

Book Reviews

James Mill and the Art of Revolution. By JOSEPH HAMBURGER. New Haven: Yale University Press [Montreal: McGill University Press], 1963. Pp. xiii, 289. \$6.50.

Mill and Liberalism. By MAURICE COWLING. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Toronto: Macmillan of Canada], 1963. Pp. xvii, 161. \$4.25.

The transition from theory into practice is a vulnerable operation, leaving the operator open to attacks from all sides and from within. Especially is this true in morals and politics, and most especially for liberal theoreticians, who generally deplore *Realpolitik* and believe that immoral means subvert moral ends. (Often for them the means, in practice, justify the ends.)

If the theory fails when applied, it can easily be assailed as incomplete, distorted, or simply wrong. The theoretician can reply that the application was stupidly handled, or the theory misunderstood, or the timing bad, but he can expect little sympathy—though he may be rehabilitated by future generations.

But what if the theory succeeds? The Mills, father and son, provide interesting and diverse examples, seen from the different viewpoints of recent books from Yale and Cambridge. Professor Joseph Hamburger's admirable and stimulating study, *James Mill and the Art of Revolution*, looks at a particular theory and a particular application, and offers a general comment on both.

According to James Mill, true theory implies practicability: we start with a theory based on "the laws of the mind" and "historical experience"; then, if the practice is kept true to the theory, the theory will prove true to life. Political theory is therefore closely related to political practice, and the rhetoric of persuasion can be translated from the study to the campaign. Rational argument, of course, requires a re-ordering of experience, which is justified by beneficent results—few would question this assumption. Formal logic, which Mill claimed as his chief weapon, shuffles the cards of empirical data, and lays down a persuasive straight flush. (Mill's aim in his *Analysis of the Phenomena of*

the Human Mind was to make the operation of the mind as clear as the road from Charing Cross to St. Paul's.) That which is clear, he believed, becomes self-evident.

Why should not the same be true in political warfare? The post-Napoleonic climate in Britain with, on the one hand, a pervasive fear of revolution, and on the other an increasing demand for freedom, provided a test case. Mill himself felt the pressure on both hands, for the freedom he sought was freedom with (and for) security. How then to achieve freedom without losing its benefits through chaos?

His answer was to shuffle the facts to make one conclusion, and one only, seem possible and clear. His position was that, ruling out "physical force", the only means by which the people could reach their goal of political representation (and all it entailed) was to apply "threats so likely to be followed by performance, as may frighten their rulers into compliance" (quoted by Hamburger, p. 23).

The threat must be more apparent than real, and so "a little chicanery", in Joseph Parkes' phrase, "is permissible." By a judicious and persistent use of the means open to them, mainly the press and private communications to influential Members of Parliament, Mill and his allies* exaggerated the danger of revolution, and made parliament and the country so frightened, or at least uneasy, that the measures of the Reform Bill seemed a clear conclusion, and so became an inevitable one.

How the tactics of intimidation worked can best be seen not in summary but in judicious and far-ranging discussion in Professor Hamburger's book. Whether the practical success of the theoretician tarnishes his purity is also a question best left to the reader. One of the main uses of the book will be to help explain how such a small and comparatively unimportant group as the Philosophical Radicals came to occupy such a large place in British political history, and this explanation in itself makes *James Mill and the Art of Revolution* an indispensable text for the study of the Reform movement.

John Mill presents a very different aspect of the relation of theory to practice, and Mr. Cowling's contribution from Cambridge, *Mill and Liberalism*, is very different in approach and effect. It does little to explain Mill's position, and it is indispensable only to the student of Mr. Cowling's thought. He has, it appears, two theses: (a) Mill is the arch-Liberal, and therefore a bad man; (b) Mill is not a liberal, and therefore a bad man. Or perhaps he is just a bad man: "jealousy, and a carefully disguised intolerance, are important features of Mill's intellectual personality"; he was "the ruthless denigrator of existing positions, . . . a man of sneers and smears and pervading certainty", and a maker of "brisk, brash, agitated" pleas. Again, his "agnosticism" (if that is the right word) has about it a quality of inquisitorial certainty. . . ." In truth, "agnostic" is perhaps the only word in the whole diatribe that is right.

The book is divided into two sections, Exposition and Criticism, and the first

*Professor Hamburger's argument moves, as it must, away from James Mill to the activities of Francis Place and Parkes, and so the title of the book will seem badly chosen to many readers.

part contains summaries of Mill's thought that are always interesting and sometimes accurate. That his view "from the gods" is limited needs saying, lest it be thought that he is only astigmatic. He includes many of the key passages in Mill's works, and tosses off some acute comments, but his outbursts of rage so detract from his argument that the book has real value only as, in the author's words, "a continuation" of his other book of 1963, *The Nature and Limits of Political Science*, which I feel no strong urge to explore.

In part Mr. Cowling's rage is that of a latter-day Newman: liberalism is the great foe of religion. But while Newman saw it as the anti-dogmatic principle, Cowling sees it as dogmatism in disguise. In his view, Mill even tried to establish a high-priesthood by dwelling on the authoritative role of the clerisy. He goes so far, says Mr. Cowling, as to suppose "indoctrination to be a chief function of a university." There is not enough of merit here to warrant a detailed refutation; what is needed is the vituperative spirit—similar to Mr. Cowling's—which led James Mill in his *Fragment on Mackintosh* to adopt the polemical pilpulism of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pamphleteers.

The other source of his rage is more interesting. Unlike Professor Hamburger, he is not concerned with one specific tactical situation; instead he finds the danger of John Mill's position in its generality. His most vehement objection is to Mill's attacks on political empirics; the political theorist, in Mr. Cowling's view, has no special authority in practical matters. Indeed, only the practitioner, who may be innocent of theory, can estimate the difficulties in effecting policies. It may be that he is merely advocating the substitution of common for uncommon sense, but he appears to be offering an inadequate rationale for muddling through. What the student of Mill will see, however, is simple distortion. Mill never rested quietly with his father's belief that theory could easily comprehend practice; remarks scattered through his works indicate his constant concern with just this question, and it can be argued that his *System of Logic* is, in part, an attempt to solve it. Only too aware of his practical deficiencies, he willingly took guidance from others. His sociological clerisy (if those are the right words) was not intended to control national affairs; his attitude to its function is probably best illustrated in his parliamentary career, or—to choose a precise example—his evidence before the Committee on Income and Property Tax in 1861, where he presents his theory clearly, but admits the practical difficulties, and defers to men of practical experience. He defers, indeed, to Gladstone who, even Mr. Cowling must admit, was a practitioner of no mean abilities. In questions of morality, he stressed time and again the significance of common experience and practical maxims, and broadened his utilitarianism because it was too little dependent on actual experience. Notwithstanding the importance he attached to practice, he thought himself better suited to theory, and left the triumphant application of his general principles to others.

But such remarks will seem worn-out formulae to Mr. Cowling, who thinks that since force and persuasion are mixed in all transfers from theory to practice, the degree of each is irrelevant. Each generation, he says, "takes the past left by its predecessors, makes

what alteration it thinks it can justify, and constructs for itself a world from which it has emerged." Thus far, he is a generation unto himself.

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Kipling's Mind and Art. Ed. ANDREW RUTHERFORD. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964.
Pp. 278. 35/.

With the centenary of Kipling's birth falling next year, it is to be expected that there will be something of a race in the academic world to prepare articles, essays, and books. And, no doubt, as in the commercial world's preparation for a phony sale season, we shall see the continuance of old unsatisfactory lines—occasionally brightened, we hope, by products of quality. The recent essays collected by Mr. Rutherford, however, reflect a greater tendency to sound quality of elucidation and understanding than any complete reflection of Kipling "criticism" would produce.

This is important, for it indicates that we are to see another shift in literary fashion. Although Kipling has been thoroughly damned for so long by critics eager to insinuate that they are unrecognized artists, some writers have actually had the courage to ask and to answer the question: "How much of this is valid?" The result has been some clearing of the undergrowth of misconceptions entangling two pillars of Kipling's reputation—his imperialism and his art. It is indeed an interesting footnote that is attached to Lionel Trilling's essay (p. 85) proclaiming that writer's second and more generous thoughts on Kipling. It really is time to announce more loudly the fallibility of "authorities" in academia to avoid perpetuating the distorted tradition that was employed to destroy the reputation of so fine an artist as Kipling.

Mr. Rutherford's collection represents the old "establishment" critics and plainly reveals the attachment of their parasitic vines to the trunks of otherwise vigorous critical timber. It is fascinating, amusing, frustrating, and puzzling to contemplate the continued allegations concerning Kipling's brutality, or his psychological imbalance, or his journalistic (as opposed to artistic) technique.

The establishment critic exists on both sides of the Atlantic. We may be thankful that Mr. Rutherford was unable to obtain permission to reproduce an essay, "Kipling's World", in which the late C. S. Lewis represents the British section. It is superficial, and, in places, nothing more than a moralistic, personal thrusting-down-the-throat. It is quite sufficient that the establishment is represented by the American, Edmund Wilson, whose "The Kipling That Nobody Read" may fairly be described as one of the silliest pieces of "criticism" concocted and marketed by a well known brand name. To tackle Wilson is to tackle a tradition of distortion and abuse of a writer.

Wilson rashly accepts psychoanalysis as the glass through which all will be revealed.

The revelation is that Kipling became a psychological cripple after his unhappy childhood in a Southsea boarding-house. Ever after, he bowed unquestioningly to any form of authority while taking vicarious revenge in stories remarkable for their sadism. It is on this psychoanalytical preconception that Edmund Wilson builds. Now and again his satisfaction with Kipling's alleged artistic failure is scarcely concealed. Having proved little, Wilson asserts boldly: "And actually the whole work of Kipling's life is to be shot through with hatred" (p. 21). "Shot through" is typical of the sort of violent statement by which some critics endeavour to attract the reader's attention and support a spurious argument.

In writing of *Stalky and Co.*, Wilson is too distant from the English public school system, and too naïve, to judge adequately. There is, of course, much to criticize in the system, but Wilson makes so apparent his being out in "the fourth dimension" that he invalidates his comment. Perhaps he could achieve fourth-dimensional awareness by examining discipline and group custom in America's private schools, "military" academies, and university fraternities of today.

What on earth are we to conclude when Wilson supports his assertion that Kipling gave docile acceptance to his childish maltreatment by making the point (if it be one) that "After all Dickens made David Copperfield bite Mr. Murdstone's hand and escape; and he makes war on Mr. Murdstone through the whole of his literary career" (p. 28).

Wilson makes a great deal of Kim's becoming a member of the British Secret Service. This, he says, is a betrayal of the Lama, another example of favouring the stronger at the expense of the weaker. But what of the fashionably touted theory, almost done to death in American criticism, of the internal world of a work of art, its integrity, its personae, its individual logic? The logic of *Kim* is different from Wilson's, and apparently the novel must therefore be devaluated because Kipling as creator does not do what Wilson would have done. Equally simple-minded is this unsupported assertion: "The fiction of Kipling, then, does not dramatize any fundamental conflict because Kipling would never face one". Surely Kipling all his life faced conflict publicly—from literary critics, from the intelligentsia, and from politicians. Wilson continues by saying that a great novelist must show social forces, lines of destiny, or antagonistic impulses of the human spirit. Kipling's alleged violent streak is not violent enough to please Wilson by producing racial conflict in *Kim*.

A few more points in Wilson's long essay must be mentioned because for modern criticism it is such a seminal work in the impoverished tradition of wholly prejudiced attack on Kipling. The old charges against Kipling's imperialism are made sweepingly but are linked, without justification, to class consciousness. This gives a new twist to the usual link to racialism. Clearly, Kipling wrote much that was sympathetic to the so-called lower classes, and quite daringly at that, if Mr. Wilson would forget his prejudice and recollect Kipling's historical context in Anglo-India, in Britain, and in Vermont. The poor Boers, says Wilson, were sneered at by Kipling, who was really Rhodes' publicity agent. Wilson forgets or does not know (although there is much immediate information in

Kipling's private correspondence) that the Boers, for example, used the flag of truce to cover an ambush, and that Kipling was utterly opposed to Afrikaner racialism. Kipling's character is also smeared by the critical device of repeating one-sided gossip. If it is correct that Kipling disapproved of the conduct of personnel on Union Castle liners, there are travellers who would even today agree with him.

In his final charges, Wilson impugns Kipling's artistic powers and insists that he prostituted his moral being and his artistry to the imperial system or to authoritarianism in its imperial form. The oft-quoted opinion of Henry James that Kipling moved from human to animal to mechanical subjects is included as psychoanalytical evidence of a process of mental and artistic atrophy. At the same time Kipling is representative, says Wilson, of an age that is brilliant technologically but stunted intellectually. This last generalization is, at the least, somewhat careless.

Many of the essays in Mr. Rutherford's collection serve to restore a balance by showing how profoundly capable Kipling really was and how subtle is his art. They are supported by C. A. Bodelson's *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (1964), a revealing study of Kipling's mastery as displayed in multi-layered works of art. Bodelson also shows the weakness of Wilson's criticism of Kipling as an artist, and the exaggeration by Wilson and others of Kipling's worship of the imperial system. A careful reading of Kipling's works on the Empire would reveal how he detested barren systematic bureaucracy. Individuals, not systems, were his first interest. If anyone has sold out to authoritarianism, Wilson has done so in his need for so-called psychoanalysis in an attempt to uncover what he conceives to be truth.

Kipling does hurt some people—those who are self-consciously intellectuals or academics. It is said that one of Kipling's faults is that he is "always declaring the supremacy of the 'doer' over the man of ideas". But this is really weak criticism. The man of ideas can be warped, or as mistaken in his ideas as the man of action can be in his deeds. This charge, however, was often laid by critics of the past. One even detects it lurking in the essay by W. L. Renwick when he remarks, "Like a proper young man, he admired the admirable people whom fortune set before his eyes: and their admirable qualities, which they had in plenty, were not often those which are frequent or at least conspicuous in the literary and artistic coteries of London" (pp. 5-6).

Renwick's essay, indeed, contains observations that are sound, but the reader will also encounter the same specious arguments that Wilson makes about Kipling's personality, thought, and artistic powers. It is obvious that repetition of old themes replaces independent considerations of Kipling, man and maker. One can understand why this is so when one finds George Shepperson writing in his essay of "so distinguished a critic as Mr. Edmund Wilson" (p. 141). Awe of the oft-published critic can be stultifying.

Orwell, too, snipes at Kipling for preferring the active to the sensitive man, as if the world were not large enough for differing biases, for more than one outlook, for more than one morality. It is notably evident that Kipling himself transcended such a narrow-

ness of focus. But Orwell's essay consists of emotional, opinionated assertions which display, as well as antipathy to Kipling, an enormous ignorance of his subject. To Orwell, imperialism meant the Gatling-gun, coolie-robbing, and the worship of officialdom. Orwell, of course, had experienced a personal revulsion against the concept of Empire when he was in the Burma Police Service. It is surprising, however, to find that his self-proclaimed sensitivity is set aside while he pooh-poohs frontier war and bloodshed in India merely because they were not on the scale of a European conflict—a singularly insensitive observation. Apart from his opinions on Kipling, it is beguiling to discover that Orwell's Etonian socialism is possibly nothing but inverted snobbery:

At his worst, and also his most vital, in poems like 'Gunga Din' or 'Danny Deever', Kipling is almost a shameful pleasure, like the taste for cheap sweets that some people secretly carry into middle life. But even with his best passages one has the same sense of being seduced by something spurious, and yet unquestionably seduced (p. 81).

The succeeding two sections of Mr. Rutherford's collection—"Kipling's 'Philosophy'" and "Kipling's Art"—are marked, in contrast, by an atmosphere of calm reassessment. Shepperson ("The World of Rudyard Kipling") more than the other writers in these sections unfortunately remains tied to several of the stock criticisms of the past. In view of other opinions in the same essay, it is puzzling that he can hold sincerely the outmoded and the new together when they are so apparently irreconcilable. Perhaps Mr. Shepperson will make a reconsideration of his position in the Trilling fashion.

One of the most brilliant studies of Kipling, so far, is Mr. Noel Annan's "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas". The student of Kipling should be recommended to consult this essay before any other. Annan disregards the fantasies surrounding Kipling's writings and brings forth the artist's thinking on society, race, and Empire. The extent to which Kipling is a sociologist has never before been appreciated so exactly, and Kipling's sociology, it should be noted, has universal implications. His vista included all human civilization in the light of the enormity of Time. India gave him this perspective. When he settled in Sussex, England's history provided him with a more profound understanding of the layers of human endeavour through time and of their results on the race-memory in a country which had had a long, dynamic, and remarkably evolutionary career. The one point on which there can be serious disagreement with Mr. Annan is his claim that Kipling was less interested in people than he was in general social realities. Mr. Annan seems here to push his thesis too far, forgetting a little the artistic power which can blend immediate character study and vast symbolic value.

High praise must be accorded to the essays by Alan Sandison, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, J. W. Fenwick, and W. W. Robson. Sandison's essay, in particular, is a steady, unsentimental study which, at one stroke, restores balance to the vexed issues of Kipling's art and his imperialism. Dealing with vision in Kipling's novels, Kinkead-Weekes shares with us his highly sensitive comprehension of *The Light That Failed*, *Captains Courageous*,

and *Kim*, all to the enlargement of our own comprehension. His sympathy appears to lead him, however, to be more gentle to *The Light That Failed* than it deserves. And Fenwick's concentration on Kipling's three soldiers is long overdue. It is precise, careful, and sensitive elucidation. There is little to criticise in this essay. There is similarly little to quarrel about in Robson's examination of Kipling's later stories. There is, however, one judgment that may be disputed:

He turned to new subject-matter, the Sussex countryside, the historic past of England, the Navy, and, in his last phase, the work of mental and spiritual healing of war-sufferers. But all this seems extension rather than growth; what insights Kipling had, he seems to have had from the beginning; we do not get from his later work the sense of a profound and radical change of outlook, the discovery of a new spiritual dimension, issuing from the author's changing response to his changing experience: the sort of change we can detect in the life-work of a Melville or a Dostoevsky (p. 259).

The preconceptions here are that artists undergo dramatic changes in thought and that somehow these changes always signify progress. Why should these romantic notions intrude as criticism of Kipling? It is clear that there *is* growth, deepening insight, and technical elaboration during Kipling's Sussex period. This is the complementary second half of his artistic career, growing directly from the Indian part. There, in Sussex soil, amid Sussex history, and among unranked rural people, he found the roots and explanations for the Empire's growth. To find them, he had to study not just history or society, but English character.

Finally, Andrew Rutherford's own admirable and sound consideration of officers and gentlemen is entirely helpful. Mr. Rutherford makes the balancing stipulation at once—that we must today recollect the times in which, and of which, Kipling was writing. He does seem, however, to have misplaced his essay, in that it deals less with Kipling's art and more with Kipling's thought. To Mr. Rutherford, however, we must be grateful for gathering a cross-section of opinion and a range of study which covers all of Kipling's work instead of concentrating on one aspect. From now on, much attention will be given to Kipling's great and refined artistic powers. The brief concentration of these essays, combined with their ease and lucidity of style, will make them preferable to the turgid and ill-written work in the prolonged study of Kipling's art by J. M. S. Tompkins. With this collection, the essay by Bonamy Dobrée ("Rudyard Kipling", 1951), and C. A. Bodelsen's recent book, both Kipling and student are well served.

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Iceland Extends Its Fisheries Limits. By MORRIS DAVIS. Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1963. Pp. 136. 25.00 N. Kr.

On reading the title of this book, one might, perhaps, expect a monograph devoted pri-

marily to a legal discussion of Iceland's decision in 1958 to establish a twelve-mile exclusive fishing zone. But, as the subtitle tells us, the book presents a political rather than a legal analysis. The author's purpose is to provide a study in depth of the political factors that led to Iceland's action. Searching into the circumstances in which this decision was taken, the author presents (in his own words) a "case study . . . that highlights the springs of social action and the patterns of decision-making that lay behind a state's claim in international law" (p. 97).

Mr. Davis has succeeded admirably in accomplishing this task. His lucid, scholarly book provides many penetrating insights into the factors which led to Iceland's establishment of a twelve-mile limit. It is of particular interest to Canadians at a time when the Parliament of Canada has just passed a Bill establishing a twelve-mile fishing zone off our coasts measured from the same baselines as the territorial sea.

The author does not undertake to provide an historical or economic analysis of Iceland's case but concentrates on the period in the spring of 1958 when the decision was taken to claim a fishing zone. The thesis is that neither public opinion in Iceland nor direct pressure from "interest groups" (associations of fish processors, fishermen, trawler and small-boat owners) were instrumental in either the timing or the terms of the establishment of Iceland's fishing zones. Public opinion was "inchoate and malleable", and interest groups set "no clear-cut demands". In these circumstances, the decision "was devised by the explicitly political sectors of the Icelandic social system—by leaders of the coalition parties and by officials in the administration" (p. 50). The author's discussion of the special features of the Icelandic government at this critical time and the internal working of the multi-party system (involving a coalition of the Progressive, Social Democratic, and Communist Parties) leads him to conclude that "Iceland's decision to extend its fisheries limits reveals policy initiative located almost entirely in the specialized political sphere, particularly among parties in the Government and among certain administrative officials" (p. 100). The author's chapter entitled "Political Parties" demonstrates this conclusion more substantially than his chapter "Administrative Officials", where the discussion does not present compelling evidence of the important policy role of officials; this, however, may be due in part to the difficulty of obtaining information about the role of officials in the making of decisions. In any event, a broader survey of the role of officials would be needed to substantiate the author's conclusions.

Although there would seem to be some inconsistency in the idea of a government taking bold action on a matter on which, at the time, public opinion was neither formed nor aroused, the author nevertheless presents impressive evidence of the existence of this situation. One wonders, however, to what extent it is always possible to determine the strength of public opinion on the basis of how actively it is expressed. Its depth may be considerable although not articulated by the press or by particular groups. One is not startled by the author's conclusion that "the details of policy were not matters of deep public sentiment"; one would be surprised if the opposite were true. The author himself

seems to suggest that the Icelandic public sensed that the well-being of the whole population depended on the prosperity of the fishing industry. This would seem in itself to suggest that the government, in playing an active role, must have done so in the certain knowledge that the public wanted and would fully support action designed to strengthen the economic foundations of the fishing industry.

In analyzing the various elements of the complex political situation in which the Icelandic government took its decision to establish a twelve-mile fishing zone, the author pays particular attention to various forces and elements which came into play. Perhaps a further insight into his conclusion that "policy initiative" was "located almost entirely in the specialized political sphere" would have been added by a more thorough discussion of the economic aspects of the problem. While several references are made to government statements about over-fishing, it is possible that an examination of the economic foundations of Iceland's action and of Iceland's concern that its fishing resources were being over-exploited would have added a further element in helping to evaluate the factors leading to the active role played by the political sector, in the absence of a concerted demand from the public and interest groups.

What is perhaps more surprising than the relatively passive role of public opinion is the author's conclusion that the "interest groups" did not play a major part in the process of making decisions. He shows that this was at least partly due to the conflicting concerns of different fishing interests. The trawler owners' attitude towards a twelve-mile fishing limit was influenced by the possibility that the government would forbid not only foreign but Icelandic trawlers to operate inside the new fishing limits. For different reasons the fish processing and marketing organizations did not consider it in their interests to play an active part in this issue.

The author's discussion of this matter provides some interesting comparisons with the situation in which the Canadian government decided to establish a twelve-mile fishing limit. In Canada, as in Iceland, the operators of small fishing vessels engaged in inshore operations and settled in coastal fishing communities have called for the establishment of a twelve-mile limit. However, in Canada large trawlers have not, as in Iceland, been able to fish within twelve miles off parts of Canada's east coast for several decades. Foreign trawlers have, therefore, been able to fish within three miles of Canada's coastline while Canadian trawlers have been excluded. The establishment of a twelve-mile limit for foreign trawlers accordingly meets with the interests of the trawler owners as well as those of the small-boat operators. In addition, in Canada, but not in Iceland, the attitude of the fishing industry, including various segments such as fish marketing and fish processing organizations, trawler and small-boat owners and fishermen have been articulated by a nation-wide organization—the Fisheries Council of Canada—which presented a comprehensive brief to the Canadian government on January 28, 1963. In the current discussions on the Bill of the Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones of Canada (S-17) in the House of Commons Standing Committee on Marine and Fisheries, both the

Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Fisheries have explained that in negotiating with various countries affected by Canada's decision to establish straight baselines and a twelve-mile fishing limit, the Government has based itself, broadly speaking, on the brief presented by the Fisheries Council of Canada.

Towards the end of the book the author provides a summary of the 1958 Conference on the Law of the Sea and an appendix is added defining international legal terms. He has succeeded in compressing a great deal of information into a limited number of pages. The discussion is both informative and accurate. One very minor criticism is that the author seems to imply (p. 104) that the concept of a "security zone" was recognized as part of the rule agreed upon at Geneva allowing a state a contiguous zone for customs, economic, immigration, and sanitary purposes. The Geneva Conference did not recognize the concept of a security zone. If a state could exercise jurisdiction for general security in the three-to-twelve-mile zone, as well as for fishing and other purposes, there would be no real legal difference between this situation and the sovereignty provided by a full twelve-mile territorial sea.

In order to appreciate fully the author's purpose in writing this book, it should be understood that he has set out to study and to analyze the making of a particular decision by a particular government. But in so doing, he has had in mind to show that this study might be able to contribute towards our understanding of decision-making in other circumstances where there may be analogous elements. It is the particular virtue of this book that the author has admirably succeeded. He deserves to be congratulated for his valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of how decisions are reached in the political sphere.

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On Wordsworth's Prelude. By HERBERT LINDENBERGER. Princeton: Princeton University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1963. Pp. 316. \$7.50.

Professor Lindenberg has a generous eclecticism that springs, perhaps, from the discipline of comparative literature (which he professes); certainly, he has the gift of illuminating with many lights, and one can enjoy his book as a sensitive and lively synthesis of current critical opinions about Wordsworth. Of course he could have been briefer, but his comparative method requires that tangents have to be pursued, and, thus, what Eliot, Goethe, Proust, Hölderlin (and a hundred others) say or did that is at all relevant to Wordsworth is even over-pursued. But this is not a great price to pay for an interesting estimate.

Indeed, undergraduate readers might better find their way through *The Prelude* by reading Lindenberg rather than Havens or any other extensive commentator. Linden-

berger is helpful, for instance, in his comments on the relation between the public and private voice in the poem. The merits of the private voice have had their due, and the public voice has been surrendered to the hostile. Lindenberger sees that Wordsworth had to achieve a public voice "to create external reality for his private, transcendental world", and that, because Coleridge is the vocative throughout the poem, external reality is not lost; thus the epistolary convention is a means of achieving a sense of audience. Perhaps Lindenberger, in speaking of a "makeshift audience", a mere "handful of devotees", slightly misunderstands Wordsworth's position; these few are enough for Wordsworth. One has to look again at the epistolary convention here; Wordsworth brings to it the speaking voice of a man talking with friends. The momentum of speech rhythms transforms the epistolary.

I like this book because it puts the poem into the centre and reads it with subtlety. Even so, one is not always easy with it. Professor Lindenberger has written elsewhere on the nineteenth-century reception of *The Prelude*, and the book is over-peppered with references to that theme. Again, *Ethos* and *Pathos*, the opposition between the calm and the more violent emotions, seem a promising programme when first brought forward in this discussion, but when Lindenberger applies this pattern to "Tintern Abbey" it clearly is inadequate to explain the tensions of that poem. He has a more interesting treatment of "Tintern Abbey" later in the book when he describes Wordsworth's probing and cautious style with its idiosyncratic backward and forward movement. Even this, however, is more suggestive than final, and fails to come to terms with the poem with, say, the force of Robert Langbaum in *The Poetry of Experience*. True, the subject of Lindenberger's book is the *Prelude* and the earlier poem is used as a wedge to get at the twists and turns of the meditative process in the longer poem; but lack of depth here is disturbing and makes the reader suspicious of the author's larger synthesis.

Ultimately there is too much tidiness in Lindenberger's discussion. There is no evidence that I know of for saying that the Penrith Beacon passage belongs to 1798; 1799 must be the earliest date, from the evidence we have. Sufficient attention is not given to the peculiar perspective provided by the 1804 addition of lines 316-345; a new dimension is given to the described experience of the childhood visit to Penrith Beacon. Lindenberger rightly sees the passage beginning "O mystery of man, from what a depth/Proceed thy honours" as climactic, but he fails to show what gives it its force. For there is a splendid elegiac focus when the mood turns away from the optimistic suggestions that youth's golden gleam and the blessed time of early love remove the melancholy associations of the Beacon. The note of lamentation cuts off the poet's probing towards a confident conclusion (notice the tentative interrogatory phrasing, "And think ye not with radiance more divine . . .?") and dramatically, even tragically, makes the discovery, "I am lost . . . I see by glimpses now." Wordsworth comes to the knowledge that a partial gain is accompanied by an absolute loss. Lindenberger's discussion in terms of what he calls time-consciousness misses this superb intensity whose affinities are clearly with the great Ode,

another poem that is the better understood for accepting its interesting "gothic" accumulations. Wordsworth's art can remind one of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*; the fascination lies in the capacity to avoid resolution. The length of Wordsworth's blank verse poems (always growing longer than he planned) bears witness to his peculiar need to keep the tensions alive, the wounds open.

The University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

R. S. WOOF

Canadian Books

The Norse Atlantic Saga. By GWYN JONES. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1964.
Pp. xiii, 246. \$7.50.

Early Voyages and Northern Approaches. By TRYGGVI J. OLESON. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963. Pp. xii, 212. \$8.50.

Here are two books, each excellent of its kind, treating of the same rather familiar subject and making use of much the same sources yet giving very different pictures.

Gwyn Jones, as befits the Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Wales, begins his book in the style of history as literature. He reviews the little that is known of Pytheas and his Thule, of Ireland in its Christian age of greatness, of the rise of the Vikings, and of the eventual colonization of Iceland. Without neglecting the contributions of historical research and archaeology, he makes his account vivid with the adventures of individuals illustrative of that lively and bloodthirsty period. Throughout this part of the book his prose with its mastery of the unexpected word is a delight. He passes next to the settlement and organization of Iceland, and here historical exposition takes the upper hand. The age of the sagas and the fall of the republic lead on to the colonization of Greenland and its later neglect and sad decline. He summarizes the sagas that deal with Vinland the Good and the historical fragments that touch upon it, and then, by pruning away fanciful and contradictory elements in the tales, he places Leif's settlement near Lance aux Meadows where Ingstad is now excavating a suitable site. He thinks that Thorfinn Karlsefni's settlement was farther up the Strait of Belle Isle. He ends with a review of the other sagas quoted in this book.

Dr. Oleson is Professor of History at the University of Manitoba, and his book begins simply and historically with a summary of the economic conditions in Norway during the Viking period and of the settlements of Iceland and Greenland. He then discusses the probable position of Vinland and comes to the conclusion, seemingly because of the grapes and the "New England" coal, that it was somewhere in New England. He then returns to Greenland and describes the spread of the Greenlanders northward up the

coast and across Davis Strait to the Canadian islands. The Greenlanders of the settlements had no agriculture but farmed live-stock and fed themselves largely upon seals; the northerners, freed by the climate even from the ties of live-stock, found rich possibilities in hunting. White falcons, walrus tusks and hides, eider down, live polar bears and furs were luxury products for the export market, whereas the farmers could offer only butter and a little woollen cloth. There were disadvantages, of course. Boats were a first necessity, and there were no trees except driftwood from Siberia, so it was necessary to limit themselves to skin-covered coracles which were not unfamiliar to them. Iron could be traded, but it was also possible to make tools of stone and bone as many Icelanders still did. The Dorset Eskimo were in nomadic possession of the whole coast, but they were few and ill-armed. Young Greenlanders, no doubt, murdered these "Skrælings" for sport and took their women, for they can rarely have brought farm-women on hunting trips. So half-breed children were brought up to the fur trade and a composite culture, part stone-age, part iron-age, and mingling the religions of both. Through the centuries we see the two extremes, the tall and often blond "Tunnit" and the short dark Inuit, becoming less distinct and at last merging into one people. The fused culture, Norse-Eskimo, became, according to Oleson, the Thule culture of the whale-fishing Eskimo, and this, when Norway's monopoly of the Greenland trade diminished contacts with the outside world, declined into the culture of the maritime Eskimo of recent centuries.

No doubt each of these two authors was entirely unaware of the other's projected work, yet they managed to be consistently in opposing camps when deciding which items of saga and which theories are to be accepted or discarded. Oleson rejects the climatic recession of A.D. 1100, the devastation of Greenland's pastures by cutworms, the physical degeneration of Greenlanders, their extermination by the Eskimo, the *Eirikssaga* with its three voyages to Vinland, and the identification of northern Newfoundland as Vinland, all of which, except perhaps the physical degeneration, are accepted by Jones. In his approval of the theory of climatic recession Jones advances the familiar evidence of increasing ice in the summer seas and of glaciers advancing across Icelandic fields, but he seems to ask too much of that recession when he explains by it the modern absence of wild grapes from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Certainly in Nova Scotia during those centuries snowshoe hares appeared for the first time, caribou displaced deer, oysters and quahogs vanished from most of the South Shore, and the Micmacs ceased to pass their winters by the sea; but we have as yet no evidence of changes of vegetation because of the cold. Both these authors use sketchy material honestly and effectively, and both recognize that the last word must lie with archaeology. But their conclusions are different rather than contradictory.

In their narratives they are in complete agreement until the first settlement of Greenland has been accomplished. The Vinland sagas are a stumbling block and are likely to remain so. For Oleson, Vinland is a side issue, but it is the crown of Jones' narrative, and he goes into it in considerable detail. His identification of the saga landmarks is in

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conformity with most of the scanty evidence. The story of the grapes and the self-sown wheat does not fit, but the Rhode Island coal which was found by Karlsefni's house is now thought, according to Jones, to have come from Europe. It all remains somewhat confusing.

In the question of the northern lands and the Thule culture there is no real conflict between our authors, for Jones pays only scant attention to the Eskimos, blond or dark. Oleson's theory that the Thule culture is a hunting version of Icelandic culture, much as European Neolithic is the backwoods version of the civilized cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, is new to me, though the fact of racial admixture has long been obvious, particularly among the eastern Eskimo. Stefansson had used eider-duck shelters as evidence of the westward spread of the Greenlanders, but now it is pointed out that other novelties—baleen-whaling, traps to catch bears alive, storage pits, iron weapons imitated in bone, the shapes of houses and tents—may all be fitted into the picture as Norse additions to Eskimo culture. It is reasonable enough, though that does not prove its truth. Man reverts readily to a hunting life which is partly instinctive and therefore satisfactory, and the Norse did not have to revert far. The Canadian islands were a great unexploited hunting-ground, but they demanded better clothing, boats, and equipment than those of the Dorset people, and the Norse had these. Recognize this, and the disagreements of our authors over the decline and fall of the Greenland settlements dissolve.

The minute French settlements in Canada in the early seventeenth century were in a parallel position to those of the Greenlanders, except that the Indians were more dangerous. Wealth lay in the fur trade, not in farming, and the youth of the country had to be restrained from taking to the woods. Those who did so commonly had Indian wives and were slack in religious observance. They spread far and tended with time to become absorbed into the Indian tribes and yet to transform these tribes into fur-trapping adjuncts to the French culture. The farming settlements, however, were little affected. An Indian wife, so useful in the woods, did not know the household crafts to make her an asset on a farm, and no male Indian seems ever to have wished to enter the laborious white society. If contacts with Europe had been cut off at that time, the habitants would have kept their religion and culture until the last had been absorbed by the Métis majority. So Jones, keeping his eyes fixed upon the sedentary communities of Greenland, sees them guarding their religion, culture, and racial identity until their disappearance; Oleson, more interested in the wanderers, sees a very different picture. The hunting Greenlanders had created the more effective culture for those conditions, and, according to the Eskimo tale quoted by Jones, the hybrid people had become as warlike as the settled Greenlanders. With or without war, these last must have become assimilated.

Something more may yet come out of this theory of the half-Norse Eskimo. Both our authors treat the Vinland venture as having had no result. But the Atlantic provinces are little known archaeologically. The "Tunnit" or Norse-Eskimo were large, often blond people using the sacred symbol of the hammer or the cross; the Beothucks of Newfound-

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land are said to have been very tall and pale for Indians and to have had an admiration for red hair, while LeClercq says that some Micmacs used the cross as a symbol. These resemblances may be accidental, but we may yet find that visits from timber-hungry Greenlanders to Vinland were commoner than the records suggest.

Both books are well produced and illustrated, with modern maps to guide the reader and with ancient maps to show earlier conceptions. *The Norse Atlantic Saga* has many plates showing the historic sites as they stand today. Both have illustrations of archaeological material, more often Icelandic than Eskimo, and *Early Voyages* also has portraits of several explorers of the Northwest Passage, whose adventures fill the last part of the book.

Wolfville, N. S.

J. S. ERSKINE

The Things Which Are. By ALDEN NOWLAN. Toronto: Contact Press, 1963. Pp. 71. \$2.00.

Jawbreakers. By MILTON ACORN. Toronto: Contact Press, 1963. Pp. 54. \$2.00.

A Friction of Lights. By ELDON GRIER. Toronto: Contact Press, 1963. Pp. 61. \$2.00.

A Shifting Pattern. By PETER MILLER. Toronto: Contact Press, 1962. Pp. 77. \$2.00.

Poems for All the Annettes. By ALFRED PURDY. Toronto: Contact Press, 1963. Pp. 64. \$2.00.

A Local Pride. By RAYMOND SOUSTER. Toronto: Contact Press, 1963. Pp. 130. \$2.00.

Before commenting on these six books of poetry, all published by Contact Press, Toronto, one might be excused for pausing a moment to marvel at the way this small publishing enterprise manages to issue three or four books of Canadian poetry every year. Contact Press and Raymond Souster have been praised elsewhere, and one may only add to the general approbation. Contact Press continues to make touch with both young and established Canadian poets and to provide an excellent outlet for whirling their voices aloft.

In this selection of books the titles are revealing. Alden Nowlan's *The Things Which Are* continue to be, for the most part, the things which were in his earlier books from *The Rose and the Puritan* to *Under the Ice*. True, he moves away at times from the Saint John Valley, but what he writes about reveals the same bleakness of outlook and biting self-consciousness, as in the poem "Disguise", and the same preoccupation with small matters on the local level. There are in this book, however, significant signs that this poet is attempting to break away from the impetus that has made him write many poems, including some fine ones, about very local things. In poems such as "In

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Peace" and "Psalm", for example, Nowlan is searching, profoundly and humbly, and he seems to be a poet in transition. He is probably still at heart in Hartland, but he is beginning to see angels where once there were broken-down farmers. One may take a chance here and speculate that they might be angels *à la* Stanley Spencer. I take this to indicate that Nowlan is enlarging his canvas, and if he finds God in his backyard or on "a lawn where sparrows pluck and eat / the winterberry tree", this will be a blessing, indeed. Nowlan is moving out and wider, and he can dance: "Dance, dance, thus, thus, whole and happy. . . ."

Milton Acorn's *Jawbreakers* is a little hard on the ear as well as the jaw. Acorn is something of a platform poet who is going to tell you what is happening on stage or off. Take the beginning of the poem "Ordinary Story"—"What maddens me? Listen:" and he tells you. In other poems he is quickly, surprisingly, incisive, as in "Only a Recession":

After hunger
two days long,
sitting happy before
a plate of beans,

I deliberately slit
each kernel with
my incisors,

let my tongue run
twitching with joy
across the texture
of the meat.

Incisive, bitter, but brilliant understatement. Acorn can be tender, but for the most part he paints a hard map of a hard world, a world not right for poets. He ranges wide, is coolly versatile, filled with the poet's worries, and he writes with a thick wrist blest with sensitive fingers. "Lumumba Arrested", "Poem with Fat Cats in the Background", "View from a Time Machine"—these poems, along with the personal "On St. Urbaine Street", suggest his celebrations, his concerns, his dedications.

Eldon Grier is a well-regarded painter. His book *A Friction of Lights* confirms that painters can be poets, good poets. In these six books I was hoping for at least one long poem. Mr. Grier, perhaps because he has one good reputation and nothing to lose, has provided it. Except for its rather vacuous title, "An Ecstasy", this poem seldom falters through its twenty-one parts. Its very directness is a pleasant change:

"Now the first condition is comfort;
and none of the gods could survive
this first condition.

Man must be prodigious, magical and just—"

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The book jacket of Mr. Grier's book includes the following pronouncement by the painter-poet: ". . . in its present state painting is rather functional and passive: it can only make the most general nod in the direction of meaning. Poetry on the other hand can never hope to escape the *onus* of meaning . . ." Why "onus"? This observation would provide fuel for several nights of debate. It is, one might dare to say, illuminating that this painter has chosen as the title for his book of poems *A Friction of Lights*. No debate now. This is an intriguing book worth reading not only for the painter-poet relationship but for the poems themselves. Here is a friction.

Peter Miller's *A Shifting Pattern* contains poems of home and abroad. Miller's poetry possesses a sophistication and range of feeling not to be found in Nowlan, Acorn, or Grier. He writes in a very personal way about such a home-front phenomenon as the *Grey Cup Parade* with wit, feeling, acceptance, and wonder. These qualities he brings to his poems from abroad and builds them rich with detail. They are surely sketched, filled with deft portraits, witty, observant, civilized. I particularly liked "Director" from a series called "Italian Sketches": "He is seventy-five years old / and was born with his hat on. / At his desk or by the fountain / he removes it only for a courtesy," / etc. *A Shifting Pattern* is Peter Miller's third book published by Contact Press. This collection does constitute a shifting pattern that for this reviewer is fresh and exciting and well worth examining with eye and ear. Words mean something to Miller, and there is no higher praise.

Alfred Purdy and Raymond Souster have published widely and are beginning to receive longer reviews in the literary journals and more detailed critical attention. *Poems for All the Annettes* is typical Purdy. These poems are urbane, sometimes tending to a kind of journalistic trickery or opportunism (more prose than poetry), and as if to prove something they cover a wide range of subject from "On Canadian Identity" to "For Norma in Lieu of an Orgasm". Irving Layton claims to have introduced sex to Canada and to have discovered the buttocks. Well, Mr. Purdy tends to cry out like the startled stag also. There is a kind of strident bravado about most of the poems in this book, or perhaps it is a kind of sickness. Mr. Purdy likes to pound the table, tell off the waiter, grab the girls, and perhaps pick up the tab. Mr. Purdy is just not my kind of poet, clever, adroit, and prolific though he is.

Raymond Souster is the senior poet here. He has been selected and collected, and perhaps this kind of recognition should have come later. In *A Local Pride* there is page after page of the same clever, tightly-knit, sad poems we have been reading for years. I could not help feeling that this fine poet was trapped in his own concern for the so-called "common man and common experience". Is there the common man? Is there the common experience? In straight talk, but formal, Souster follows the old "colloquial line". His local habitation is the hard pavement of Toronto where war veterans, whores, football players, kids (not children), old men, and drunks still make their solemn parade before him. Souster has been at this for years and I, for one, would like to see him break

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away from his short, well-written miniatures, from his window watching, into something like Williams' *The Desert Music* or *Journey to Love*. To hope for this from Souster is realistic despite the fact that the present poems possess a deadly sameness, a flatness, a lack of music and passion. Souster uses the following quotation from William Carlos Williams to entitle his book: "a local pride; spring, summer, fall and the sea; / a confession; a basket; a column . . . a gathering up; / a celebration." To follow this quotation to its conclusion, to celebrate a bit, to burst forth, would be something this Souster admirer would like to hear. You do not tell a poet, but one can hope for something like this from Mr. Souster, poet.

Massey College, University of Toronto

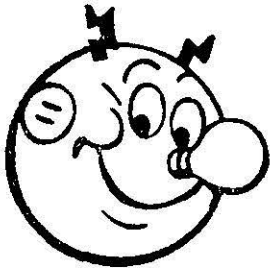
DOUGLAS LOCHHEAD

A Protest Movement Becalmed: A Study of Change in the CCF. By LEO ZAKUTA. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964. Pp. viii, 204. \$5.95.

Professor Zakuta's book, the first in the series Canadian Studies in Sociology, deals with the institutionalization of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation between its founding in 1932 and its incorporation into the New Democratic Party in 1961. Two general points are worth making about the volume. First, it is free from the jargon which often frightens the lay reader away from sociological treatises. Secondly, it relies heavily on excerpts from the records of the Ontario section of the CCF, to which the author had complete freedom of access and which contribute immeasurably to the value of his work. Even though they would probably be less rewarding than those of the CCF, it is unfortunate that the officials of the old-line parties are much more reluctant to give social scientists access to their records.

According to Professor Zakuta, three sweeping internal changes reflected the shift of the CCF from protest movement to conventional political party. In ideology, it showed increasingly less hostility to the existing social order and modified substantially its proposals to change that order. In structure, it enjoyed a large increase in membership and developed a more formal and uniform organization with more professional leadership at the same time that its informal organization was becoming less cohesive. In motivation, it experienced a change from sectarian to more worldly incentives, and particularly a desire for quick success at the polls.

These conclusions seem reasonable and are, in all likelihood, essentially true. But the reader may be a little uneasy that the factual evidence upon which they are based is drawn almost entirely from an examination of the Ontario section of the CCF, and often a part of it at that. The chief weakness of the book lies in this making of generalizations about the CCF as a whole from the experience of a limited, albeit important, section of the party.



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The reader may also wonder whether the CCF was entitled to the designation of "major party" between 1942 and 1949 or, for that matter, at any time. This is, of course, only a matter of definition, but it assumes some importance in the final chapter in which the author shows how the CCF was distinctive. To that end he applies the model of the major European socialist parties to the CCF. These parties followed a sequence of protest movement—minor party—major party, took on a worldly character in the process, and were carried into at least second place among the parties in their respective countries. In contrast, Professor Zakuta finds that, although the CCF experienced a similar change in character, it failed to attain second place and, instead, passed through a sequence of protest movement—major party—minor party.

If, as suggested earlier, the CCF never attained the status of a major party, perhaps it was not twisted out of the normal pattern quite as much as the author intimates. Be that as it may, he does demonstrate successfully that the CCF was atypical in a more fundamental respect: although it ended up by being no more than a minor party, it assumed and maintained the worldly character of socialist parties which had assumed major-party status. If it had behaved normally, it would either have become a major party or reverted to a protest movement with the appropriate sectarian ideology. What was the reason for this abnormality? Professor Zakuta suggests that the post-war world was so kind to many members of the CCF that their personal involvement in it was far less than that of the zealots who were its founders. It is doubtful, however, if he adduces sufficient statistical or other evidence to make this anything more than a hypothesis. The use of models sometimes results in over-elaborate analysis when a simple explanation would suffice, but in this instance it apparently leads the author to ask the right question; further evidence is needed to substantiate his answer.

Despite a few minor reservations, the reviewer found the book stimulating and of real merit.

Dalhousie University

J. M. BECK

Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871. By COLONEL C. P. STACEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963. Pp. xiv, 293. \$5.50.

All students of Canadian history will be grateful that the Royal Commonwealth Society and the University of Toronto Press have brought out a second edition of Colonel Stacey's *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871*. The publisher's stock of the first edition was destroyed in the London blitz of 1940, but a continuing demand justified a second printing. It is easy to see why, for few books have worn so well after nearly thirty years. Careful and comprehensive research that is scrupulously documented has been transmuted into simple, lucid prose that is unpretentious and pleasant to read.



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As its title suggests, *Canada and the British Army* is not so much military history as Canadian history written from a military point of view. As such it fills a great need, for because Canada has always been overwhelmingly civilian in outlook, too little attention has been paid to the influence of military factors on Canadian life. Our historians have tended to chronicle our major battles (not always too knowingly or accurately) and have then hurried on to the more congenial task of writing about constitutional reform, railway building, and Commonwealth relations. Yet no matter how much it may be regretted, it remains true that military matters have always played an important, and often a decisive, part in Canadian development.

Colonel Stacey's book deals in detail with the period between the granting of responsible government in 1846 and the withdrawal of the British garrisons in 1871, but it also traces adequately and with perspicacity the roots of colonial military policy before Lord Elgin's arrival. A British reaction against the imperial system set in after the American Revolutionary War and lasted for nearly a century; during that time an articulate section of the British Parliament and public rejected the colonies as a needless expense to the Mother Country and as an unprofitable hazard in foreign affairs. Another factor that worked against a purely rational military policy was the legacy of facile confidence, combined—rather illogically—with too great a reliance upon Britain, that developed from the War of 1812. Most important of all, however, was the simple fact that Canadian defence consistently cost the British taxpayers a great deal of money. The citadels at Quebec and Halifax, the works at Kingston and Isle aux Noix, and the Rideau Canal system were the major items of expenditure, but the mere upkeep and exchange of the garrisons was also a constant drain on the exchequer. English radicals continually questioned the justification for these defence costs, while Canadian radicals who attacked the imperial connection conveniently ignored them.

As the colonies enjoyed more and more economic and political autonomy, British ministers were able to demand, very reasonably, that the colonies bear a larger share of the burden of their own defence. Yet each time this was suggested, the colonists found good reasons for declining. Had it not been for recurring tensions with the United States—filibustering raids in 1837, trouble with the Irish Republican Union in 1848, the "Annexationist Manifests" of 1849, the American Civil War, and the Fenian menace—it is probable that British troops would have been withdrawn long before they were. As it was, the quite justifiable fear of American ambitions prevented any serious reduction of British military strength in Canada for any considerable period of time.

The Crimean War, which necessitated the temporary withdrawal of most British troops from Canada, resulted in the raising of the Canadian Volunteer Force. Colonel Stacey devotes a fascinating chapter to this, in which he traces the growth of Canadian sentiment for imperial defence from its first slight stirrings in the years 1854-1860. That sentiment was to reach its full flowering with the South African War and the First World War, and was still important in 1939, but in the middle of the nineteenth century many

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Canadian politicians fiercely opposed even the most modest Canadian military expenditure.

Colonel Stacey gives careful consideration to the effects of the American Civil War and the Fenian Raids on Canadian defence policies and to the pressures these policies exerted on other aspects of Canadian life. Perhaps, though, the most interesting part of the book is that in which the author cogently argues that the final withdrawal of the British garrisons from Canada had an effect almost exactly contrary to what had been expected. Instead of weakening the ties with Britain, Cardwell's calling back of the legions, by redressing the one real grievance of the British taxpayer, actually helped to revive imperial enthusiasm in England. This is a bold and original view, and Colonel Stacey is careful to indicate the other factors which contributed to the result; but here, as elsewhere, he is extremely convincing.

The new responsibilities for her own defence which Canada reluctantly accepted in 1871 were to bear fruit some forty-odd years later when, for the first time, Canada raised a large expeditionary force to fight in one of the Empire's wars. Between 1914 and 1918 the debt to Britain, who had for so long afforded her protection to the growing colonies in North America, was generously repaid.

This second edition of *Canada and the British Army 1846-1871* contains a useful bibliography, chiefly composed of books and articles which were published after 1936, when the first edition appeared. A section of Notes at the back of the book has also been added to amplify or improve certain passages in the text. It should not occasion any surprise if this second edition is not the last, since for a long time to come *Canada and the British Army 1846-1871* is likely to remain the definitive work on the subject.

Historical Section, Canadian Army

D. J. GOODSPEED

Upper Canada: the Formative Years, 1784-1841. By GERALD M. CRAIG. The Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963. Pp. xiv, 315. Maps, illustrations. \$8.50.

In this first published volume of the Canadian Centenary series, Professor Craig surveys the troubled years of Upper Canada's birth and early development. The tone is dispassionate, the presentation judicious, the scholarship immense. He treads an informed path through a landscape which hitherto has been peopled almost exclusively by heroes and villains. For the absence of these stereotypes from his account one is particularly grateful.

Long ago Eileen Dunham wrote that the infant settlement of Upper Canada, lying adjacent to the United States and yet a British province, formed a battleground upon which were fought out conflicting ideas of government, religion, education, and society in general. The tensions created by British attachment and American proximity were the warp and woof of the Upper Canadian fabric, upon which the heterogeneous population and the special conditions of pioneer life wove a particular pattern of their own.

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In this setting rival ideas and practices contended for ascendancy. Simcoe and many others after him were fervently attached to the British connection, as one might expect of a colony founded largely by Loyalists. They also had the goal of a well-ordered society in which a gentlemanly aristocracy (of merit rather than of birth) would have the preponderant influence, in contrast to the levelling and egalitarian tendencies of American republicanism. They favoured a strongly established state Church, in contrast to the American principle of separation of the two. Along with these objectives, the Family Compact had forward-looking policies for the economic development of the Province, as manifested in their promotion of land-settlement companies, banks, and canal building.

Many of the Reformers, on the other hand, became increasingly attracted by American political ideas and practices, particularly the Jacksonian principle of popular election for numerous public offices. This last seemed to the radical Reformers to be the most effective way of breaking the power and privilege of the Compact, and, incidentally, of giving new status and power to democratic politicians like themselves who could manipulate the popular will. In land-granting, education, relations of Church and state, and in many other ways, the American example was constantly extolled. Towards the economic projects of the Compact, radicals such as Mackenzie often entertained a parochial and suspicious attitude which reflected the conservatism of the backwoods regions for which they spoke. At the same time they continually inveighed against the apathy and stagnation which they said existed on the Canadian side of the border, as compared with the initiative and progress which allegedly prevailed on the other side.

Neither of the opposed factions had a clear victory. The outcome was something that neither side would have wholly appreciated. Upper Canada remained strongly British, but perhaps not in the way that Simcoe would have liked. It retained the British system of government, along with the appointive principle as opposed to the American elective one, but with results that neither the Tory Loyalists nor the radical Reformers would have expected. It adopted the system of voluntary churches and popular education, as well as other American practices, but in ways that were peculiarly its own. In its economic development public enterprise continued to play a large part, in contrast to the American preoccupation with private enterprise.

In the process of working out these compromises much of the character of Ontario was formed. Even after making allowances for the vastly altered context, it is remarkable how similar the contentious issues of these early years are to the current debate over Canadian-American relations, or what one recent writer has termed the "Canadian quandary". Our Upper-Canadian ancestors lived through much of it long ago.

To the "greate debate" of these early years Professor Craig contributes no new interpretation. His contribution is the immensely more valuable one of shedding detailed light upon such complex matters as settlement and land policy, the "Alien" question, religion and education, and economic growth, to name only a few of the topics treated. The clarification of these matters, and the precise delineation of the positions taken on them

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BRANCHES ACROSS CANADA

by the various antagonists, are likely to give most readers an entirely new understanding of the period. There are splendid analyses of the ideas of Strachan and other members of the "Family Compact", and of those of such representatives of the opposite camp as Gourlay and Mackenzie. One could wish for more of this "intellectual history", for the author handles it sympathetically but critically, and without taking sides. He retains his low-keyed tone even when dealing with Sir Francis Bond Head, surely a testimony to his restraint!

The book contains an exhaustive bibliography which enhances still further its great value.

University of New Brunswick

LOVELL C. CLARK

Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819-35. Edited by K. G. DAVIES, assisted by A. M. JOHNSON. Introduction by GLYNDWR WILLIAMS. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963. Pp. lxxix, 415.

This volume has an appeal to the general reader which is not present in and cannot be fairly demanded of all the preceding members of this series. It has the advantage of dealing with an otherwise little-known phase of Canadian discovery made in that era of quickened intelligence, the early nineteenth century, and is enriched by editorial comment and explanation which is particularly helpful and illuminating.

The northern half of the Province of Quebec was one of the first regions to be sighted by the pioneers of exploration and the Fur Trade, and one of the last to receive their systematic attention. Aiming at the Western Sea and the passage to China, the adventurers passed it by, and it was not until they had fully tested the resources of the Pacific region that they re-directed their attention to the area north of the St. Lawrence settlements and east of Hudson's Bay, which those of us whose schooling dates back to the dawn of this century still recall as the District of Ungava.

In 1819-20 James Clouston, an Orkney schoolmaster who had entered the Company's employ, was commissioned to make explorations in the hinterland of Rupert House. He made his way with two white companions and Indian guides east to Lake Nichicun and then north to the lower Kaniapiskau River, which he descended to the point where it joins the Larch and becomes the Koksoak River, not far above the tidewater of Ungava Bay. Desirous of setting up a post at this place, Governor Simpson appointed the surgeon William Hendry to find an easier way of approach from James Bay. In 1828 Hendry went up the east shore of Hudson's Bay, turned inland at Richmond Gulf, and crossing Clearwater Lake and the height of land, descended the Larch and Koksoak Rivers to Ungava Bay. Two years later Nicol Finlayson conducted a party by this route and established the post of Fort Chimo. In 1834 his second-in-command, Erland Erlandson (a

Danish carpenter who had been prisoner-of-war to the British and on release had joined the Company's service) undertook to journey through the heart of the unknown from Chimo to Mingan on the St. Lawrence Gulf, but, misdirected by his guides, turned east from Lake Petitsikapau and ended his journey at Lake Melville, a tidal extension of Hamilton Inlet. The post of Fort Nascopie later set up by Erlandson on Lake Attikamagen makes him the pioneer of the modern community of Schefferville.

The labours of Clouston, Hendry, Finlayson, and Erlandson were ill-rewarded in a commercial sense: the establishment at Chimo proved unprofitable and was abandoned in 1843. Company trade did benefit from the penetration to the central plateau and from the post at Nascopie, but historically the real achievement of its agents was their survey, comprehensive if incomplete, of the natural features, wild-life, and inhabitants of northern Quebec. Their journals and correspondence make up the core of this book. But in addition it contains two admirable appendices, one dealing with the history of various posts in the region, and the other furnishing biographies of the four men above-noted, and of the half-breed, George Atkinson, who acted as guide and interpreter to Hendry. Best of all is Dr. Glyndwr Williams' *Introduction*, which provides an orderly and lucid history of the region from earliest times to the abandonment of Fort Chimo. The pocket map at the back is perfect in its kind: it meets all the reader's needs with no confusing superfluity.

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