-books are concerned, they never do. The Classical teacher, who by study and practice is able to interpret the inscriptions and apply them in his elucidation of ancient literature, has in his hands a mighty force for adding interest to his subject and giving new life to that which has sometimes been regarded as a "valley of dry bones."

Another handmaid of the Classics to which the teacher should be no stranger, is the science of Palaeography. If he is to handle his authors with the highest intelligence and success, he ought to have collated manuscripts either in the original—for which, of course, on this continent materials are not abundant—or in photographic facsimile.* He should be familiar with the development of chirography to the invention of printing, and have some knowledge of the characteristics of the handwriting which was in vogue in different countries from Italy to Ireland, and from Spain to Germany. He should know the errors and confusions which commonly took place in copying codices in different periods, and be familiar with the methods by which the literary treasures of antiquity have been transmitted to modern times. Should he be called to edit his favourite author and thus be forced to enter the apparently arid waste of textual criticism, he might as well try to cross Sahara without a drop of water as to make a really useful edition of an ancient text without a knowledge of Palaeography and the critical apparatus for the author in question. Of course, editions are made by the score every year, in the preface of which the reader is informed that the text is that of A—, and it might sometimes be added that the notes are copied or translated from X—, Y—, or Z—. It is in editions of this type—such as one of Livy, which now

*Thanks to the publications of the English Palaeographical Society, and to the great number of facsimiles issued in the series of Chatelain, Wattenbach and others, it is now possible for the student to have in his own library exact copies of parts of the most important manuscripts in European libraries. In a few cases facsimiles of whole manuscripts are available.

lies before me—that you find comments on words and expressions which are not in the text at all, for the simple reason that the text was taken from one source and the comment from another. These editors seem to think, like the omniscient bookseller whom we all know, that the text of an author is always printed in the same way; and yet, to take an extreme case, we find in two books published within six years of each other the same line of Varro, written—

psephístis dicite lúbdeae et vivós contemnite vívi,
and

ipseí scitis δὸς καὶ λάβ', id est : sívis contendite sívi,

in which, it is true, some letters correspond, but no two words are alike. The Classical teacher should be able to edit his favourite author, and to do it intelligently and skilfully, making free use of all the work of his predecessors in the field, after it has passed through the mill of his own thought and received his own stamp, but facing squarely for himself every difficulty of criticism and interpretation, and bringing new light wherever he can. But someone will say, The teacher need not be an editor. Quite true: many of our best Classical teachers have never been editors. Some day, however, when he appears before his class, a student of enquiring mind is sure to ask why the text is not the same in two editions he has seen, and which is the better reading, and why one is better than the other. These are questions which may be parried with an evasive answer, but no teacher ever held the respect of his class or his own self-respect by such a course. Before undertaking to give instruction in connection with any author, the teacher should make himself master of the critical materials out of which the text is constructed, so as to be able to answer to his own satisfaction the questions which his own mind will suggest. He may never mention manuscript or variant reading in the presence of his class; if his students are undergraduate he probably will not; but in this field, as truly as in any other, it is proved in the experience of many that "knowledge is power."

There is a charm in the man of genius that attracts the attention of the world while he lives, and after his death brings fame to the scenes he loved and haunted. Who that knows Wordsworth does not long to visit the English Lakes! How many

reverent pilgrims journey to Hawarden, which would have been but a name, had not Gladstone lived there! Any day, travellers may be seen wending their way along a narrow street of Bonn on the Rhine to an unpretentious house, and mounting the stairs to a little, common, low-ceiled room, which one must stoop to enter. Why do so many come from far and near to stand with uncovered head in this chamber and gaze on the lifesize bust which is its only furniture? Here Beethoven was born. And what inspiration comes to the Classical teacher, who stands amid the ruined glories of the Acropolis, or on the mountains that "look on Marathon" or "sea-born Salamis"! What added zest enters the life and teaching of him who walks the *Sacra Via* in the footsteps of Horace, and wanders through the Forum, which has seen the making of more history than any other spot on earth! Insensible indeed must he be, who is not impressed as he looks upon this place which was the centre of human interest and power for almost a thousand years. Every Classical teacher should at the earliest possible moment visit the places most closely associated with the literature he professes and carefully study their monuments and topography.*

As the reader who knows London will take a livelier interest in "Old Curiosity Shop," or he who has visited Quebec will better understand "The Seats of the Mighty," so the teacher who is familiar with the topography and monuments of Greece and Rome, is thereby aided to fuller comprehension of the Greek and Roman literatures, and is able more successfully to grasp and interpret their spirit. Livy tells us, in the thirty-second chapter of his fifth book, that not long before the sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.) a voice, too distinct to be human, was heard in the silence of night on the *Nova Via*, behind the Hall of the Vestals, announcing the approach of the barbarians. When the city was being restored after the disastrous occupation, a shrine was erected to the divine Voice (*Aius Locutius*) near the place where it had been heard. Nothing can arouse the interest

*I take this opportunity to call attention to the facilities now offered to the graduates of reputable Colleges by the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens and Rome, conducted under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, of which Professor J. Williams White of Harvard University is President. Fellowships worth \$500 and \$600, one at Athens worth \$1,000 open to women only, are annually awarded on competitive examination. I would like to recommend Canadian Classical students who intend to follow the teaching profession, to look forward to a period of residence in one or both of these Schools.

of the student of Livy more quickly than a description of this altar, which still stands on modern ground, but not far from its ancient position. Though its present form is from the restoration of about 125 B.C., the inscription is doubtless original: S E I · D E O · S E I · D E I V A E · S A C (*rum*). All readers of Horace return with unfailing interest to that exceedingly amusing and dramatic ninth satire of the first book. The poet, while out for a stroll on the *Sacra Via*, is accosted by a talkative individual, known to him only by name, who in spite of protests insists on being his companion. How much more of life can be thrown into this morning walk of the poet and the bore by a man who knows every step of the way they went, can see in imagination the buildings and people they saw, stand with them near the temple of Vesta, cross the end of the Forum to the *Vicus Tuscus* and on towards the Tiber! But all teachers cannot go to Italy and Greece. Then they should in their teaching make the fullest use of the excellent maps, plates, pictures, and other illustrative materials which are now accessible to everyone, and should be in the Classical section of every College library; for, after all, if Classical studies are to attract and hold increasing numbers of students, they must bring to their assistance every available means to arouse the interest and awaken the enthusiasm of all who come within their range of influence.

The Classical teacher who desires to use all the means at his disposal to illustrate and add life to his interpretation of the literature, must not overlook the resources of Classical Archaeology. This science in its broader acceptance includes much of Topography and Epigraphy, to say nothing of Numismatics, but for present purposes may be considered in a narrower sense as co-extensive with Greek and Graeco-Roman Art. More than any other people the Greeks influenced the history and development of Art; and no other nation, ancient or modern, has approached them in that artistic taste and genius of which their literature, as well the more tangible creations of their mind, is so perfect an expression. After the conquest of Greece by the Romans, Rome became the artistic centre of the world. Hither were brought the art-treasures of Greece in great numbers, while Greek and Roman artists were still productive, though with less originality than skill in imitation of the famous pieces of the

earlier masters. Every noble home rejoiced in the possession of 'genuine' works of the best period, while even the middle classes used choice paintings for mural decoration. The most common subjects were of course mythological, and statues of Herakles and Athene, Venus and Minerva, as well as pictures of Maenads and Centaurs, multiplied. Time has swept away by far the greater part of the artistic production of antiquity; the value of what has been preserved lies not only in its connection with the history of art, but in the light which it throws on the pages of Classical literature. Scattered through the museums of Europe are thousands of antique statues in more or less complete preservation, while in Pompeii and Rome are many examples of ancient painting, chiefly on the walls of houses and palaces. And the amount of material of this sort is rapidly increasing as excavation proceeds. That the literature of peoples who valued art so highly and were surrounded in public and private life by the choicest creations of the painter and sculptor should be largely influenced by this taste and environment, need hardly be pointed out. Many of the finest descriptions in Greek and Roman poetry were written under the influence of pictures and sculptures with which the poets were familiar, and the conviction that ancient art is more closely connected with the literature than was formerly supposed, is steadily gaining ground. An example will serve to show the importance of this field to the Classical teacher.

In one of his most interesting poems (*Silv.* iv, 6,) Statius describes a little statue of Hercules which he had seen at the house of a friend. When out for an evening stroll in the *Sacpta Iulia*, he met the poet and art connoisseur, Novius Vindex, who gave him a pressing invitation to dinner. No ordinary gossip occupied the guests at that table, no discussion of the age of wines or the superiority of the Etruscan to the Umbrian boar, but converse on noble themes, and especially the art treasures of their host, kept the company together till the dawn of day. Among the many fine works of art, nothing so much aroused the admiration of the poet as a little bronze Hercules which graced the banquet table. The greatest charm of the statue lay in the fact that it was scarcely a foot high, and yet produced to perfection the effect of size and strength. The gentle, joyous expres-

sion of countenance, as well as the goblet in the right hand, made it a most fitting ornament for the table. Hercules was represented resting from his labours, seated upon a rock over which was spread the lion's skin. According to Statius, the wonderful statuette was made by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and was successively owned and treasured by Hannibal and Sulla, finally coming into the collection of Novius Vindex. This poem brings us face to face with some interesting and difficult questions which are closely connected with the interpretation. Did Lysippus create a little statue of Hercules for Alexander? What was the artist's conception and how was it executed? Outside of Statius our only literary source of information is Martial, who writes of the little Hercules in two short poems (ix, 43, 44,) of which I offer a free translation :

"A great god is in the little bronze, sitting on the hard rock cushioned by the outspread lion's skin. With head thrown back, he gazes at the heavens which once his shoulders bore. His left hand holds the club, his right a goblet. No recent work of art is this, nor glorious production of our city; thou seest the noble gift and creation of Lysippus. Once he graced the table of the tyrant of Pella, who quickly conquered all the earth and fell in the hour of victory. Witnessed by him young Hannibal took his oath at the Libyan altar; he, too, was one of those who bade stern Sulla lay aside his imperial power. Annoyed by the alarms of royal palaces, he was glad to take refuge in a private home. As he was once the guest of gentle Molorchus, so now he has become the divine guardian of our poet Vindex."

In his second poem on the same subject Martial is more successful :

"I was just asking Vindex who was the happy artist and creator of his little Hercules. He smiled—for he is used to this question—and said with a slight inclination of the head, 'You are a poet; do you not know any Greek? The inscription on the pedestal tells what you desire to know.' I read 'Of Lysippus;' I had thought it a work of Phidias."

The fact that a Herakles Epitrapezios came in antiquity from the hand of a great master depends not on the evidence of Statius and Martial alone, but is proved by the existence of at least ten more or less direct copies in bronze, marble and plaster, which are now in the museums of Europe. When we remember

that the preservation of ten copies probably means the existence in antiquity of hundreds, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the original, so often copied, was a masterpiece by a great artist, and so presumably by Lysippus. Whether the statuette seen by Statius and Martial at the house of Novius Vindex was that original is quite another question; but both the poets were convinced that in the little Hercules they saw the work of Lysippus, and most archaeologists agree that they were probably right. The extant copies now in the British Museum, the Louvre and elsewhere, found at places as widely separated as Olympia, Gabbii, Smyrna and Jagsthausen, differ slightly in matters of detail, but are alike in their diminutive size, the sitting posture, and other main features. By careful comparison of these statuettes with each other, and with the poems of Statius and Martial, it is possible to reconstruct the conception of the artist and to get a clearer idea of the style of Lysippus. Now all these copies are accessible to the student in the form of pictures, most of them in excellent plates, which should be brought together by the teacher and exhibited before his class in connection with the poems of Statius and Martial. And what is true of these poets is true of every ancient writer to a greater or less extent. Many passages which make but a slight impression on the reader, or are positively obscure, become suddenly luminous with meaning in the light of some statue or picture which has been preserved from antiquity. Good reproductions of ancient art have greatly multiplied in recent years, and now are or should be accessible to all Classical teachers;* and the man who makes an extensive and skilful use of these means is sure more deeply to impress on his students the fact that they are studying a literature that throbs with vitality, and must be placed among the noblest creations of the human mind.

We have presented some of the resources by which the Classical teacher may make his instruction more thorough, interesting and inspiring. The limits of space compel the omission of others which might be mentioned. One principle, however, should be emphasized in this connection; the intelligent teacher should have access to all the subsidiary literature of his subject.

*The most complete and useful inexpensive work of this kind is by Solomon Reinach, *Repertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, in three volumes, of which two have appeared (10 fr. each, Paris, 1897-98.)

Especially before he attempts to write for publication, he should be perfectly familiar with what has already been done by others, and know the limits of present knowledge in his chosen field. It is from failure to grasp this point of view that some editions of ancient authors have not won the approbation of all Classical teachers. One editor in his preface says that he has purposely refrained from examining any other edition, that his own may be more independent and on that account more valuable (?) Another, without any acknowledgement, paraphrases or translates the notes of the best edition he can find. These are not imaginary cases; such editions come from the press every year, and, for lack of better, are widely used in both England and America. A prominent publishing house recently announced a Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* with introduction and notes, pretentious in size and price (pp. 586, \$2.60). This was certainly not intended for school-boys, but for advanced students and scholars. But what does a glance into the volume reveal? That the text of another editor is followed without examination or criticism, and that by no means the best text now available; and that the editor has not the slightest idea of the important contributions made during the last few years to the study of Caesar. In the preface he expresses his obligation to friends "for the loan of books bearing on Caesar, one of which, namely, the Caesar-Dictionary of Dr. Otto Eichert, has been especially serviceable." The special Lexicon to Caesar and the recent admirable edition of the Gallic Wars, by Meusel, are apparently unknown to him. Why in the name of common sense did he not go to the Bodleian and find out where we at present stand with reference to Caesar? Too large and expensive for the young student, and of comparatively little value for the scholar, this book falls far short of commanding universal respect. If, then, it is true that the published work should be accurate and based on full knowledge of the literature of the subject, should not the instruction given in the class-room be on as high a plane? The best teacher will never be content to rely only on one, or even on several text-books: in connection with any subject there is much interesting and valuable material, which is not to be found in any text-book or edition.

This acquaintance with all the subsidiary literature of his

subject implies that the Classical teacher must read intelligently and fluently in more languages than his mother tongue. If he is to have access to the results achieved by the most eminent workers in his department, he must be at home in the languages in which they think and write. Some of us can remember the animated, not to say heated, debates to which we were often witnesses, and in which we sometimes took part in student days, on "The Comparative Utility of the Ancient Classics and of the Modern Languages as Subjects of Study." All wrong: neither can safely dispense with the other. Indeed, what we study is of far less importance than the method and spirit in which the study is pursued. At the present time the Classical teacher, in order to control the literature of his department and have access to the best thought in his own line of work, must read easily at least three modern languages besides his own. Many of the best commentaries to Classical authors are in German, much excellent literary criticism in French, not a few discussions of archaeological subjects in Italian, while in all three, as well as in English, are valuable periodicals, weekly, monthly and quarterly, devoted to Classical studies. In this matter the teacher should not respect English because it is English, or bow down to German because it is German, but revere scholarship because it is scholarship; and wherever he finds the truly great scholar, admire him and profit by his work.

Much has been written about the teaching of the Classics, much more will doubtless be written. These pages have merely touched upon some aspects of the subject and emphasized some essential truths, which have not been as widely disseminated as they ought, but are steadily gaining ground. The teacher, who cultivates the point of view and practises the methods here suggested, will not consider the Classics so much his field of *knowledge*, as his field of *work*, a field in which he may spend a life of joyous activity, fruitful to himself in the development of mind and heart, and to all who come within his sphere of influence.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

THE charge for the carrying of letters between Canada, Great Britain and the several British colonies, who gave their adhesion to the recent agreement for the reduction of postal rates within the Empire, has at last been brought down to the ideal figure. As money is regarded in Canada, two cents a letter may be described as a nominal rate. In Great Britain, where there is said to be a much keener appreciation of the value of small change than exists in Canada, there has been no serious demand for the reduction of their letter rates, though the profits from the post office are large enough to recall the dictum of the Parliamentary Committee of 1829, that the postal charges should never be so great as to constitute a tax on the people. Mr. Wanamaker, in one of his reports as Postmaster-General of the United States, gave it as his opinion that letters could be profitably carried throughout the United States for one cent each, but the statement awakened no popular desire for the lower rate. In no country is the inland rate lower than two cents a letter, and in only a very few is it so low. France charges three cents for the delivery of a letter within its territory, and in Germany the lowest rate for carriage beyond a distance of ten geographical miles is two and a half cents. In assuming, then, that the inter-imperial letter rate will be low enough to encourage correspondence to the utmost, it will be shown that with the anticipated expansion in the volume of correspondence the rate is high enough to cover the expense of the service.

The data, to which we shall have recourse for the purpose, are those relating to the inland service of Canada, and to the sea-post service of the United States. The mail carrying between Canada and Great Britain, in so far as it has been done from Canadian ports, has been performed under contracts, which have been made mainly in the interests of trade and commerce, the conveyance of the mails being an important, but, in appearance, an incidental, term in these contracts. The consequence is that the post office is in possession of little information of its own, bearing directly on the cost of this branch of the service. The general circumstances of the service in the United States are,

however, so similar to those which prevail in Canada, that we may use with confidence the admirably full reports issued by their department. In using the inland service of Canada to illustrate the conditions of the over-sea service, we premise the remark that the United States statistics show that the over-sea service is much less expensive than the inland service, so that any conclusions we may reach as to the adequacy of the two cent rate for the inland service will apply with greater force to the over-sea service. The United States post office is the only administration, whose reports are published in detail, which pays for a large proportion of its over-sea business at a rate intended to cover no more than the conveyance of the mails. The British government in its contracts for mail service is not unmindful of its commercial and naval interests, and requires that the vessels in which the mails are carried shall have ample accommodation for transportation of passengers and goods, and shall be so built as to be readily convertible into cruisers, if occasion should demand their services as such. The subsidies paid under these contracts are all charged against the post office, under a belief which appears to find wide acceptance that a burden or two more will not overtax the post office carrying capacity. The United States government in 1891, in avowed imitation of the British system, entered into a number of contracts for mail service, in which the same prominence is given to the commercial and naval features, and, like the British government, charged the whole cost against the post office. After two years' trial, however, the government wearied of an arrangement which offered so few tangible benefits in return for the large outlay, and of the eleven contracts made in 1891, seven were cancelled in 1893. The protective principle on which these contracts were based was not entirely disregarded on their cancellation, as it is still the practice to pay about four times as much for service performed by vessels carrying their flags as for the same class of service rendered by vessels of foreign register. As, however, rather more than 73 per cent. of all the mails which left the ports of the United States were carried by foreign vessels, under arrangements which had no object to serve beyond the mere carrying of the mails, we may assume that the rates paid fairly represent the value of the service performed.

In shewing that the two cent letter rate is sufficient to cover

the expenses of the inland service of Canada, and *à fortiori*, of the over-sea service, we have the benefit of two statements from the last reports of the British and United States post offices. In the British report it is stated that the newspaper rate, 1½d., for each newspaper, or about 7 cents per lb., does not pay, and in the United States report it is said that careful estimates lead to the conclusion that it costs 8 cents per lb. to carry the newspaper matter in that country. As the Canada post office has hitherto carried all but an infinitesimal fraction of its newspapers free of all charge, it is clear that it is subjected to prodigious loss on account of this service. The Postmaster-General in the United States has urged year after year that steps be taken to levy a rate on this branch of business sufficient to meet the outlay, and as an inducement to action, a one-cent letter rate has been held out to the public; but in vain. The people evidently prefer having their reading matter unburdened by postal charges rather than the extremely low letter rate. In this case the post office has nothing to say but to make as impressive as possible the fact that the people by their decision are incurring an expenditure of many millions yearly, and to insist that if the post office is to be treated as a business institution, which in a healthy condition should make ends meet, there shall be a clear recognition of the fact that, to the extent of the outlay for this service, the post office is not to be held responsible for its results. It was estimated that last year there passed through the Canadian post office 16,557,490 newspapers, on which nothing was paid in the nature of postage. At the cost of the service, as ascertained in the United States and confirmed by the British post office—8 cents per lb.—the amount spent by the post office last year for newspaper carrying was \$1,324,599.20. With the accounts of the department, including the newspaper carrying, showing a deficiency of less than \$47,000, it is plain that letter carrying, at the three-cent rate, is immensely profitable, and as the estimated immediate drop in the revenue is only \$600,000 a year, the two-cent rate for letters will return the department a considerable surplus. Relying on the experience of the United States post office, that over-sea service is less expensive than inland service, we may assert confidently that the inter-imperial two-cent rate will at least cover the expense of the service.

Even more conclusive, however, are the statistics of the over-sea service of the United States. As already stated, the United States over-sea mails are carried in large part—73 per cent. of the letter mails—by foreign vessels, at rates which, it may be presumed, fairly represent the value of the service. The remainder of the mails are carried by United States vessels, partly under contract at very high rates, and partly at rates which are intended to absorb the whole over-sea and inland postage on the correspondence carried. For the service performed under contract \$1,177,548 were paid last year. If this service had been done by the Cunard, White Star, or North German Lloyd lines, by which the bulk of the correspondence was carried, it would have cost only \$208,567. For service by United States vessels, not under contract, \$102,515 were paid, the foreign lines just mentioned would have done the same work for \$41,780. Here, then, under arrangements having for their object the encouragement of United States shipping, the government pay out \$1,029,716 per annum, and place the amount to the charge of the post office, though that institution does not benefit by the outlay to the extent of a single dollar. The improvidence of the expenditure under this head was brought home to the Postmaster-General in 1893, and, as already stated, the larger part of the contracts were cancelled at that time. In spite of adverse conditions, however, the United States post office maintains that there is a large surplus obtained from the management of its foreign business. The last report of the post office shows that the reduction in the revenue, which would take place if the over-sea letters had been charged at the rate of two cents instead of 5 cents per half ounce, is \$767,620, and if we bear in mind that the post office is charged \$1,029,716 more than it should be for the carrying of the mail, we cannot be wrong in the conclusion that the two-cent letter rate for over-sea business would be productive of a large surplus. Furthermore, the figures ought to satisfy us that the new inter-imperial rate is large enough to cover the expense of the business.

The several steps by which the rates were brought down from the practically prohibitive figures of half a century ago to the present nominal charge may be interesting. In 1837, when Rowland Hill, amid the benedictions of the mercantile and work-

ing classes of Great Britain, was gradually bringing home to the government the conviction that the substitution of the uniform penny rate from the high graduated charges then in force, not only was a measure of incalculable benefit to the people as a whole, but might also be accomplished without eventual loss to the revenue, the charge for carrying a single letter from Great Britain to Canada was one shilling for sea conveyance, to which had to be added the Canadian inland charges for all letters passing in or out from Halifax. The inland tax was a graduated one, depending on the distance the correspondence had to be carried, and was as follows:—Up to 60 miles, 4½d.; thence to 100 miles, 7d.; thence to 200 miles, 9d.; thence to 300 miles, 11½.; thence to 400 miles, 13½d.; thence to 500 miles, 16d.; and so on. A single letter from England for Toronto was charged with the following figures in Canadian currency: From England to Halifax, 1s. 2d.; from Halifax to Quebec, 1s. 8d.; from Quebec to Toronto, 1s. 6d.; in all 4s. 4d., or 88 cents. To Hamilton or Niagara there was an additional charge of 4 cents. Amherstburg was the most westerly point under the control of the Canadian post office, and to it the charge for a single letter from Quebec was 2s. 1d., so that the unfortunate officer or settler who had to pay \$1.02 for a single sheet of paper had no need of other reminder that he was very far from home. In January, 1840, the penny post was introduced into Great Britain, and six months later its influence began to be seen on the Colonial postage. On the 6th July, 1840, a treasury minute was issued stating that the Lords of the Treasury, “feeling convinced that the present high rate of postage between the British Isles and the North American colonies, which amount frequently to three or four shillings for a single letter, must be a serious grievance to the poorer settlers in the North American colonies and to their correspondents in this country, must tend injuriously to check emigration and to discourage the friendly intercourse which it is so important to promote between the colonies and the mother country, have determined to reduce such rates of postage to an extent nearly equal to that recommended by the Governor-General. In conformity with this determination, my lords will instruct the Postmaster-General as follows:—As regards all letters passing between this country and our North American colonies, and conveyed between

them direct, either by packet or ship, to charge the internal colonial postage, if any, not as heretofore, according to the number of enclosures and by distance, but according to weight; (2) to reduce the inland charges to uniform figure of two pence." The extent of the reduction in the charges due to the levelling down of the internal rates will be readily appreciated. The letter from England to Toronto, which, until then, cost for postage 88 cents, was delivered at its destination for 28 cents, and no more was charged for the letter to Amherstburg. But nearly as important as the reduction in the inland charges was the change of the system, which followed the former of the two instructions in the treasury minute. At present, as everybody knows, the internal letter rate is 2 cents per ounce; a few years ago it was 3 cents per $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce. A letter may contain as many pages as the writer cares to enclose, and so long as the weight of 1 ounce is not exceeded, the letter will be carried for 2 cents. The system of making the postage charges depend on the weight of the letter has been in operation in Canada since 1844 as regards inland or Canadian letters; as regards letters passing to and from Great Britain, the system was introduced as a consequence of the foregoing treasury minute in 1840. Prior to those dates the system was so peculiar as to deserve some explanation. A letter under that system might be defined as a single sheet of paper folded so as to conceal its contents, and weighing not more than an ounce. If within its folds another sheet of paper was enwrapped, no matter how small the enfolding sheet or its enclosure happened to be, the whole was charged as two letters, and a second enclosure entailed the liability to another letter charge. If the letter, whether single or containing enclosures, exceeded the 1 ounce weight, it was charged as four letters, and every additional $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce was charged as an additional letter. A letter passing from Halifax to Amherstburg, and containing two one-dollar bills, the whole weighing less than 1 ounce, would to-day be carried for 2 cents; up to the end of the first half of the year 1840, the letter and its two enclosures would have been charged as three letters, and the tax would have been \$3.92. The hardship and injustice of the system was the subject of much criticism, both in this country and in England. At the time of the agitation of the penny post, there were passed through the London

post office two letters, one nearly as light as a feather and almost small enough to require a pair of forceps for its handling, bore double postage because it contained an enclosure, the other, weighing just under the ounce, eight inches broad and more than a foot long, passed at a single rate because it was all on one sheet. But everybody will be ready with the question, "how could the fact of enclosures and their number be discovered without opening the letter?" The official instructions shall answer: "Postmasters must endeavour to distinguish double and treble letters from those which are single by an examination of the ends, and this may be done in the most effectual manner by the aid of a shaded candle or lamp; but in making this examination, they should specially bear in mind the delicacy of the duty they are performing, and not carry the scrutiny any further than is absolutely necessary for the protection of the revenue." By the aid of the shaded candle or lamp other things are discerned besides the number of enclosures in a letter. The eye may be held by a few chance words, or more strongly still by the form of a bank note, and he will judge best as to the efficiency of the injunction that the enquiry should cease at the point where the interests of the revenue are satisfied, whose curiosity or cupidity have once been strongly excited, and who is restrained from the gratification of these instincts by nothing surer than his own sense of propriety.

The rate fixed in 1840 of 1s. 2d. currency for the half ounce letter remained unchanged for fourteen years, but Rowland Hill had set in motion a power when advocating the penny rate which it now became his turn to check. In his journal in 1853, he laments that the success of the penny postage in England had called into existence a number of well-meaning people, who, misunderstanding the import of his argument, expected his aid in extending the blessings of the cheap rates to their brothers in the colonies. He showed that it was only when he had been convinced of the financial success of his measure that he pressed it on the attention of the country, and that the same opportunities for cutting down useless expense did not occur as they had done in 1838; moreover, he felt assured that with the ocean lying between the places which they proposed to bind together by cheap postage, correspondence would not respond so spontaneously to

the reduction of rate. Sir Rowland had been in the post office for some years, and was showing that a matter seen from inside the office windows had a very different aspect from the same matter seen from outside of those windows. To allay the agitation with as little sacrifice as possible, he proposed, and the Postmaster-General accepted the proposition, that the rate should be reduced from 1s. 2d. to 6d. sterling per $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce, and this rate went into operation in 1854. Sir Rowland's prediction as to the slowness of the recovery of the revenue from a large fall in the charges under the circumstances was falsified by the event, for the revenue from correspondence with Great Britain, which in 1853 under the 1s. 2d. rate was £17,495, was £16,449 in 1854. This rate, which was a reduction of 50 per cent. on the immediately preceding rate, was itself cut in two in 1870, as a consequence of an agreement between Great Britain and the United States for a reduction of the rates between those countries from 12 cents to 6 cents per $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce.

Canada was not a party to the treaty, but it was doubtless felt in Great Britain that the charges for letter carrying to and from the United States, ought not to be lower than those for the same service to and from Canada. The last reduction took place in 1875. The Postal Union had just been established, and the great variety of rates for letter conveyance from country to country was brought down to a uniform charge of 5 cents per $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce. Canada was prompt in applying for admission into the union, and she became a member on the 1st of July 1876, but at the time of the application in 1875, an agreement was made between Canada and Great Britain for the fixing of the rate between the mother country and the colony at 2½d. or 5 cents.

To Mr. Henniker Heaton, belongs the credit of keeping imperial penny postage before the English people, and of directing the force of public opinion against the Government. By letters in the newspapers, by magazine articles and by queries in parliament, in short, we fear we must say, by making himself a nuisance to comfortable officialdom, he continued to poke the post office out of its hole, and the people enjoyed the gusto with which he smote it. From the indifference it first displayed to Mr. Heaton, and all that concerned him, it passed into a retreat,

which is a government stronghold, from which it gave answers which only seemed to contain information. Under the persistence of pressure on the part of Mr. Heaton, whose crowning virtue we gather is not a sensitive regard for his neighbours' feelings, the post office was drawn to look seriously into its defences, and in 1890, the law officers of the crown were asked their opinion as to the power of members of the postal union to enter into restricted unions with their colonies, having in view the establishment of postal rates lower than those sanctioned by the union. The law officers were of the opinion that no such power rested with members of the union, and having communicated this view to Mr. Heaton, the post office again found its deaf ear serviceable. The Imperial Federation league came on the scene about this time, and in 1893 it got a statement from the Postmaster-General, and an exhaustive debate in the House. The position taken in 1890 as to the disability of members of the union to make restricted unions was abandoned, and the engagement with Australia under which that country came into the union in 1891 furnished the next line of defence. Up till that time Australia had resisted all efforts to induce it to enter the union, and it agreed to become a member only on the understanding that until the next congress of the postal union there would be no general reduction of the postage rates. This was commonly taken to mean that the congress had engaged itself to make no general reduction of rates, which would compel Australia to charge less than 2½d. per letter, but the British post office held that there was an engagement implied by which the British post office should not lower its rates to Australia, since by that means the Australian people might become discontented at seeing they were charged 2½d. for letters to England, while their English correspondents paid only 1d., and so bring pressure on their government to lower their rates to the English level. This view was ridiculed by leading newspapers both in England and Australia, but it was effective as a covert until the meeting of the Postal Union Conference in Washington in 1897. This Conference settled two important matters relating to penny postage. By its mere existence it dissolved the obligations towards Australia, which were admittedly only binding until it should meet, and by express words it decided that restricted unions having for their

object the reduction of rates were allowable. The same year at the conference of colonial premiers with the colonial secretary, the latter declared himself strongly in favour of the imperial penny rate, and urged the members of the conference to accept any sacrifice of revenue that might be necessary to carry so desirable an object into effect.

WM. SMITH.

AN EXPLORATION OF THE CORUNDUM LANDS OF ONTARIO.

DURING the past two years, considerable interest has been shown in the New Mineral of Ontario, and it was thought that the readers of the *QUARTERLY* would probably appreciate a short description of the mineral, and the part taken by the Kingston School of Mining in the work of defining its occurrence and determining its character.

Corundum is an oxide of the metal aluminium. It is very hard, standing next to the diamond in this quality. A better idea of its hardness may be formed if a few minerals are named in the descending scale of hardness. These would be placed as follows: Diamond, corundum, topaz, quartz (rock crystal), feldspar, common glass. The gems, ruby, sapphire, and oriental emerald are simply forms of corundum containing a little coloring matter. That form occurring in Ontario, though very pure, is not clear enough to furnish the gem variety. It is found embedded in solid rock mostly in the form of six-sided, prismatic crystals, which taper slightly at both ends. A notion of their general appearance may be obtained by those who have not seen them, if we refer to an incident which furnishes a simple description. One of the settlers in the corundum country told us that twenty years ago, his adopted daughter, while playing on the rocks picked up one of the crystals and brought it to him, asking if it were not like the stopper of a cruet bottle. The crystals vary in color from blue, white or grey to brown, the greatest number being brown. They are of different sizes, the smallest being

but a fraction of an inch in diameter and an inch or less in length, while the largest we have seen was about six inches in diameter and over a foot in length. Its weight was between thirty and forty pounds.

The use of this mineral so far has been confined to that of an abrasive, it being made into wheels and stones for sharpening or grinding steel and other hard materials. The principal minerals used for this purpose in the descending order of their effectiveness are: diamond, corundum, emery, garnet and quartz. For abrasive purposes corundum is much superior to emery—a fact indicated by their difference in price, the former selling at seven to ten cents per pound, the latter at from three to four cents. Since, however, corundum contains over fifty-three per cent. by weight of the metal aluminium, and as the demand for this metal is increasing, it seems probable that in the near future corundum may be used as the source from which aluminium may be most easily prepared. It is prevented at present from being put to this use by its high price and the lack of an easy method of reduction.

Previous to the year 1896 the known occurrences of corundum in any quantity on this continent were limited to Georgia, the Carolinas and a few other states. Of late the supply from these districts has practically ceased, a fact which seems to favour the development of the Ontario deposits. In the summer of 1896 some crystals labelled "pyroxene" were sent to the Department at Ottawa from the township of Carlow, in North Hastings. These, upon examination, proved to be corundum, and Mr. Ferrier was sent to locate the occurrence. He found an outcrop of it on Mr. Armstrong's property in the township named. As much interest was taken in this discovery of the mineral by manufacturers of emery wheels and others, it seemed advisable that a careful examination of the deposit should be made, in order to learn something of its economic value. Accordingly, Professor Willet G. Miller, of the Kingston School of Mining, was instructed by the director of the Ontario bureau of mines to undertake an examination of the corundum bearing rocks, and to search for other deposits of the mineral in the district. This work has been in progress for parts of the past two seasons. The writer was appointed as an assistant in the work, and it is from

knowledge gained while so engaged, and from additional information very kindly furnished by Professor Miller, that I am able to supply the readers of the *QUARTERLY* with this account.

North Hastings and South Renfrew, as is well known, are very rough, being diversified by hills, valleys, rivers, lakes and streams. And as only a valley here and there contains any tillable land, they are necessarily very thinly settled. The settlers, by farming in the summer, hunting and trapping in the fall, and going north to the lumber shanties in the winter, manage to make a living. In their farming operations, however, they have not only to contend with the difficulty of clearing rough land, but also with that of being a great distance from any market for their produce. Besides this, the families being usually large, and the demand for lumbermen decreasing yearly, make it difficult for the young men to find employment. From this it will be seen that a company conducting mining operations in such a country should be able to procure cheap labor and supplies. Another thing which would facilitate mining operations is the numerous streams, on all of which falls and rapids are common. Dams on these would be comparatively inexpensive, as the banks are of rock and sufficiently high. Thus any amount of power for generating electricity or other purposes could be furnished at a trifling cost.

For purposes of transportation, the Irondale RR., which is slowly being extended eastward, would, if continued for fifteen or twenty miles farther, reach the centre of the richest corundum deposits. On the north, the Madawaska river, which is near rich deposits, is navigable as far north as Barry's Bay, a distance of sixteen miles. Through this place the Ottawa and Parry Sound RR. passes.

For carrying on the work to which we were appointed we took with us a tent, cooking outfit and provisions. By so doing we were able to move from one part of the district to another as our work demanded. We began by making an examination of the known occurrences of the mineral in Carlow and Raglan. From the study of these we were led to believe that the mineral-bearing rock took the form of a belt running north-east and south-west. Acting on this hypothesis we worked towards the north-east, and soon found corundum here and there where the rocks were not

covered. Thus following it from hill to hill we traced the band, which has a width of a mile or two, across the York branch, then across the Madawaska at Palmer's Rapids, and before the season of 1897 closed, had followed it eastward to the township of Sebastopol, a distance of over thirty miles. The richer deposits east of the Madawaska occur in the townships of Brudenell and Sebastopol.

Last summer we began our work in Methuen township, in the county of Peterboro'. In that locality the occurrence of corundum was reported shortly after that in Carlow. There the best corundum occurs associated with deposits of white mica in veins or dykes. These deposits have been worked for a year or two for the mica. We found the rock similar in most respects to that on which we worked in 1897. There is a continuous ridge of it seven or eight miles long running north-east from the east end of Stoney Lake. We were unable to connect this occurrence with the band which lies to the north of it, to which reference has been made, but the indications seem to be that it will yet be found to be connected with it. After we left Methuen we traced the northern band of rock westward from Carlow, across Hastings, and across two townships in the southern part of the county of Haliburton. Thus showing the northern band to have a length of over seventy-five miles. As pointed out by Professor Miller in a paper read at Toronto a short time ago, the discovery of such a band of uniform rock may be of material assistance in solving some of the complicated problems connected with the geology of Eastern Ontario.

The method of separating corundum from the enclosing rock (stated in a general way) is that of crushing and washing. The ore is crushed and a stream of water is brought to bear upon the crushed material. The rock-matter, being much lighter than the corundum, is washed away, leaving the mineral mixed with a little oxide of iron. The latter is removed by passing the mixture over electro-magnets. The corundum product is then sized by means of sieves graded as to the size of mesh, and is then ready for market.

In order to ascertain the milling properties as well as the richness of the ore, the director of the bureau of mines authorized the Kingston School of Mining to make a mill test. This

was carried on under the direction of Professor Courtenay De Kalb. About two tons of the ore were treated and it was found that the finished product, obtained solely by mechanical means without any hand picking, tested over 95 per cent. pure corundum of good quality. The average yield of the rock was fifteen per cent of corundum. Such a result is encouraging in view of the fact that in other parts of the world five per cent. has been considered workable.

Little can be said as to the probable future of Ontario corundum. The mineral being a new one in the Dominion, capitalists are naturally slow in investing their money. Besides, since none of the Canadian material has been placed on the markets, it is not quite certain what the relations of supply and demand will be. But these will soon adjust themselves when once the finished product is offered for sale. Certain of our more enterprising capitalists, however, are taking steps which point to an early beginning of work on these deposits, so that the present outlook would seem to support the belief that the corundum industry must soon take no unimportant place among the industries of our province.

R. T. HODGSON.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMBECILITY.

IN approaching such a question as that of imbecility, one of the first problems to engage our attention is the part heredity plays in the development of abnormal types. Before this can be dealt with, though, it is necessary to have a clear conception of what idiocy and imbecility are, according to alienistic phraseology. In everyday life people use the terms idiocy, imbecility and insanity, as having the same or almost the same meaning, and yet it is important that we should clearly distinguish the differences between insanity and imbecility.

The dividing line between idiocy and imbecility is, of course, purely arbitrary, but not so when insanity enters into the question. When such elaborate dictionaries as the Century fail to

give satisfactory definitions of the terms, as applied in medicine, it is no wonder the general public is somewhat mixed.

An insane person is one in whom the normal brain function has been disturbed by actual disease, either functional or organic. Insanity is a *disease* occurring usually after full development, or occasionally adolescence, has been reached, but sometimes develops before this period.

An idiot is one in whom we find arrested brain development. This arrest has taken place before or immediately after birth. The brain tissue is healthy in the ordinary sense, but fails to develop.

A congenital imbecile, that is the true imbecile, is one in whom we find a certain amount of brain development, falling far short of the normal. Quite frequently we find the brain of a child in a man's body. In such a case there is arrested development, possibly retarded development, but the condition is not so marked as in idiocy, which embraces some remarkable states, a discussion of which would be too technical for a lecture such as this.

A common variety is that called by Dr. Down, the Mongolian; the members of this class are often the latest born of the family, and are connected with a consumptive ancestry. They are short in stature, and there is often a remarkable deficiency in the posterior part of the crania. The nose is depressed, the speech is deepened and always of a guttural character. The fingers and hands are dwarfed, the integument coarse, the ligaments of the joints are lax, so that undue mobility is permitted them. They walk with a stooping posture, and frequently have large imitative powers.

In another type we have bright and intelligent facial expression, well developed physique, graceful movements, a certain amount of understanding. The idiot hears perfectly, but gives no attention, living for the most part in a world of his own. He has little or no power of utterance. In view of the good physique it is difficult to understand the mental defect until we learn the history, viz., that during the early months of life there was meningitis, or some injury to the brain.

Then there is the typical congenital idiot, with narrow and somewhat asymmetrical head, defective teeth, and absence of language beyond that of signs, difficult to understand.

The microcephalic type is also well marked. The microcephalic idiot is not so repulsive in appearance as many of the others, particularly the next type, viz. : the macrocephalic, or the following, the hydrocephalic. Dr. Down also includes a class of children quite dissimilar to those already briefly referred to. He says "They are full of vivacity, quick in their movements, quick in their perverted thoughts, and everlastingly in clever mischief. Unlike many others, already discussed, they do not live in a world of their own, but interfere with all that goes on around them ; they are observant, impetuous, cruel and destructive. They have no necessarily characteristic criminal conformation. They acquire languages readily, but in their case this is not an unmixed good, as they weary those around them with questions, and inconveniently appropriate to their use, language of the gutter. They are so restless and mischievous, that they need constant watchfulness, and have such a *mercurial* character that it does not seem an inappropriate name for this type."

I do not agree with Dr. Down in classifying these children among idiots, but prefer to place them with the imbeciles, of whom I shall speak presently. Idiocy is a term which should be reserved for the very lowest types of mankind, and in this list must be placed the Cretins, a class in which the failure of the function of the thyroid gland is undoubtedly the cause of arrested development, both physical and mental. The change in this gland may be in two directions, first, it may be atrophied ; secondly it may be hypertrophied, and the seat of a new growth of tissue, until the function of the gland is impaired ; if the function is destroyed the individual dies.

For many years the thyroid gland was regarded as of little importance in the animal economy, and even in my day this idea was commonly taught, but of late years we have begun to appreciate the fact that all of the glands have a most prominent part to play, and the disturbance of function in one, is apt to upset the exquisite balance of the complex whole. Just what the function of this thyroid gland is, we know not, but we realize that its relation to the nervous system is of great import.

To prove the connection between Cretinism and the function of the thyroid gland, all that is necessary is to feed young

Cretins desiccated thyroids, and they at once begin to develop.

From what has already been said you will infer that imbecility is, strictly speaking, applied to a congenital defect of mental power, of the same kind as, but to a less degree than, idiocy, in other words, a condition of mental enfeeblement resulting from want of brain development.

The remarkable characteristics of some of the forms of imbecility will occupy our attention later on in the lecture, but before referring to them, it may be well to look at some of the probable reasons why the human race should be cursed by the development of such abnormal types, as those of which I speak.

First in importance, from the evolutionists' standpoint, are the problems of heredity; and those of you who have had the training of children at school will readily concede that most children are just what you would expect them to be, when you consider the characteristics of their parents; although such is not always the case.

In nearly all of the congenital cases of idiocy, the question of heredity must be considered, and even in some other cases, such as those developed after meningitis, heredity plays a prominent part, for the tendency to the development of inflammations of the brain and spinal cord, and their meninges, is well marked in certain families.

As pointed out in a former lecture, delivered during a Summer Session in this University, the whole subject of heredity has been fairly worked out by men who have applied what is generally called good common sense in the development of magnificent types of animals, in which we find preserved certain peculiarities. They have accomplished this by an accurate observance of the laws of heredity. These stock raisers not only believe in the transmission of certain physical qualities, but also know of the transmission of tendencies. Some strains of horses have a tendency to develop spavin, and so on. As a matter of fact, our knowledge of the human system can be well worked out in the fields of comparative physiology and psychology, because among the animals there are no family skeletons to hide, no social standings to be considered, and general results are arrived at in a way quite impossible in the human race.

In discussing heredity with an enthusiastic sporting gentle-

man, a few weeks ago, he said "Doctor, I have come to the conclusion that the only place to study heredity properly is among game cocks. I have studied it there, and it has paid a handsome profit." No doubt practical results have prejudiced his beliefs, but there is, beyond question, something in his remark.

A well-known writer has said that "it has not yet been proved satisfactorily whether the shape of a man's nose, or the acuteness of his moral sense, is most apt to be transmitted to his children or grandchildren, but I am strongly of the opinion that the latter will be found to be so."

The first law of heredity is the law of inheritance. It is, that the offspring tends to inherit every attribute of both parents. Inheritance is the rule, non-inheritance the anomaly. As a matter of fact there is no character sufficiently small to escape the operation of the law, although the recently acquired characters may be more uncertain regarding their constant reappearance than some of the others.

The first and most obvious circumstance to be considered is that each individual has two parents; and that in so far as the attributes of the parents are contradictory, the offspring cannot inherit from both. As Mercier points out, "The offspring of a white rabbit and a black rabbit may be entirely white or entirely black, but it cannot be both. So the offspring of a parent of stable nervous constitution and one of unstable constitution may have the one cast of constitution or the other, but cannot have both." When these attributes contradict each other there are three possibilities as to the attributes of the offspring.

1. The offspring may inherit the attributes of either parent alone.

2. It may inherit mixed attributes, as in the case of white and black rabbits, where the offspring is piebald.

3. The attributes of one parent may at one time be prominent, but eventually give way to the attributes of the other parent.

In some families qualities reappear in generation after generation, and are termed prepotent. This subject of prepotency is too large for this lecture, but it is necessary to refer to what is called reversion, viz., the transmission, by an individual of qualities which that individual does not himself possess. This

power of transmitting latent qualities is possessed by all highly developed organisms, and is of great importance.

When we discover a structural anomaly, such as the unusual branching of an artery, we may rest assured that the anomaly existed normally in some ancestor. In subsequent generations it was latent, but as Darwin says, "It was written in invisible ink, ready to appear on the proper test being applied."

A parent, if of defective nervous organization, may or may not transmit his defect to his offspring. If the defect has attained prepotent strength, he will probably transmit it. If he is fortunate in marrying a wife of normal organization, the superior strength of the quality of long descent, viz., the normal, will doubtless tend to the destruction of the more recent acquisition, although this normal quality may remain latent and ready to reappear if favorable conditions occur.

Now we have reached the second law of Heredity, styled the law of Sanguinity.

In dealing with the question of the development of Idiocy and Imbecility this law must be considered. Briefly stated it is this: "The quality of organization of the offspring depends on the suitability of the parents to each other."

Apart from inheritance, the completeness of the organization depends upon several other things, chief among which is the quality of the germ. "To produce an offspring that reaches the full normal bodily and intellectual standard of the race, the germ from which it starts must be of good quality; must be normally constituted and able when vivified to develop fully. If the developmental forces are not normal, premature failure will result, and may show itself in many ways, local or general—hare lip, cleft palate, etc. Sometimes the failure is shown in the defect of force to animate the structure; again, the feeble forces flash up and die out early in the day."

In the more marked cases we have the whole organism defective, both mentally and physically, and the result of such deficiency we find illustrated in idiocy and imbecility. The deficiency in structure is seen in the stunted size and defective mental qualities, feebleness of muscular power and inability to resist adverse circumstances. Few congenital idiots live to an advanced age; idiots, the result of traumatism or inflammations, often have excellent physique.

Congenital imbeciles may easily be produced by the union of parents unsuited to each other, and this is particularly the case if the degree of kinship between the parents is too close. Here the student in comparative science comes to our aid, and by his researches in the subject of inbreeding furnishes data of great value. As a matter of fact we know that intermarriage is fatal to the best interests of the human race.

Now what are the factors which play an important part in the development of inferior and degenerate types of the human race ?

In 28 per cent. of cases of idiocy, there is a family history of tuberculosis; 21 per cent. have inherited mental weakness, as shown by the existence of epilepsy, insanity, congenital mutism, disease of the brain, paralysis, etc. Alcoholism is a prominent factor although it is difficult to give the exact proportion.

Consanguinity is responsible for about 6 per cent. of congenital cases; the others not classified, would show, if properly analysed that the laws of heredity are well worth the deepest research.

Now I have indicated, in a general way, some of the modern views regarding the evolution of imbecility, and have pointed out the fact that the laws of heredity, which explain the development of this state, are becoming pretty well understood; however, a general discussion of the leading characteristics of some of the forms of imbecility, will in all probability prove of more interest to those of you who are watching the development of young brains, than would a technical account of the different forms.

None of us have difficulty in understanding the mental and physical defects of such a specimen as that which I have shown you, they are quite apparent, and we do not expect the degenerate to exhibit either high intellectual or moral qualities.

If he were of somewhat higher type physically, one might still not wonder at intellectual defects, however, if he were to show marked moral defect, without a superficial analysis revealing intellectual or physical imperfections, he would at once be classed by the majority of observers as either wicked or bad.

It is difficult, at times, to persuade even educated people that intellectual imbecility is present in some children; and to illustrate this point, I may say that within the last two years

when giving evidence regarding the imbecility of a boy murderer a judge asked me, in all seriousness, if I believed that a boy of sixteen who could not add 19 and 17 together, and get a more satisfactory answer than 302, and who could not read words of three letters, was necessarily an imbecile. My reply was to the effect that if a boy of sixteen, who had been at school for several years could not carry on such simple calculations, and read such small words, I should certainly feel inclined to class him as an intellectual imbecile. The significant smile, to say nothing of the charge to the jury, given by the judge, proved that there was at least a difference of opinion in regard to what constituted an imbecile.

As a matter of fact, the lad was imbecile both intellectually and morally, and when this statement is offered, it brings us to the point where science, as exemplified by medicine, and theory as maintained by law, differ most radically.

No one makes the slightest attempt to hide the fact that there are members of the human race quite unable to add two and two together, or to learn to read, but when it is stated that there are moral imbeciles as well as intellectual, many of those unacquainted with the facts, will be disposed to argue the point, and yet moral imbecility is no myth. The moral sense is the last acquired in the development of a human being, and yet theoretically, we take it for granted that it should be present even in those we are quite willing to class as intellectual imbeciles. It has been asserted, time and again, that the moral imbecile is sometimes found with normal intellectual qualities, but this is undoubtedly a mistake, and a careful examination will reveal a history of both physical and intellectual defect. Some of them, certainly, have precocity in limited direction, but they are not well developed in any particular, and their precocity is of the "Flash in the pan" order. Careful study will reveal the intellectual defect, and enquiry tell of physical imperfection and retarded development.

The imbecile Savants, as they are called, sometimes have one or two faculties specially developed; such as extraordinary memory, great calculating power, the art of mimicry, imitative power and manipulative skill in music.

The moral imbeciles sometimes have superficial acquirements, which are mistaken for the outcome of intellect, but care-

ful analysis invariably shows the defect. No one doubts the absence of the music sense or colour sense in some members of the human family; why doubt the absence of the moral sense in others.

I am often asked to see notoriously bad children, and it is marvellous how frequently the family history throws a lurid light on the evolution of the defective offspring. Not long ago I examined one who was described as notoriously wicked and incorrigible, and intellectually bright. If precocity, in certain directions, could be called intellectual brightness, he was certainly strong intellectually. When I saw him first he was persecuting another prisoner with endless questions regarding the legal punishments for many crimes; he certainly talked well. Careful enquiry revealed the fact that his intellect was of the lowest order; physically he had most of the stigmata of degeneracy; morally he was completely imbecile. He was, in fact, without a trace of moral sense.

Another boy, seen just before this, could give definitions of right and wrong with the accuracy of a graphophone, could even lay all the blame for his departure from the paths of rectitude upon the devil; and talk glibly of hopes for the future, and yet his everyday life showed absolute want of moral sense. He was extremely talkative, and although but seven or eight years of age, had shown a capacity for mischief almost unparalleled in my experience. He was plausible to an astonishing degree, and precocious in many directions. If he killed a cat, it was to save it from the cruelty of a ferocious dog, although he could not satisfactorily explain why he used boiling water to put the animal out of misery. If he were told to hoe potatoes and remove all the weeds from the hill, he would make a point of leaving one weed in each hill, to see if the promised punishment would be forthcoming. There was no end to the series of his misdeeds, and of course punishments were without avail. His heredity explained everything, and it will be interesting to learn what can be done to develop the limited moral sense existing in this child.

Another imbecile boy of bad heredity had marked perversions at a very tender age. He did not want to be a boy, but insisted on being considered a girl; when opportunity offered he assumed girl's clothing, did not wish to associate with boys, and

was a great source of trouble in the institution in which he was cared for on account of his remarkable desires. The grotesque display and intense earnestness of the little chap were considered by some amusing, but to one acquainted with the possibilities of the future, the import of these exhibitions was of the greatest seriousness. Again the heredity cast a flood of light on the condition of degeneracy.

In these days of startling results, when school methods too frequently are based on the theory that all children are cast in the same intellectual mould, and are capable of similar development, it cannot do harm to point out some of the dangers of such a system. Possibly the criticism will apply with more force to Public School methods than to those in vogue in Collegiate Institutes; but that we are in danger of overdoing the one standard system will be freely admitted. It may be fine, theoretically, to have a system so perfect that all children can be treated as equally competent to endure the strain of a smooth running grinding machine; in fact, can be forced to conform to standards which do not recognize differences in mental qualities, and which tend to dwarf individuality, but it is possible to overdo such a thing. The more one studies heredity the more one is satisfied that the progressive teacher will adopt a system of teaching, founded on the capabilities of the individual pupils, rather than on the theory that all children are alike and able to develop in the same direction.

As a matter of fact we do not want them all to develop in the same direction, and it is sometimes suspected that our Public School system may be an important factor in stamping out the budding genius of many a man, who, if developed in rational directions, would have been great.

"Reading and writing come by nature," saith Dogberry, and possibly, after a while, it may be discovered that "figs do not grow on thistles."

Those of you who are teachers by profession recognize the fact that the training which a person undergoes, must have a marked influence on the function of his character. "What his success in life shall be will be determined in a great measure by what has been done to bring into activity the capabilities of his nature."

"Now while it is true that education is a great power, it is also a limited one, dependent on the natural capacity of the individual. It will ever be impossible to raise a stable superstructure of intellect and character on bad natural foundations."

Maudsley says: "Education can plainly act first within the conditions imposed by the species, and secondly within the conditions imposed by the individual organization can only, *in the former case*, determine what is predetermined in the organization of the nervous system, and of the bodily machinery in connection with it, cannot, for example, ever teach a man to fly like a bird; or soar like an eagle; or run like an antelope; can only again, *in the latter case*, make actual the probabilities of the individual nature, cannot make a Socrates or a Shakespeare of every being born into the world."

Perhaps I should not have permitted myself to make this excursion while dealing with the subject of imbecility, but it seemed a tempting opportunity to refer to it, as a very natural deduction from the fact that children do not come into the world similarly equipped, physically and mentally.

To return to the question of moral imbecility, which I feel convinced, as before stated, never exists without accompanying intellectual imbecility and physical defect.

Many shallow thinkers are likely to insist that a deficiency of the moral sense is merely the characteristic of criminal nature, to be met by suitable punishment. When one finds children, who have never heard of vice or crime, committing criminal acts, by what, for want of a better term, may be called instinct; when it is learned that punishments have absolutely no effect on them, in fact, are not the proper treatment; there can then be little doubt that moral imbecility exists in fact as well as theory.

Year after year I am consulted about such children, and in nearly every, I might say every instance, heredity explains the conditions of affairs.

Here is a typical case, A.B., aged sixteen, female, under the average size, head asymmetrical, has strabismus, arched palate, and cannot articulate distinctly. Education rather limited, but can read the Bible, which book she is able to quote freely and with accuracy. Her parents are of the same name, and nearly related. Conversation with the child reveals the fact that she is

free from delusion of any kind, and is *apparently* very sorry for having done the wicked things of which she is accused. Believes that she must be insane, otherwise she cannot explain why she is guilty of such outrageous acts. She asks for protection against herself, and one is naturally inclined not only to believe her sincerity, but to have faith in her protestations regarding her future course.

Her definitions of conscience, right and wrong, are well given, and show that she has learned her Sunday School lessons fairly well. If one were to form a hasty judgment of this girl, he might be inclined to class her as somewhat simple-minded and innocent.

What are the facts? Her life has been one succession of criminal acts, of which she does not realize the import. She has destroyed thousands of dollars worth of property, and cannot be allowed out of sight a moment without danger of getting into trouble. She has no conception of the truth, and does not seem to know when she is telling falsehoods.

Although she has a superficial amount of emotion, real sorrow, love or hate are unknown to her. All men who pay the slightest attention to her are at once charged with having suggested no end of wicked things. It is only when we have seen this girl from day to day, for months, that we realize how great the mental defect is, in fact it is the lesson that we learn in my specialty, not to be hasty in forming an estimate of the mental capacity of any one.

Sometimes it takes months to gauge such a case properly. Occasionally this poor child has a glimmering of the truth, and says she is glad that she is protected, for she knows she is not as other people are. Not unfrequently these moral imbeciles are anxious to be saved from themselves, and willingly submit to restraint in a public institution, where their course can be guided, and where they are protected from themselves and others, for, after all, the world at large has little sympathy for the defective classes.

The innate wickedness theory is always more popular than any other, and I have heard some choice moral lectures delivered to moral imbeciles, who were as incapable of understanding them, as the lecturers were of realizing, that there is a difference between wickedness and defect.

All imbeciles are not incapable of development, and even those of the most limited moral sense are susceptible of improvement, particularly in early years; but it is a question if those imbeciles in Canada who show criminal propensities receive the proper treatment. Some of these, if carefully educated and surrounded by the best moral influences, might become harmless, if not very useful members of society; others who show persistent criminal propensities should be kindly treated, but separated from society as long they live.

Our reformatory and prison systems do little to recognize such distinctions, and until the indeterminate sentence becomes a part of our law, we cannot hope for much. Already the burden of the care of our defective classes has become so great that governments hesitate to devote more of their slender incomes to the development of more satisfactory methods than those in vogue at present.

It is, of course, absolutely impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule for determining the question, either of responsibility or capacity, in conditions of imbecility; each case must be judged on its merits.

As Maudsley points out "It is a matter of observation that impulses to theft, incendiarism and violence are not uncommon in these cases where the intelligence is feeble and the passions are strong; and many crimes such as arson, theft and homicide itself sometimes, are perpetrated by actual imbeciles; they are beings who have reached a lower stage of race degeneracy than those criminals, who approach the imbecile type."

In studying all defective classes, it has always to be remembered that definitions of types of disease are illusory, and as matter of fact, every case is a law unto itself.

So much too is made out of the motive inducing the insane and imbeciles to commit crimes. A popular belief exists that the presence of a motive is strong proof that a rational mind is behind the motive. No more erroneous impression could be fostered. Nearly all insane and imbecile persons have motives which are at times extremely difficult to analyze and understand, because there is always trouble in getting the point of view, of defective or diseased intellects.

Take for example the often quoted case of imbecility where

a young man of childish and harmless manners showed a great fondness for windmills. He would go to great distances to see them and seemed to be fascinated by the motion of the fans. His friends thought it advisable to send him to a part of the country where windmills did not exist.

When removed he showed a remarkable change in disposition and set fire to a house ; on another occasion, he enticed a child into a wood and mangled it with a knife in a horrible manner. What his motive was, few could surmise, and yet he did these things hoping that he would be removed to a part of the country where windmills existed.

In the older countries where crowded population and constant inter-marriage of the most degenerate types have furnished conditions peculiarly favorable for the development of everything that is vicious, we can find the most frequent examples of the criminal "born," not made, and although the outcome of a tainted heredity, he differs much from the moral imbecile, inasmuch as he loves that which is wicked and bad, seeks vile company, and gives every evidence of what we popularly call, moral depravity.

In him we find actual perversion of the moral sense, rather than absence of it ; just as in many of the insane we find perversion of many of the moral qualities ; love of relatives turned to hate.

In the moral imbecile it is different, and the *absence* of the moral sense, is the great characteristic. He does not seek bad companions, is in fact generally devoid of what we call bad habits ; does not drink, as a rule, or if he does, cannot resist the smallest amount of alcohol, in fact his true condition may not be suspected by the casual observer, and yet, a history of his life would show in a thousand and one ways how defective this mental weakling is.

He tortures animals without stirring an emotion, he does outrageous things without any idea of responsibility ; and life is to him almost devoid of meaning. If he is punished, the punishment is without significance ; and if he is hanged, he goes to the gallows, the papers say, stolidly and showing complete indifference, in fact, without exhibiting that which he has not, *viz.*, feeling or emotion.

He does not and cannot realize his position. To him hanging is no punishment; to others of his class, no deterrent, simply because they are unable to grasp the significance of the lesson.

If I were to introduce you to the moral imbeciles under my care, you would, on first acquaintance, pronounce them the most amiable persons in the institutions, and you might find it difficult to believe what I should tell you of them. Their very amiability is the outcome of their defective condition.

When we deal with the responsibility of insane people, the task is not difficult to the alienist; when he touches on the responsibility of moral imbeciles he must tread carefully if he is to avoid the strictures of the public, which has always felt suspicious of attempts made to rescue criminals from punishment.

What are we to do with moral imbeciles who are criminal? Society says, "It is all very well to preach about the fact of such types existing; how are we to provide the remedy?"

Protection is the first law of nature, and the survival of the fittest is by many regarded as the means by which the balance is adjusted.

Some members of society say, "If human monsters are born, the world has no use for them; it is safe to destroy them," and yet these people are generally willing to confer the rights of citizenship on these monsters and hold them responsible. If they commit minor crimes they are punished and set free to commit further crimes; if they do murder, they are hanged.

Less superficial thinkers recognize hereditary defect, and believe that it is better to lock moral imbeciles up before they commit outrages on society. They say Keep these unfortunates under constant supervision; develop their limited moral sense, when possible, and make their lives bright. The latter class of thinkers will in the end prevail.

A year or so ago I spoke of the care which should be exercised in encouraging the importation of children from Europe, and called attention to the fact that many of these boys and girls were degenerates of the most undesirable kind.

This statement was rather severely criticised by many well-intentioned people, and even officially questioned. It is stated that among any body of emigrants, we are bound to find a certain number of degenerates, and philanthropic enthusiasts are

willing to produce statistics of the most satisfying kind, to prove that the proportion of crime among child immigrants is not larger than among an equal number of native-born children.

Such figures have been produced and will continue to appear and yet they do not represent the truth.

In the anxiety to have Canada take a high place among nations, it is customary to offer all sorts of inducements to immigrants, without the slightest reference to their qualifications for citizenship.

The stock arguments are that they will swell our population, and till the unoccupied millions of acres in the North West. Why should we be so anxious to increase our population by the addition of the failures of other lands, by the degenerates from cities in Europe, by the poorest types the old world can produce? It is true that the hardy Scotch, English and Irish emigrants of by-gone days have made Canada what it is; that is, those of the right type, physically and mentally, but history is not silent in regard to the cost to the country of the degenerates who reached here.

It is not the degenerates themselves who give most trouble, but what they produce; hence any statistics showing how little harm the admittedly degenerate have done, are manifestly inadequate to prove the case, as we require the history of subsequent generations to show how serious it is.

It is the misfortune of the Superintendent of every Hospital for the Insane to know of more family cupboard skeletons than any member of the community, and that he should regard with suspicion any importation of children, tainted by bad heredity, is not only natural, but inevitable.

We are told that children have never been imported without every care being exercised to eliminate the physical and mental weaklings. How perfunctory such inspection must have been in the past; that is, if I can believe the evidence of my own senses, how frequently mistakes must have been made, if criminal records are worth anything.

The argument is advanced: Why should we not take these criminal paupers and do our best to develop them? Why should we assume such a burden with our limited resources; why should we endanger the physical and mental vitality of our race?

The cost to a state of caring for the products of one degenerate family, can sometimes be estimated by figures involving expenditures of hundreds of thousands of dollars. When the Ontario Government insisted on a more rigid inspection of boy immigrants, it acted wisely and in the interests of the community, and it should not only eliminate the intellectual imbeciles, but also the moral imbeciles, with the utmost rigidity, as they are without doubt the worst of all degenerates to have in our midst.

These boy murderers, who have, from time to time, furnished the papers with such choice pabulum for sensational articles, are invariably from this class of degenerates.

My impression is, that if we wish to build up a stalwart race of the highest type, and are not content to develop gradually and expand normally; if we must have immigrants, let us at least get the very best elements, rather than the worst.

Our neighbours to the South have had many of the best, they have also had the majority of the worst, and there are thoughtful observers who think that the eventual cost will be more than even the United States can pay; certainly the degenerates are more in evidence there than here.

The outlook would be extremely bad if it were not for the fact that nature has no desire to perpetuate the ills of the human race, and although the tendencies may be transmitted, still the law of the survival of the fittest will in the end prevail.

Sterility is exceedingly common in degenerate families, and the bad habits acquired by some forms of degenerates lead to early death.

Consumption, inebriety and insanity, as well as other infirmities, find many victims, and gradually the worst specimens are weeded out. If such were not the case, the whole human race would have disappeared ages ago; in fact, the decay of some nations, mentally and physically, has been the outcome of the law of the survival of the fittest.

Possibly you may wonder what application this lecture has in a course* such as that you are attending, but if it directs your attention to the fact that heredity must be considered when dealing with developing children, it will accomplish something, and if it advances one new argument in favour of a study of the indi-

*This lecture was delivered to High School Teachers attending Summer Session at Queen's University.

viduality of pupils I shall be satisfied.

So often the defects of children are relegated to the list of faults without proper enquiry, and sometimes possibilities are overlooked for the same reason.

My impression is that most teachers should have a practical and comprehensive knowledge of the individuality of their pupils.

It may be possible to pooh-pooh the existence of such a condition as moral imbecility, but let those of extended experience look back, and they will no doubt be able to remember such cases. A careful study of the family history will reveal the reason why.

C. K. CLARKE.

THE ALUMNI CONFERENCE.

THE Conference evidently has come to stay. This year the Principal reminded the members that as it had not been intended to hold one every year, it might be well to call a halt, especially as other Colleges and Universities were following the example of Queen's, and thus those members who wished an affair of the kind annually could be gratified by attending one or other of those now held in Montreal and Toronto. The suggestion fell on the meeting like a bomb-shell. How could we live without *the* Conference, asked one? We had dinner to-day, are we to have none to-morrow, remarked another? You cannot compare other Conferences with ours, was the general expression. And so the old Committee took up "the white man's burden" of pressing on to still further horizons, and now they submit a draft programme for next year.

This year there were several new features. Of these, the daily lunch in the Museum, with its two or three crisp speeches and opportunities for social intercourse, or a quiet rest in the Library or Reading or Senate Room, was the most noticeable. This must be continued and of course improved on. Two or three of the discussions were continued till late into the night, and the people had almost to be clubbed out. The most animated was that of

the last evening on "The Relations between Legislation and Morality." Mr. Haydon's paper is to appear in the next number of the QUARTERLY, and we commend its careful perusal to those who were unable to get a grip of his argument from simply hearing it read. The subject is most important in an age when it is assumed by some that there are short cuts to the millennium or easy remedies for complicated social disorders, and by others that faithful analysis and calmness of tone indicate lack of enthusiasm. We must have driving power, but unless wisely directed, it will only drive the ship on the rocks. The subject is to be continued next year by new and equally competent men, who will try to gather up the truths on which we agree, and no doubt the discussion will show wherein we differ. But, agreeing or disagreeing, we shall continue united, because one in heart and soul, aim and end.

The discussion on the papers by Rev. S. G. Bland and the Principal concerning "The Outlook for the Canadian Nation," was almost as stirring and as profitable as that of the last evening; and the same may be said of the first night, when Mr. John Cameron and Rev. Mr. Hossack dealt with "The Relation of the Pulpit to Political and Social Life, and to the Press as the principal exponent of Modern Life." That subject, too, required another night to gather up the points that were made, and it should be kept in mind when future programmes are drawn up.

The old features of the Conferences—the continuity of study from year to year, the refusal to acknowledge the medieval and essentially infidel distinction between sacred and secular as equivalent to clean and unclean, the perfect freedom in discussion combined with an inspiring brotherliness of feeling and tone—were conspicuous as usual.

THE CONFERENCE FOR 1900.

FIRST DRAFT OF PROGRAMME.

February 12th.

3 P.M.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets: Professor Cappon.

8 P.M.—Representative government in Canada: Professor Shortt. Discussion opened by Rev. Mr. Thomas.

February 13th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship: Professor Watson. Subject, "The Gnostics and the Fathers."

11 A.M.—1 P.M.—Historical exposition of the Old Testament: Professor McCurdy. Discussion opened by Rev. Dr. Milligan and Rev. John Millar.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton.

During the afternoon and subsequently questions in writing may be handed in, to be answered on Thursday afternoon,

8 P.M.—The imagination in relation to preaching: Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion opened by R. Vashon Rogers, B.A., Q.C.

February 14th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—The Creation narratives: Rev. W. G. Jordan. Discussion opened by Rev. R. Laird, M.A., Rev. John Young, M.A., and Rev. David Flemming, B.A.

3 P.M.—Interpretation of modern life by modern poets.

8 P.M.—Immigration: Rev. J. R. Conn, M.A. Discussion opened by J. M. Farrell, B.A., and D. M. McIntyre, B.A.

February 15th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—Judaism from Ezra to Alexander the Great: Rev. R. J. Hutcheon. Discussion opened by the Principal and Rev. N. McPherson, B.D.

Read the Books of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, the Psalter, and other products of that period.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton. Discussion opened by Rev. H. Symonds, Rev. J. R. Fraser, Rev. S. G. Bland, Rev. R. M. Phalen, Rev. John Chisholm.

8 P.M.—The relations of legislation and morality: G. M. Macdonnell, Q.C., and J. L. Whiting, Q.C. Discussion opened by Rev. John Hay, B.D., and Professor Dyde.

February 16th.

10 A.M.—The Chancellor's lectureship.

11 A.M.—Judaism from the Maccabees to Jesus: Rev. T. J. Thompson and Rev. M. Macgillivray. Discussion opened by Rev. John Mackie, M.A., and Rev. J. G. Stuart, B.A.

3 P.M.—The Theology of St. Paul: Professor Macnaughton.

4 P.M.—Students' meeting.

8 P.M.—Lecture in Convocation Hall, by Principal Parkin, C.M.G., on "The National Outlook."

Lunch will be served daily in the Museum at 1 o'clock.
Membership fee, fifty-cents.

All meetings of the Conference open to members.

Tickets for the week (25 cents) may be had by others at the Registrar's office.

CURRENT EVENTS.

NOT only Britain, but the whole civilized world, may be sincerely congratulated on the fact that so wise and experienced a statesman as Lord Salisbury has been at the helm of the Empire during the past two years.

Lord Salisbury as a Foreign Minister.

British domestic politics, which necessarily occupy the most prominent place in the thoughts of the people, have, for a year or two past, been remarkably wanting in burning questions. The Opposition, which in Britain lives almost entirely on domestic issues, being deprived of its accustomed nourishment, fell to gnawing its own vitals, with what results are patent to every one. The government on its part, having little or no serious opposition upon which to exercise its large and somewhat heady following, has found itself more than embarrassed to provide harmless occupation for so many idle hands.

If there is one department of government which a democracy is wholly unfitted to manage, it is foreign affairs. With all its success in domestic politics, the Anglo-Saxon democracy, wherever it has taken a hand in colonial or international matters, has shown a most unmistakable incompetence. The mere impossibility of becoming acquainted with the details, and, above all, with the spirit of the situation, is more than sufficient to account for this. Under ordinary circumstances the British public is content to leave the conduct of foreign affairs to the experts. But when, for any reason, a large number of the people take a practical interest in foreign policy, they are very ready to offer advice or to insist upon a short and sharp line of action, which even the wayfaring man can understand. Such popular diplomacy would, no doubt, have the merit of simplicity, but would also have the awkward, not to say dangerous, effect of beginning negotiations with a foreign power by the presentation of an ultimatum. In domestic politics the whole field is before the government, and, if reasonably well-informed and cautious, it may lay down a line of policy in advance of action, with some prospect of being able to abide by it and thus to redeem its pledges. In international politics, however, any given nation is usually but one of several interested powers in the field, none of whom employs a common crier to make known its inner counsels or ulterior designs. The shrewdest foreign minister is not necessarily he who can forecast the future with the greatest accuracy, or outline a policy in advance, but he who having a sound knowledge of the circumstances and needs of his country, can best adapt them to the international situation as it unfolds itself. This involves the

keeping of his own counsel and the avoidance of giving public pledges. The very marked success of Lord Salisbury's conduct of the Foreign Office has been largely due to the sphinx-like attitude which he has maintained towards the British public. A less experienced minister like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or a more loquacious one like Mr. Chamberlain, would assuredly have been forced out of his reserve by the united clamours of the forward element in his own party and in the opposition, during several critical periods in the past eighteen months. But by calmly and steadily keeping his own counsel, Lord Salisbury has been able to act as occasion required with a freedom and precision untrammelled by any unfortunate pledges or premature expressions of opinion. Whatever may have been the uncertainty of his own mind at any given period in the evolution of events, his decisive action at the right moment leaves the re-assuring impression that from the beginning he clearly foresaw and was amply prepared for every turn in events.

But while Lord Salisbury has been able to prevent the united jingoes of his own party and of the opposition from forcing his hand in foreign affairs, this element has been able indirectly to accomplish a good deal of mischief and to contribute in no small degree to the prospective burdens and misery of the world for some years to come.

The enormous increase of expenditure on naval equipment to which the world has been committed in the past few years is very plainly to be attributed in large measure to the unusual exertions of the English jingoes. They have been shouting themselves hoarse for some time past, in urging the government to take summary measures here, there and yonder to check the advance of this nation or anticipate the expansion of another. By their clamour they have at length convinced the world that instead of already having almost as much on its hands as it can well manage, Britain is just preparing to launch out on a vaster scale than ever, and to claim the lion's share in every tottering oriental Empire or unappropriated home of the barbarian. They have already excited the suspicion of the Americans by the vehemence with which they have protested affection for their persons and zeal in their cause, while in the same breath calling on them to join with Britain in a crusade against her rivals. By threateningly parading this anticipated Anglo-Saxon alliance in the face of the rest of the world, they have succeeded in exciting their apprehensions and driving them to make extraordinary efforts to protect themselves from the threatened combination. Having goaded other powers to undertake increased naval programmes, the jingoes are able to confidently demand from their own government a corresponding increase in naval strength. As a result, not only have the surpluses which naturally accumulate during

the years of prosperity, been dissipated and a deficit reared in their stead, but increased burdens are prepared for the lean years which are certain to follow.

Without doubt foreign nations like France and Russia have been driven to the conviction that the majority of the British people are bent upon an aggressive war, which not even a combination of the leaders of Parliament on either side will be able to prevent. They see men like Harcourt and Morley discredited and practically driven from the Liberal party leadership by the jingo element in it, and they see Lord Salisbury and his government severely criticised, and even threatened with overthrow by the same element in their party. Making use of these facts of British politics as levers, the military factors in Russia, France and other countries are able to force the hands of their own governments, which in turn force the hand of the British government. For though the British government may withstand the importunity of the jingoes at home, it cannot quite ignore the foreign effects of their clamour. The really jingoistic element in Britain is not numerically so very strong, but it makes itself very much heard, which is an important feature in estimating its effect upon the foreigner.

Britain, no doubt, is better able than most other nations to stand the increased waste of effort and substance on armament. The quiet rapidity with which new war vessels are slipping into the sea from various dockyards on the British coast, as though these sea-going engines of war were as easily constructed as locomotives, must be the despair of her rivals. It is an indication of the volume and availability of the reserve power at the command of Great Britain in case of need. This is of the highest importance, because in case of a great mutual destruction of war ships in an important sea fight, Britain could reproduce half a navy while her rivals were getting well started. But for this very reason, among others, it is to be desired that as much as possible of Britain's naval power should remain in the fruitful channels of trade in the shape of uncollected taxes or potential revenue. The real weakness of the heavily armoured nations of Europe, and which is the centre of the Czar's alarm, is that their strength is so completely taxed to support the weight of their armour, that they have little or none left with which to fight. There are indeed worse things than war, and among them may be reckoned the enormous and continuous sacrifices of national life and vigor which are sometimes undertaken to prevent it.

What an inert, helpless mass the once great Empire of China has become! For many a year it has evidently had little or nothing of that vigorous cohesion of parts, either in the governing body or in the people, which is the basis of national unity in civilized countries. Yet, until the revelations

made by the war with Japan, the outside world seems to have been quite unaware of the utter rottenness of the Empire as a political institution. At the touch of the iron hand of the foreigner the walls of China, seemingly as stable as they were exclusive, crumbled into dust. Yet so slight was the strain put upon them from within that the Empire seems to have maintained itself up to the present in full integrity. Even yet, if left to itself, there seems to be no reason why it should not continue for ages in the same unbroken unity. Like so many other features of Asiatic social life, the structure of Chinese society is a standing contradiction to many of the supposed universal principles of accepted political philosophy. The fact is that the Chinese Empire holds together, not in virtue of its central organization or national spirit, but in virtue of the local customs and habits of its people. The general inertia with reference to imperial matters permits even a worn-out political faction to stand for a central unity. The central power being a mere political simulacrum, it is helpless in the face of determined foreign encroachment. All the great powers have already staked out frontage claims along the coast, with indefinite possibilities of extension into the interior. And now Italy, Japan and Belgium are boldly presenting claims for concessions without any show of compensation, and they seem likely to be granted. It will then be in order for Spain and Turkey to claim their shares in the spoil with the lofty air of superiority which so well becomes those ancient and respectable powers. If states could be judged by the standards of morality, the parallel to the Chinese situation would be the case of an old lady of ancient family becoming bed-ridden and deserted, whereupon the neighbours flock in and pillage the house of everything worth carrying off, each one excusing himself on the ground that if *he* did not take what he could get it would not preserve the old lady's property, as it would simply fall into less worthy hands.

On China's part there promises to be little obstacle offered to the partition of the Empire. But in the very helplessness of the Chinese Court lurks the germ of retribution for the spoilers. Concessions granted by the Chinese Court are rapidly losing all value or importance, since they simply represent degrees of pressure, and a conflict of pressures promises a very dangerous situation. The integrity of the Turkish empire has been maintained for so long a time simply because of the dreaded consequences of any attempt to distribute it. China, on the other hand, seems to have surprised the European powers by the ease with which it goes to pieces under pressure. They wish only to extort certain limited concessions at present, leaving the rest to be gained by gradual expansion as circumstances and safety warrant. But the concessions come with fatal facility as far

as China is concerned. Moderation under these circumstances must appear fatal to future interests. Now or never is the growing conviction. But a general grab in China will put a tremendous strain upon the forces which make for peace, until a final adjustment of claims is made. Even then there may be more frontiers to guard in Asia than there are in Europe, involving a duplication of the burdensome military system of the home countries. That, however, will certainly end the strain. Either Armageddon or a new system of international politics must result.

The people of the United States are already discovering that Imperialism is a national luxury which draws heavily on the purse. But, as in the case of some other expensive indulgencies, there may be a good deal of enlightening experience to be had from it. After the Americans have killed off a goodly number of native colonials, not without sacrifices to themselves, to spare a Christian world the distressing spectacle of seeing the natives kill one another, and reduced the remainder to a condition of thankless peace, they may soothe their consciences and cover the chagrin of their increased load of taxation with the consolation that they have been bearing the white man's burden. This is a kind of virtue after the event which has the useful saline property of preventing a decay of self-respect, when, having entered upon a certain expansive movement in the interest of trade, there has resulted after much outlay a good deal more slaughter of obstinate innocents and a good deal less trade than was expected. But, having reduced the survivors to workable submission, the bearer of the white man's burden has to compel them to live in ungrateful peace and prosperity by enforcing law and order and infringing upon unsanitary liberty and indolence. Having accomplished this he is next confronted with the danger of famine and pestilence through an unchecked increase in population as the very result of his first successful efforts to avoid these evils. This is the untoward outcome of peace and prosperity in India, and is almost certain to be the ultimate result of good government in the Philippines.

Meantime the critics of Imperialism in the United States have been making loud and continuous appeals to their famous Declaration of Independence. That unfortunate document has been a thorn in the side of the conscientious American in every crisis of his history, and is appealed to by all manner of faddists throughout the United States, and even Canada. Yet few Americans are quite prepared to attack the real issue, to look squarely in the face of that remnant of an obsolete political philosophy and recognize its error. Its so-called self-evident truths, when brought to the test of the historic facts of human nature and human society, are found to be nothing but mistaken guesses. It is quite untrue that all men are

created free and equal, that they are endowed with unalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that governments are created to secure and preserve those rights, and that they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, with all that is built upon these words. So far as these rights and privileges have yet been secured, instead of belonging to man by nature, they are slowly and arduously acquired by him, and to be retained and improved demand constant effort through an indefinite future. As a criticism of the American purchase, conquest and government of the Philippines, or the Spanish West Indies, the appeal to the Declaration of Independence is quite worthless, and it ill becomes any supporter of the British colonial policy to appeal to any such professed principles in criticism of the American policy. Both the British and American colonial expansion may indeed be open to criticism, but it will be almost entirely from the point of view of what these countries owe to themselves, and not from the point of view of the inherent rights of inferior races to govern themselves. Government, in the civilized sense, they cannot give themselves. Despotism they will inevitably get, and it is the only self-conscious kind of government which will command their respect. It is fortunate for them when the despotism is benevolent. But the exercise of benevolent despotism raises very many questions more awkward for the despot than for his subjects, and there lies the expansionist's burden.

Though earnestly hoped, yet it was scarcely to be expected The Joint Commission. that the Joint Commission would succeed in coming to a quite satisfactory settlement of the numerous difficult questions referred to it. The commission has, indeed, been compelled to suspend its labours for the time being, without reaching an ultimate settlement. Yet it is encouraging to know that the shoal upon which it is at present aground, though serious enough in its present and prospective importance, is yet one involving unavoidable difficulties. These difficulties were not created by either the Americans or the Canadians, they were inherited by both.

In fixing the limits between British and Russian territory on the North West coast of America, the better part of a century ago, neither party to the agreement knew exactly what was being described. Little importance was attached by either to the border territory. Twenty or thirty miles here or there were of no consequence in those vast regions. Russia was interested only in maintaining her command of the coast line for fishing and sealing purposes, and this is really the strong feature in the American claim. England, on the other hand, was mainly anxious to secure as extended a range as possible for her fur traders operating from the East. In the course of time Canada

inherited from the Mother Country the British rights, while the United States obtained by purchase the Russian rights. The difficulty of applying accurately the terms of the treaty to the actual physical features of the country, came out only when it was necessary to make a definite survey. No satisfactory settlement had been reached before the recent mining developments in the Klondyke, when the exact location of the international boundary suddenly became all-important. In the case of two strongly protectionist countries like the United States and Canada, the national advantage in the matter of furnishing supplies to the mining regions naturally became the centre of the whole difficulty. This again turns upon the question as to the command of the routes, with the custom houses on them, by which the mining regions may be reached. To most fair-minded people the settlement of such a complex question would suggest very great difficulties. There are two sets of persons, however, to whom this matter presents little or no difficulty. These are the rival Canadian and American traders, and those associated with them in furnishing mining supplies. Their private interests shed a clear and steady light upon the whole subject, enabling any one with a properly instructed mind to see at a glance what the only admissible settlement must be. It matters not that the rival interpretations are as nearly as possible the antitheses of each other. Each is taken to represent for its respective state the natural and unquestionable national claim, devotion to which is the test of patriotism. Under such circumstances the only outcome of the negotiations that would satisfy either party must involve the complete backdown of the other nation. The Joint Commission, not being composed of diplomats, but of practical politicians whose opponents would gladly make political capital out of any concessions granted, it was plainly impossible for them to come to any satisfactory compromise in a matter so widely disputed. Recognizing this the members of the Commission, apparently on the best of terms with each other, retired from the field for a time, leaving this particular question to be taken up by the slower, more obscure, but more certain methods of diplomacy.

On one point, however, the American Commissioners may be fairly open to criticism. Though admitting the principle of arbitration as a means of settling the Alaskan boundary, they were unwilling to accept a board of arbitrators in which a European umpire should preside. This was very significant, for never before, in a dispute with Britain, have the Americans hesitated to accept such an umpire, and they certainly have no reason to complain of having suffered from past awards. Now, however, they evidently suspect that in consequence of the late Spanish war, and of the suspicion with which their active entry into inter-

national politics is regarded by the nations of Europe, they are not likely to find their territorial disputes regarded with as friendly an eye as formerly. Again, their proposal to leave the matter to a board of arbitration, composed of an equal number of British and American representatives, was a shrewd move. It evidently counted upon the balancing, in the imperial mind of the British members, of a sacrifice of something on the Alaskan frontier for the gain of something greater in another part of the world. This might, indeed, be good policy for the Empire at large, but it would be poor consolation for Canada in particular. So far American shrewdness was well evidenced. But the proposal to select an umpire from one of the South American States, if proposed as a serious alternative, and not merely as a formal means of blocking the Canadian proposal, is a serious reflection on the judgment and finer sense of humor of the American Commissioners.

The Postmaster General is to be congratulated on the Recent Postal Improvements. concessions which he has made to the general public during the past year. An event which will find a place in history is the institution of interimperial penny postage in December last. The octogenarian in this country who recalls the several shillings which in early days he had reluctantly to spend in having each letter forwarded from his new found home to his anxious friends in the old land, can appreciate the march of events which has led onward to a penny stamp performing the same duty now. Not less important, however, to Canadians was the fulfilment on the 1st day of January last by Mr. Mulock of his promise of a two cent rate within Canada and to the United States.

The special letter delivery system affects only letters intended for the larger cities, and permitting advertisements on both sides of postal cards is a concession to merchants, but the postal note, the introduction of which I have advocated for years, concerns the public at large, and, as anticipated, is proving a great convenience to those who have to remit small sums, and its simplicity is a relief from the cumbrous money order system.

Following closely on the reduction in letter postage is the abolition of fourth-class matter, and the relegation of parcels to what has hitherto been fifth-class matter. The rate will now be one cent per ounce instead of six cents for each four ounces, but there is imposed the condition that the parcel shall be open to inspection. It was possible previously to send parcels as fifth class matter, but the general public was probably not aware of this, as the Post Office Guide somewhat conspicuously placed parcels under fourth class matter. This is a reduction of one-third in the rate, and makes the cost of

transmitting one pound sixteen cents instead of twenty-four cents. In this country of magnificent distances we must not expect rates as low as prevail in Great Britain, but a further reduction is needed. It might be possible to make the eastern boundary line of Manitoba the line of division beyond which parcels to and from the east would bear an increased rate. This would enable the Post Office to lower the rate on the shorter distance packages which presently have to bear their share of the cost of transmitting those to the long distance points. What is also wanted is the sliding scale in force in Great Britain, under which there whilst the one pound parcel costs six cents, that weighing three pounds pays only twelve cents, and the seven pound parcel only twenty-four cents. Excepting on parcels to Great Britain, where there is a reduction on every pound subsequent to the first, the question in Canada is simply one of multiplication. A seven pound packet costs the sender just seven times the postage for one pound.

Another improvement not yet in force, but for which I have pleaded for years, will, it is understood, be the subject of legislation during the present session. This is the insurance of registered letters. When carried into effect it will be a great boon to the senders of the three and a half millions of letters which annually pass registered through the Canadian mails, and most of which contain sums so small that the ordinary insurance companies cannot cover them.

There is still needed an effective measure which will entirely relieve the post office from the burden of the unremunerative carriage of newspapers. The true principle would seem to be that which has for many years been adopted in Great Britain, where a sufficient rate of postage is fixed on all newspapers, whether posted from publishing offices or by the public, but it is left open to the newspaper proprietors to make, if they choose, their own arrangements with the railways for transport without being under any tribute whatever to the post office. There is no reason why the Government should carry at a loss thousands of tons of mail matter annually.

A.T.D.

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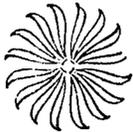
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