

Book Reviews

Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps. By R. E. RASHLEY. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958. Pp. xvii, 166. \$4.50.

Readers predisposed to find little to fascinate them in books on Canadian literature might do well to pass over Mr. Rashley's Introduction, with its stiff uneasy preliminaries about aims and principles, groups and phases and steps, historical importance, sociological interest, qualitative judgments and so on. Taken as a whole, *Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps* is far from being merely cautious, laboured, and pedantic, but is on the contrary lively and bold: it is a fresh re-examination of Canadian poetry from its beginnings to the present day which makes a useful contribution to our understanding of its growth, especially during the nineteenth century. Beginning his study in the 1830's, Mr. Rashley focusses directly on the poetry itself and its developing characteristics, a procedure which illuminates the nature of that poetry while it yields an interesting and coherent if not always convincing historical pattern.

The "three steps" of Canadian poetry are distinguished as "pioneer poetry" (the beginning of indigenous verse), poetry of the 1860's group, and (less plausibly, as we shall see) poetry of the "thirties group" of the twentieth century. The immigrant poet, in whose work the first step had not yet been taken, brought with him his own mental and spiritual furniture; his new home was alien to him: his first reaction was not constructive thinking but the dissolution of his baggage of ideas, manners, and customs. He saw the North American forests as "primaeval," and the word marks him off as a stranger for whom what is normal is old and rich in human associations with nature. After the first shock of contact and the emotional releases it occasioned (poems of diversion, regret, nostalgia, insecurity), the immigrant soon lapsed into silence. Pioneer poetry is different: it represents the first step taken in the growth of indigenous verse. It appears at a point of rest after the first settlement has been accomplished, expresses a consciousness of a past in the new world, and attempts to assess what has been achieved and what is worthy of preservation. An effort at communal self-knowledge is evident. Hence the "survey-type" poems such as Goldsmith's *The Rising Village*, Howe's *Acadia*, Kirby's *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada*. The governing archetype or symbol in this poetry is the settler in the centre of his clearing, man struggling to extend outwards upon his environment the reason and

order he finds within himself (a pose reflecting his still untroubled possession of the nineteenth-century verities). Later "pioneer poets" such as Mair, Crawford, and Sangster can be seen attempting to make an organization of their social, intellectual, and religious life comparable to the prior environmental organization. The settler in the centre of his clearing is still the symbol, but its significance is enriched with national or other more general implications. However, for both early and later pioneer poets, almost as much as for the immigrant writers, the environment remained "external." "Externality" is the result of the poet's failure to transmute the physical world into the world of idea, partly a failure of style and partly of idea. Herein lies the explanation for the derivative and imitative quality of pioneering poetry: since the immigrant's world of idea and the language which is its vehicle were formulated elsewhere, he was handicapped in dealing with his experience in the new country, and only time and familiarity could allow the inner growth necessary to his writing. But he was to be prevented by that material success which soon destroyed the primary symbol of the settler in his clearing; at a time when evolutionary ideas abroad were displacing man from the centre of the universe, the growing commercial-industrial urban civilization in Canada was confronting men with a new set of circumstances and new relationships with nature and society.

In Carman, Lampman, and D. C. Scott, pre-eminent among the poets of the 1860's group, the environment was no longer merely physical and external; it became spiritual substance: the "second step" was taken in their work. The symbol of man as an organizing, informing principle in nature had given way, leaving later poets to use different ideas and techniques to explore their experience in the new world. The most important difference from the preceding poetry was the withdrawal of man from the scene as an organizing centre to become a recorder of experience. While the pioneer poets had typically been concerned with the survey of the communal accomplishments and qualities of their society, the sixties poets turned instead to introspective study of the individual in relation to nature. The change went hand in hand with the rejection by the sixties poets of the materialism of the commercial-industrial urban civilization newly emerging through the struggles of the pioneers. In their poetry the clash between religion and science, coming to its height in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was reconciled in a philosophy of nature which gave man a place in the evolutionary pattern, and which helped them to see their environment, not as mere "externality" to be feared or conquered, but as also within themselves, or as a mirror in which they could see themselves in new perspectives. The nature poetry of the group of the 1860's is after all, then, not a romantic escape (palely imitating the English tradition) but the reaching after self-knowledge, knowledge not of nature but of human nature as it was revealed in the light of the evolutionary concept of life and the new adjustments being made to the Canadian environment.

The "third step" came in the twentieth century. The processes of commercial-industrial urban civilization were now distancing men from the natural environment. The urbanization of life proceeded rapidly enough to make contact with nature seem sometimes

more like an excursion than a way of life, and twentieth-century wars and depressions discouraged naïve faith in nature or in human nature. The social and political organization of society, the man-made world, loomed steadily larger, and poets increasingly concerned themselves with the "theme of humanity." Hence the poetry of Pratt, Finch, the Montreal poets, and the poets who came to maturity in the thirties and forties, in which Marxist, Christian, and humanist conceptions were variously applied to the problems of man, his work, and the destiny of his civilization. The "third step" has been taken, and now the fourth lies ahead.

Mr. Rashley's study is a good deal less arid, more inductive, and more freighted with literary insights than such a cursory summary would indicate. But a main part of the book's achievement lies in this ambitious historical pattern, its endeavour to account for the qualities of Canadian poetry in terms of a developing native tradition, and not merely with reference to English and American influences. The method has its obvious dangers. Can the differences between the pioneer's "external" handling of nature and the sixties poet's absorption of nature into his world of idea, it will be asked, not be seen merely as a belated shift from neo-classicism to romanticism, from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth, from public to private poetry? Or, can we treat the nature philosophy of Canadian poets quite so seriously, or so independently of nineteenth-century romanticism and transcendentalism elsewhere? But Mr. Rashley's argument is that for Canadian poets, as for all poets, imitation is a seizing of what their own experience shows them they need; and his case is a strong one. A more serious problem in the book is its treatment of the "thirties group" and after. The conception of "group" itself becomes a little tenuous when we are asked to keep in mind such disparate poets as Pratt, Knister, Klein, Finch, and Livesay; and the book scarcely carries conviction by heaping up a series of thumb-nail sketches of these and other younger poets with reference to their "reading of life"—a discourtesy Mr. Rashley carefully avoids in dealing with often less significant writers of the nineteenth century.

The discussion of nineteenth-century poetry, however, is carried on with insight and an attempt at balance between ideas and technique. While it by no means suggests that a radical reevaluation of that poetry is necessary, it does succeed in showing the existence of a tradition in poetry more coherent and more relevant both intellectually and formally to Canadian life than has usually been suspected. For this Mr. Rashley will be excused the too frequent occasions when his machinery of groups, steps and stages, modifications, transitional figures and so on seems to run away with him, and when, especially in the latest "step", the analysis of poetry turns sketchily and superficially to content and ignores form. Mr. Rashley has proved the fruitfulness of his working hypothesis, and *Poetry in Canada* is likely to be useful and stimulating to those who care to test it further in their reading of Canadian poetry.

The North West Company. By MARJORIE WILKINS CAMPBELL. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1957. Pp. xiv, 295. \$5.00.

In this volume the author has tackled a job which has long needed doing, a history of the North West Company and of the men who made and dominated that remarkable organization. Mrs. Campbell has achieved, it seems to this reviewer, a considerable measure of success, and her book may not only be read with interest but may be used by students as a complement of and supplement to the work of Davidson and Wallace.

The merits of the book extend beyond the compilation of old and new material. It catches something of the extraordinary scope of ambition and range of daring of the McTavishes and the McGillivrays. These great entrepreneurs emerge at last as something more than surnames following conventional adjectives and repetitious given names. This too is a gain for historical scholarship.

Mrs. Campbell, however, had a wider purpose in her research and writing. The book is a vindication of the North West Company. In the judgment of this reviewer, the purpose was mistaken and injudicious, and has impaired the value of the book. No student of Canadian history now, surely, needs to become involved in the old, unhappy conflict of the North West and Hudson's Bay Company. Certainly to do so is to forego objectivity and injure one's scholarship. Mrs. Campbell minimizes the use of violence and of liquor by the Nor'Westers and is uniformly unsympathetic with the claims, pretensions, and difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company. Her presentation of the purposes and character of Selkirk is most controversial and will certainly provoke bitter feelings in the Red River Valley. It must in fairness be said that this part of *The North West Company* points up the need for an extended study of the personality and work of Selkirk to supplement the late Chester Martin's still admirable initial survey. But it is impossible to believe that he was merely a feverish madman.

For the same reason, a partiality for the Nor'Westers, Mrs. Campbell's account of the harrying of the colony in 1815 quite omits the use of intimidation and bribery by Duncan Cameron. Nor is the collision at Seven Oaks correctly presented; the *mêris* were inflamed and used by the Nor'Westers, and it is not just to represent them as being moved solely by their own concerns as natives of the soil. And in the sequel, it is ironical to speak of the hundred de Meurons as "an army" and to refer to the Hudson's Bay Company men at the affair of Grand Rapids in 1819 as "bullies." It was, after all, the Nor'Westers who systematically used bullies in the trade, and who at Grand Rapids received the treatment they had meted out to their opponents.

It will not do, however, to correct one partiality by resorting to another. The truth is surely that the conflicts of the Nor'Westers accustomed them to the use of liquor and of violence and to the stripping of the country of furs. These tactics they used against the H.B.C. until that mild and ponderous corporation was stung to retaliation. The alternate result, mercifully, was union and monopoly, under which violence, the use of liquor, and the depletion of the fur resources of the country were minimized.

Since the volume will presumably be reprinted, it may be helpful to call attention to the following points. On p. 5, the old error is repeated that only Kelsey and Henday had been sent inland by the H.B.C. before 1763. A. S. Morton destroyed this belief twenty years ago. On p. 124, Duncan McTavish is mentioned when the context makes it clear that Duncan McGillivray was meant. On p. 205, "seisin" is incorrectly defined; it is merely a legal term meaning "possession" and has nothing to do with "seizing." On p. 215, the second Cuthbert Grant is not identified, and his age, which was twenty-three, is erroneously given as nineteen. On p. 217, it is asserted that the *métis* fired the first shot at Seven Oaks, when actually the matter is in doubt. On p. 224, the settlers who went to Canada in 1815 are referred to as going in 1816. On p. 232, the murder of Owen Keveny is misrepresented; his murderer, the de Meuron, Reinhard, had never been in Selkirk's employ.

University of Manitoba

W. L. MORTON

Our Living Tradition: Seven Canadians. Ed. by CLAUDE T. BISSELL. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. x, 149. \$3.50.

The experienced reader is wary of superlatives. It is only too easy to damn with loud praise. Yet it may be ventured that *Our Living Tradition* is a book somewhat beyond the common. Scarcely anything comparable has appeared in this country since W. E. Collin published *The White Savannahs* twenty-two years ago.

The book contains seven essays, originally prepared and delivered as public lectures at Carleton University and printed with but slight changes, and a fitting introduction by Dr. C. T. Bissell. The seven essays deal with seven Canadians of the past, of whom three were politicians, three were writers, and one, Goldwin Smith, was a little of both.

Of the three politicians, two were successful and the third a relative failure. Macdonald and Laurier enjoyed brilliant public careers. Yet we see from these studies how relative and illusory success and failure really are. Macdonald made the Canadian nation, and his concept of our nationhood, as interpreted by Professor D. G. Creighton, did become a reality:

Macdonald . . . believed in the possibility of a strong, diversified and integrated national economy in Canada. His hopes were based partly upon the known and varied resources of the original eastern and central provinces and also—much more importantly—upon the enormous potential productive capacity of the Northwest. (p. 56)

This has so far come to pass. Nevertheless, we in our day are still conscious of the dangers to our nationhood which Macdonald foresaw, and we can at least suspect that we have aggravated those dangers by abandoning a part of the policy which he followed. Edward Blake, on the other hand, was a political failure, but his policies became in large measure the policies of the Liberal Party, though he himself achieved no higher place than that of Leader of the Opposition, and spent his last years in obscurity.

Of the three writers, Stephen Leacock was successful financially, Archibald Lampman artistically. That is to say, Leacock wrote prolifically and made a lot of money; Lampman, though he wrote little and died young, lived in the secure and genteel poverty of a minor civil servant, enjoyed his leisure, married happily, and left behind him a small but permanently respected body of verse. Frederick Philip Grove, on the contrary, was frustrated at almost every turn of his life, both economically and artistically. The work that Grove left behind is evidence of a powerful potentiality that failed to reach full fruition. The usual explanation of this is that Grove's novels were published too late in his life; he could not profit by the fructifying interplay of minds, as between author and public, by which writers are brought to maturity. But we see that Grove had the defects of his qualities; there was in him a dour northern individualism that might well have rendered fruitless—even if he had had it—the experience that was in fact denied him.

Goldwin Smith's career has a special relationship to his age and to ours. He is interpreted by Professor Malcolm Ross as the intellectually displaced person, the *déraciné*. Religiously, he had been stripped of Christian faith, but he retained a good deal of Christian morality. The result was the peculiar inner loneliness and inner contradiction characteristic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In that sense, Goldwin Smith is the most living of these seven figures from our national tradition.

In a book of this kind, the foremost problem is unity. Here are seven authors dealing with seven subjects. Although each subject has something in common with at least one other, there is nothing that is common to all seven, except that they were all Canadian and that all are dead. Even their mutual Canadianism is qualified, since two of them—Smith and Grove—were born in Europe, came to Canada as adults, and never ceased to bear some marks of their European origin. The unity must come from something deeper than, or at least different from, any similarity of subject-matter.

The unity of these essays arises, it may be suggested, from one quality which they all exhibit—namely, from the skill with which each author uses the limitations of his form instead of being hampered by them. These were lectures, for oral delivery. That fact limits their length, suggests a certain style, and provides a surface resemblance in scale and tone. But there is more than that. Each author has not only accepted the conditions, but has gained concision, concentration, and emphasis as a result. It is this common skill in transcending the limits of the form that gives to the book its unity of effect.

Some pitfalls there are. One wonders, for example, if Professor Munro Beattie really meant to set up the dilemma created by his treatment of Archibald Lampman. After placing Lampman very high among Canadian poets, he insists that Lampman's genuine poetry dealt only with the surfaces of things, being "a sensuous or nervous response to mood and phenomena." (p. 80) This seems logically to suggest one of two deductions: either Canadian poetry is a limited and inferior article, or else poetry by its nature is limited to the treatment of surface impressions. On the other hand, Professor Beattie's comments on the relation between Lampman's inner life as poet and his outer life as civil

servant and as citizen of Ottawa are so lucid and convincing as to place every reader in his debt.

Indeed, it is with a sense of indebtedness that this book may be laid down—indebtedness to all the contributors, including, besides those already mentioned, Frank H. Underhill, Mason Wade, Wilfred Eggleston, and Robertson Davies. It is self-evidently not a monumental, not an epochal, perhaps not even a seminal work. Its strength lies elsewhere. It is pithy and shrewd, concise and forthright and intelligent. The seven subjects are portrayed with economy and interpreted with insight. The book is alive, and it bears re-reading. More than this no one can justly demand.

Mount Allison University

C. F. MACRAE

Fences. By HARRY SYMONS. Drawings by C. W. Jefferys. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958. Pp. xliv, 155. \$4.95.

When C. W. Jefferys, the Canadian artist and illustrator, died in 1951, he left behind a huge number of drawings and paintings, probably between 1,500 and 2,000—the physical evidence of over half a century of persevering industry. Imperial Oil Limited had ensured the preservation of more than 1,000 of his historical drawings by purchasing all those in the artist's possession shortly before his death and forming them into a permanent collection in Toronto. Other historical drawings and paintings are privately owned throughout Canada. Still others, probably as many as 200, were bought from Jefferys by a Canadian publisher about forty years ago and were taken with him to the United States when he moved to New York. They remain untraced and uncollected. A special series of 102 pen drawings for a projected but never published edition of T. C. Haliburton's fiction was purchased by Imperial Oil in 1954 from the American owner, and was donated in 1957 to the Archives of Nova Scotia.

Almost all of Jefferys' work mentioned above has been reproduced in book form, although some of it is not readily accessible to most readers. (1) Over three-quarters of the drawings in the Imperial Oil Collection, as well as a few privately-owned pictures, appear in the three-volume set, *A Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, published by Ryerson Press and still in print. (2) Most of the untraced drawings now in the United States were made by Jefferys as illustrations for various sets of historical books and may be found in *The Chronicles of Canada* (32 vols.), *The Makers of Canada* (2nd edition), *The Chronicles of America* (50 vols.), and *The Pageant of America* (12 vols.). These bulky sets are on the shelves of many libraries, but as Jefferys' work is scattered helter-skelter throughout their thousands of pages, it is to be hoped that a single-volume collection of the pictures will some day be published. (3) The pen drawings for the edition of Haliburton are reproduced in *Sam Slick in Pictures* (1956). It is clear, then, that most of Jefferys' work has been reproduced and that most of the original drawings are in responsible hands. To complete a

collection of Jefferys' drawings in book form, we need only a single volume consisting of the illustrations in the historical sets mentioned above and the unpublished material in the Imperial Oil Collection.

With the publication of *Fences*, the last special series of Jefferys' drawings appears in print. Jefferys' interest in fences, an interest strong enough to result in seventy-five drawings, may at first strike one as a very narrow and unpromising focussing of his talents. Then one remembers Jefferys' concern with social history. To him, fences were indicative of the men who had built them and of the society to which they were indigenous: changing styles in fences, especially in a rapidly growing country where the grandson of a penniless settler might be a local magnate, reflected changing modes in Canadian society as surely as did styles in architecture. It was with his thoughts on the historical context as well as on the object before him that Jefferys made these drawings, which range from the Indian palisade through various pioneer, farm, and estate fences to gates and stiles.

Mr. Symons' forty-page introduction and his running commentary on the drawings are full of interesting information about a little-known subject. Yet it is to be regretted that Jefferys did not live to write his own text for the book, for the diction, tone, and structure of Mr. Symons' prose does not match the accuracy and clean lines of the drawings.

Dalhousie University

M. G. PARES

The Arthur Papers, being the Canadian papers mainly confidential, private, and demi-official of Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, in the Manuscript Collection of the Toronto Public Libraries. Edited by Charles R. Sanderson. 3 vols. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press, 1957. (Vol. III to follow.) Pp. xiv, 488; 477. \$10.00 per volume.

The publication of documentary collections in Canada is a rare event, compared to the United States where the papers of most major statesmen and politicians have long since found their way into print. Apart from publications by our King's or Queen's Printers, both federal and provincial, the only continuous publications of documents has been carried on by the Champlain Society, and more recently, by the Hudson's Bay Record Society. Of private documentary publications in Canada the only notable one that comes to mind is Cruikshank's series on the War of 1812-14 in the Niagara Peninsula. The appearance of the Arthur Papers is, therefore, an event of significance in several ways, the more so as Arthur was not a prime figure in Canadian history.

Dr. Sanderson, Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library for a score of years, arranged and transcribed these papers before his lamentable and untimely death in 1956. Half of the papers were published in three parts in 1943, and a fourth part was in the press when Dr. Sanderson died. These four parts now appear in two bound volumes, with a

third volume and index yet to come. The work of seeing the material through the press has been carried on by members of Dr. Sanderson's staff, in particular by Miss Edith Firth, and it is being published by the Toronto Public Library and the University of Toronto Press, thanks to financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation.

Sir George Arthur, last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, had already had a distinguished military career in every hemisphere before he entered the Imperial administrative service in British Honduras in 1814. A decade later, having successfully coped with a slave revolt in that colony, Arthur became Lieutenant-Governor over the convict settlement of Van Diemen's Land. Here Arthur's personal honour and honesty were impugned by enemies, but so completely was he cleared by an investigation in 1837 that he was appointed to succeed Sir Francis Bond Head in the governance of Upper Canada, where the Rebellion, caused in part by Head's policy, had just collapsed when Arthur arrived on the scene. To Arthur was left the unpleasant task of cleaning up the mess left by the Rebellion and by Head. Arthur's tenure in Upper Canada is generally remembered today for the fact that he was ultimately responsible for the decision to execute two of the leading rebels, Lount and Matthews, for which Canadian Reformers seem never to have forgiven him. It was not an easy decision for Arthur—indeed he found all decisions difficult to make—but, *fiat justitia*, and at least there was no second rebellion in the upper province.

On two occasions Arthur found himself in the awkward position of being temporarily succeeded in the administration of the province—first during Lord Durham's flying visit to investigate conditions in 1838, and later in December, 1839, and January, 1840, by Charles Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham), who personally assumed the reins of government in Upper Canada to ram through its Assembly the new Imperial policy of Union and a settlement of the vexed Clergy Reserves issue. Arthur had been instructed to work through the Family Compact to prevent the establishment of responsible government, instructions which agreed with his own political inclinations but which left him helpless in the "web" of local politics, as Joseph Howe described it. Under the new Imperial dispensation of Lord John ("Finality Jack") Russell, Arthur was forced to reverse his former position and eat his previous words against responsible government. With deep misgivings he swallowed his pride and the new policy in the interests of Imperial unity, and even agreed magnanimously to stay in Canada to give Lord Sydenham his assistance until the Union became effective in 1841. In this latter task Arthur appears at his finest. Like the true and disciplined soldier that he was, Arthur stood ready, if not entirely willing, to lead the charge into a battle where the very victory could by his faith be only Pyrrhic, since it would mean the establishment of that detested democratic principle of "Responsible Government." Nevertheless, Arthur saw his duty and, as always, he did it.

Arthur's correspondence from Upper Canada shows him as a capable administrator and reliable right-hand man to his superiors, but shows too his gravest weakness—an innate inability to formulate policies on his own initiative. Even when left alone as

Lieutenant-Governor, Arthur had leaned heavily, too heavily, on the advice of his advisers. He could reign, but he could not rule. In this much, at least, he was unwittingly ahead of his age in colonial administration, for could he have hidden his natural conservative bias he would have played to perfection the "dignified" part of a governor in a truly responsible colonial constitution.

Arthur's later years were spent in India as Governor of Bombay and for a short time as provisional Governor General of British India. In 1846 ill health forced his return to England, where he died in relative obscurity in 1854 at the age of seventy. It had been his misfortune in every appointment to be faced with almost insuperable difficulties and, like Dr. Johnson's miraculous walking dog, it is to Arthur's enduring credit that he managed to meet such problems as well as he did. Few men could have done better.

In the words of Dr. Sanderson, "Sir George Arthur has not caught up with the limelight of history." The publication of these volumes sheds much limelight on his career in Canada. The interest shown by the Carnegie Corporation in this project is an indication of the importance of these papers. Dr. Sanderson and his editorial successors have done a thoroughly commendable and scholarly job of transcription and editing which merits the thanks of Canadian historians. The accuracy and care with which this exacting work has been done can be attested by the reviewer from independent research on the papers over an extended period. Very wisely the current editors have abandoned Dr. Sanderson's policy of including letters to or from Arthur which do not by the definition of provenance belong to the Arthur Papers. Though they cover a limited period and area of the panorama of Canadian history, these papers will be welcomed by historians, and all who read Sir George Arthur's papers will look forward to the appearance of the third and final volume, which is concerned with the important last days and months of the province of Upper Canada.

Carleton University

John S. Morr

Milton. By DAVID DAICHES. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1957. Pp. 254.
10s. 6d.

Milton is a subject, and to write on it calls for an audacious sense of purpose. We are now being pretty well supplied with editions of the poetry and the prose; there is a library of critical guides and studies, comprehensive or limited, familiar to most serious students; we have had a new biography by a leading American scholar, we enjoy a chronological list of the biographical data, we are launched on a multi-volume history of Milton's intellectual development from prenatal influences on—and by the tercentenary of *Paradise Lost* in 1967 we may hope to have made a richer contribution than any other age to his posthumous reputation. Perhaps we may then rebuild the bombed walls of St. Giles, Cripplegate, above his grave and decently return his bust.

In the meantime, Mr. Daiches has provided us with a small book of critical appreciation 'made on strictly literary grounds' with the hope of increasing our understanding of the nature and value of Milton's achievement. We are not to expect 'things unattempted yet,' but a fresh survey of Milton's work is nearly always welcome, and Mr. Daiches gives an enlivening view of the poetry while he leads us through it as it comes to the mind line after line and passage after passage rather than as it lies classified by style and historical genres. One would like to have been shown how genres appear in particular instances, and how whole compositions have forms which are more than the fragments considered *seriatim*. Without hiding the fact that, while being read, a poem is a temporal sequence of imaginative events, the addition of a summary systematic critique raised on basic principles from characteristic passages might hold us to a surer and more comprehensive view of Milton's work and achievement than a commentary alone can present.

The critical approach may perhaps be called New Cambridge Eclectic. The "texture" of a poem is to be examined from line one onwards (except in those places where the hard-pressed annotator may leap). Poetry comes, somehow, from a technique of language; we are to examine the "kinds of craftsmanship" that a poet employs "to make his ideas proper material for poetry." "The real critical question... is how the language and the ideas work in the poem." We must be alert to suggestions and shifts in tone, whether from rhythm or images; we seek subjective experiences: "In *Paradise Lost* images are symbolic of states of mind." General language and description are "fine" and "perfect." A quarter of a century ago another Cambridge don was denouncing Milton's images for not being particular; nowadays "the weak points in *Paradise Lost* are always where Milton is too specific." The validity of this approach to Milton needs a particular defence which it does not get in this book. In details the descriptions of Milton's techniques are loose. The line is indeed a basic rhythmical unit in his verse, but the beginning student might be told that the unit is created by a coincidence of cadence with syntactical phrase and that too it contains certain chosen rhythms and not others. These features of English verse persist, despite the Italian influence properly pointed out by Mr. Prince and accepted by Mr. Daiches. Again, it may be true that in the famous Leviathan simile we are aware of "shifts of tone between the familiar and the monstrous"; but the reader might better be led to find in the simile not a feeling but a clarified concept (of sensuous experience) from which perhaps feelings may arise. In this case the concept is length and bulk; we apprehend how long and large Satan lay by taking a view from close beside him like a sailor mooring a small skiff underneath the lee of a rocky island. It is a change of perspective rather than of tone. In the fable the island turned out to be Leviathan, who soon altered his tone; in the images in *Paradise Lost* the island loomed long and huge through an evening and a weary night, and is there yet. *Paradise Lost* is more than a sequence of feeling states of mind. To look for the subjective feeling of the poetic vision is to lose the vision. Dr. Leavis, spurning Milton's general language, at least had an eye fixed on particular, objective experience; Mr. Daiches makes *Paradise Lost* a tone poem.

The theological grasp of this book is inadequate on several occasions. One of the themes brought out in the course of the survey is Milton's dislike of a cloistered virtue and his confidence in the ultimate victory of good in an open struggle with evil. This is then seen to be the main theme of *Paradise Lost*. The theological justification of the ways of God to men is only the "core" of literal meaning; the true subject is the paradox of the human condition where an imperfect world is necessary to release the potentialities of human greatness. The fall was inevitable if this situation were to exist. The felicity of the fall comes from the opportunity it provides to show virtue in the dusty arena. Such a view can be held only if the "literal" meaning is denigrated as unpoetic and the "tone" is taken to be the supreme arbiter of poetic meaning. Yet surely the consuming and constant interest in *Paradise Lost* is religious rather than ethical. Not human pride but submission to Providence is the sum of wisdom repeatedly taught even in the last two books of visions so conveniently skidded over by Mr. Daiches. Here we are concerned, I believe, with the theological imagination. Possessed of this, one may be deeply moved by the sublime concept of divine compassion: "Man shall not quite be lost." At first "Of Man's First Disobedience"; at the last "Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best"; in between, in story and exhortation—the same theme of religious experience imaginatively realized, it is the poem.

Dalhousie University

S. E. SPROTT

Fossils and Presences. By ALBERT GUÉRARD. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957. Pp. 270. \$5.00.

To those who are familiar with Professor Guérard's apologies of his liberal views (*Personal Equation*, *Education of a Humanist*, *Testament of a Liberal*, *Bottle in the Sea*), his last volume will offer little that is new. *Fossils and Presences* is, in the author's own words, "one more attempt at defining my living faith," the faith of an intellectual who had formed his views during the Dreyfus affair and of a humanist whose liberalism, as he says elsewhere, has attained the dignity of a period piece.

The volume is a lively mélange of informal essays which lay "no claim on erudition and subtlety." Professor Guérard touches on a variety of topics—from frustrated mandarins of literary taste in our "age of paradox" (which, as he points out, is no more paradoxical than any previous age) to various kinds of colonialism and the present situation in French North Africa. To season the variety he has included critical vignettes on Dante, Vigny, Anatole France, Thomas Mann, and Alain. Fossils or presences? Professor Guérard places them within reasonable scale between "those established powers, perhaps once potent for good, which are now a drag in our quest" and the "forces within us to which we respond," displaying in his liberal selection both balanced common sense and a highly individual taste—witty, clear, a trifle flamboyant, at times perceptibly redolent of the 1890's, at others refreshingly alive and provocative.

Like most of his contemporaries, Professor Guérard is disturbed by the thought that "the incredible acceleration in our time of political and social history, breathlessly attempting to keep pace with the sudden expansion of science and industry" has not been matched by a similar evolution of the human mind, and like many of them he feels that something ought to be done to redress the balance. A staunch believer in gradual progress, he is unwilling to join in the currently fashionable return to tradition or *passéisme*; while retaining the humanist's profound respect for the past, he believes that it is more profitable to turn one's eyes to the future. If the rapidly changing situation is to be coped with, gradual adjustment is not enough; what is required is "accelerated gradualism." So far so good. It is when Professor Guérard undertakes to explain what he means by "accelerated gradualism" that one begins to wonder whether his futurist solution offers anything that is not contained in the noble but somewhat impractical platitudes of the United Nations charter. For his proposed "cure" is in fact a simple plea to rid ourselves, as fast as we can, of the "five idols which enslave the free world." These are racial pride, excessive nationalism, the party system ("my party, right or wrong"), the worship of Mammon, and religious dogmatism. When these "fossils" are eliminated, the way towards an enlightened, rational future will be clear. As there is no mention of how this emancipation is to be achieved, the plan sounds ingenuously simple. But when one stops to think that, despite centuries of moral exhortation, most of these idols have remained solidly entrenched in our world, one feels rather doubtful that "accelerated" moral awareness of the sort Professor Guérard advocates will all of a sudden dislodge them.

There is an abstract optimistic accent of an eighteenth-century *philosophe* in Professor Guérard's plea for universal tolerance which often seems to be so oddly out of touch with the realities of our age, that one is not surprised to hear Professor Guérard call himself half-humorously "a fossil of the eighteenth century" and to learn that he lives "in an eighteenth century house, because it is exactly where I belong." The difficulty, of course, is not whether one finds the civilized tolerance of the eighteenth century agreeable to one's taste (I personally do), but whether idealized common sense does offer a satisfactory solution to our mid-twentieth-century problems. Professor Guérard, who believes it does, says hopefully: "Remain a fossil steadily enough, and you may yet be hailed as a prophet."

Now most of us, I am sure, would willingly admit that whoever departs from common sense does so at his own peril. Swift, Pope, and Voltaire made it their chief concern to satirize deviations from the sane norm of reasonableness (one thinks of the United Nations today) which everybody seemed to agree on and which, alas, very few people followed. I think that Professor Guérard is at his liveliest and his persuasive best when in the name of honest good sense he fillips some of our high priests of unreason who seem to have discovered a panacea for all our ills in their immoderate fondness for paradox. As Professor Guérard, echoing Voltaire, puts it: "On n'a jamais employé tant d'esprit à vouloir nous rendre bêtes."

So far one agrees with Professor Guérard. But then one also remembers that common sense, while invaluable as a corrective, is by its very nature limited. Polish it and it will shine, turn it into a witty aphorism and it will become an articulate vehicle of expression for a brilliant mind; but idealize it, set it up on a pedestal, and it will vanish into thin air—evaporate in Pope's deistic mirage, dissolve in Voltaire's romanesque *El Dorado*, turn into a rational impossibility in Swift's utopian Houyhnhnmland. Professor Guérard's futurism, I am afraid, often partakes of this latter variety. His theory of the five idols is a good instance. "End the service of idols," he writes, "and what remains? Only art; only the sciences of nature and the sciences of man; only the conquest of space, the conquest of time, perhaps even the conquest of death. Only Love, still untamed, still unplumbed." Only these? My skeptical and somewhat incredulous mind, unaccustomed to the voice of the sirens which lured Wells or Shaw to utopian vistas, recoils in dismay at the prospect of an earthly paradise filled with academic angels and poetic Struldbrugs in space suits. If this is where "accelerated gradualism" leads, I whisper with *Candide*: "Cela est bien dit, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin."

I have stressed the utopian extravagance into which Professor Guérard's thought, "rooted in the future", sometimes leads because it is fairly central to his argument and because it at times goes well beyond the limits which as a connoisseur of architecture and city planning he has set for himself when he claims to be "neither an antiquarian like Cain or Le Nôtre nor a ruthless futurist like Le Corbusier." Yet it is characteristic of Professor Guérard that he should wish to set himself reasonable limits, and while he remains on this side of "gradualism" there is much that is wise and perceptive as well as stimulating in these essays. His wide historical and literary background which he wears with grace, his insistence on the necessity of scrupulous thought, of intellectual awareness and honesty, deserve full praise; even the spirit of controversy which bristles in light aphorisms on every page is, one feels, often an assumed *panache*, an artificial electric spark to shock the brains of a complacent citizen of "a civilization whose only problems are to find a parking space and a baby sitter" into thought ("for we should really like to think, if only it did not hurt"). And his abstract belief in acceleration is not to be taken too literally. In private, there is nothing that annoys Professor Guérard so much as going "faster and faster." "I prefer to relish slowly the savour of land and city," and though, as he says, he may well live to be shot in a rocket from San Francisco to Paris, "these vertiginous journeys mean less to me than does a stroll on the boulevards, the quays, the Strand . . ." One likes Professor Guérard the better for it. Gradually one detects in the "sixty year old smiling public man," French by birth, American by choice, a curious sense of divided loyalties between a civilized past on the one hand and an imagined future on the other, which to a great extent determine his choice both of "fossils" and of "presences." Now and then one notes in his pages a feeling of displacement in twentieth-century California ("I feel out of place in the aquariums that are normally called modern houses"). Yet he obviously likes his adopted country, and if he so often employs his Gallic wit in criticizing it, he does it in good faith,

because he would like to see the United States something else than a country that "stopped thinking in 1776," something more than a breeding ground "of specialists for whom thinking is the sin against the Holy Ghost."

One more observation. In the last essay Professor Guérard speaks of his ideal college where every teacher would be obliged to preach on "how to square his principles with his faith." One smiles, because one fancies to detect here the life-long preoccupation of the author whose ebullient voice throughout these pages has been less the voice of a self-conscious rebel than that of a lay preacher. Just as a preacher's voice will plead "Love thy neighbour" from the pulpit, so Professor Guérard pleads *ex cathedra*, "Renounce your idolatries," appealing half wittily, half in earnest, to tolerance and reason among his student congregation. Whether one takes either of these exhortations to be adequate as "programs for the future" is a matter of opinion. Perhaps they are merely the sort of truisms that must be set up as moral norms for each new class of freshmen. Professor Guérard has been a teacher all his life, and his idealized rationalism, like the deism of Augustan philosophes, is of the sort that needs the protective walls of a college auditorium to appear at once radical and venerable.

McGill University

S. KLIMA

The Early Christian Church. By PHILIP CARRINGTON. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957. 2 vols. Pp. xxxii, 1039. \$10.00 ea; set \$17.50

The writing of the history of the early Christian Church is beset with difficulties of the first magnitude. One of the most serious is that existing Christian sources are meagre indeed. There are such contemporary writings as the *New Testament* and its associated literature, and what remains of the works of such men as Papias, Justin Martyr and the Apologists, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. But these evince little interest in chronological history as such. References to Christianity in the non-Christian historians of the time, such as Josephus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius, are almost non-existent. It is a significant fact that the author of this comprehensive study, who states that his is a book about sources as well as about persons and events, admits that without the early fourth-century writings of Eusebius of Caesarea "we would not be able to construct a history of early Christianity at all."

The subject of the thousand large pages of this work is the first five generations of Christian church history. Although the first volume opens with a chapter on the Hellenistic period from Alexander the Great to the time of Jesus and the second concludes with an account of the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D., almost the entire study is devoted to the history of the two centuries after the Crucifixion. And it is not too much to say that Archbishop Philip Carrington's *The Early Christian Church* is an important contribution to early Christian history, chiefly in the fields of attractive, detailed presentation and

imaginative, individual conclusions. Further, it is its author's *Meisterwerk*, the result of a lifetime of study. With its composition, in the great tradition of the scholar-bishop, Archbishop Carrington follows in the steps of such illustrious predecessors as St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Anselm, Robert Grosseteste, and James Usher.

Dr. Carrington's tendency throughout is to trust the sources, and his work may be justly described as conservative. In these matters he has been influenced, he intimates in his preface, largely by his own experience in the diocese of Quebec. Fifty years, he has come to believe, are as nothing. Statements concerning eighty years ago are reliable today. Two memories may span as many as one hundred and forty years. The two centuries with which he is most closely concerned are the chronological interval between great-great grandfather and great-great grandson, allowing forty years to a generation. Hence in this work the evidence, after it has been fairly examined and criticized, is trusted, and with it the tradition of the church that produced and preserved it. However, many opportunities for the exercise of personal judgment are presented. Moreover, because many of the solutions (to New Testament problems particularly) that the Archbishop proposes are compromises, they can expect to find little favour with members either of the decidedly radical or definitely conservative schools. He supports, for example, the Epiphonian view concerning Jesus' "brethren," rejecting both St. Jerome's opinion and that of Helvidius. He dates Acts in the seventies, a conclusion as unacceptable to scholars such as E. J. Goodspeed as it is to the contributors to *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*. He concludes that the Pastoral Epistles are not likely to have been composed later than about 80 or 85 and may have been written earlier, a dating unacceptable both to the more forward-looking scholar like the late B. S. Easton, who would place them at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, and to the definitely conservative, chiefly Roman Catholic, scholars who date them within St. Paul's lifetime. Readers may well ask also whether the historical standpoint of Revelation is "still the standpoint of the sixties," if indeed the epilogue to St. John is an integral part of the Gospel, and whether in fact it is "easier to believe in one man of supreme creative genius and intellectual daring who could write in the two styles, than in two such men who lived in the same place at the same time."

The second volume, in which the principal Christian sources are patristic rather than biblical, presents fewer problems and may be of more interest because of readers' unfamiliarity, relatively speaking, with the Christian literature of the period. In attractive and at times compelling fashion Archbishop Carrington brings before the eye church fathers and heretics alike: Ignatius hastening to martyrdom at Rome; Justin teaching in his philosopher's gown; the great triumvirate of the catechetical school at Alexandria, Pantenus, Clement, and Origen; as well as the Church in Asia; the Second Jewish War; the schools in Rome; Phrygian Christianity; the martyrs of Gaul; the refutation of Gnosis in creed, canon, and liturgy; and the reign of Severus. History and theology are interwoven; nor are literary aspects overlooked. The *Shepherd of Hermas* is accounted, for example,

the first piece of imaginative Christian literature in the European tradition, and its author the harbinger of Dante and Milton, while the daemonic character of Simon Magus, has, it is observed, through the medium of the medieval legend of Dr. Faustus, survived in the works of Marlowe and Goethe.

Both volumes are excellently illustrated, one of the first plates encountered being a portion of *Isaiah*, a scroll in Hebrew from the Dead Sea. The charts, tables, and lists interspersed are admirable and extremely useful. There is a good bibliography in which recent as well as the older standard works are given place, and a workmanlike index. Readers can be grateful for a stimulating and informative book.

University of King's College

J. B. HISSRRT

Literary Biography. By LEON EDEL. (The Alexander Lectures, 1955-56). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. xiii, 113. \$2.00.

The problems facing the biographer, particularly the biographer of a man of letters' are explored by Professor Leon Edel in this slim volume. Slim as it is, however, it is the fullest study of this important literary genre made in the past quarter of a century. The five chapters were originally presented as the Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto in 1955-56, and Professor Edel's contribution is eminently worthy of the distinguished company with which it is associated.

The modern biographer, deploras Edel, is seldom given due credit. He must at once be the literary sleuth, the evaluator of historical evidence, the synthesist and logician, the critic of art and of life, the student of psychology and psycho-analysis, and finally, in regard to his actual writing, the artist. Contrary to popular opinion, his task is more formidable than that of the novelist. Consider that while the novelist invents his "facts" and then deals with them imaginatively and artistically, the biographer is bound by his facts yet must also deal with them imaginatively and artistically. "I suspect," comments Edel ruefully, "that if one were to measure the hours of work and the reward, it would be discovered that biography is the costliest of all labours on this earth." Amen to that!

As a distinguished practicing biographer, Edel illustrates many of his points from personal experience. These sections are particularly lively in a book that is otherwise far from pedestrian. One of the best is the account of his running duel with Henry James, "who, in the most premeditated fashion in the world, arranged a tug-of-war between himself and his future biographer." The play on James's part was, in his own words, to leave "every track covered, every paper burnt and every letter unanswered." By accident, by persistence, by deduction, and by creative imagination, the biographer meets the challenge and in good measure succeeds in foiling the novelist's intent.

The biographer is a creator. Out of the maze of unalterable facts, he brings into being the illusion of a living person. Sympathy and understanding are necessary for success

"The proper study of mankind is man," wrote the poet, to which the biographer can only nod assent. And when the subject is a man of letters, the biographer must also interpret sympathetically and with understanding his writings, for literary criticism cannot properly be totally divorced from the man. As Yeats put it, "There is always a living face behind the mask." Thus Edel defends his art against all critics, new and old, academic and popular. It is a vigorous, illuminating, and timely defence.

University of Texas

ERNEST C. MOSSNER

Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle. By ARTHUR A. ADRIAN. London: Oxford University Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press], 1957. Pp. xvi, 320. \$4.50.

"Last week going into the Garrick I heard that D is separated from his wife on account of an intrigue with his sister-in-law. No says I no such thing—its with an actress—and the other story has not got to Dickens's ears but this has—and he fancies that I am going about abusing him! We shall never be allowed to be friends that's clear." Thackeray's famous bungle (see *Letters*, ed. Ray, IV, 86) was an altogether amiable attempt to scotch dark rumours about Dickens and Georgina Hogarth, rumours occasioned by Dickens's separation from his wife. When Kate left, Georgina, braving her family's disapproval of her "mistaken sense of duty," remained to manage Dickens's household. To do so, however innocently, in an age that frowned upon marriage with a deceased wife's sister and looked with even greater distaste upon anomalous relationships with living wives' sisters, required force of character. The publication of a book about her is justified not only because it clarifies her motives and reveals what sort of person she was during Dickens's lifetime, but because it describes her proprietary concern for his reputation after his death. In a singularly effective position to argue his great virtues and conceal his human failings, she encouraged and helped to create a false, because inhuman, image of him. Long before Lytton Strachey's idol-smashing era, such single-minded veneration bred desperate suspicions, the livelier for being unhampered by definite knowledge, in even the chaste bosoms of Victorian ladies: "Both men," said Mrs. Lynn Linton of Thackeray and Dickens, "could, and did, love deeply, passionately, madly, and the secret history of their lives has yet to be written. It never will be written now, and it is best that it should not be" (this dark hint was published in *Woman at Home*, January, 1896—how little have ladies' magazines changed).

Professor Adrian's book consists of two parts: the first, Georgina's life with Dickens, merely documents more fully the outline we are familiar with from Edgar Johnson's biography; the second, more interesting, describes her long life after 1870. Georgina was fifteen when she entered Dickens's household and came under the influence of his overpowering personality. For all his grotesque genius, Dickens was an orderly man, a martinet;

he demanded that his sons keep their rooms immaculate: "Each in his turn is appointed Keeper for the week, and I go out in solemn procession (Georgina and the baby—as we call him—forming the rest of it) three times a day, on a tour of inspection." Georgina's great advantages over lethargic Catherine were her industry and efficiency, the advantages Esther Summerson and Agnes Wickfield have over Dora Spenlow. To her, therefore, fell the difficult work of bringing up Dickens's brood—"the largest family ever known," grumbled Dickens, "with the smallest disposition to do anything for themselves." Her self-sacrifice worried Dickens and at the same time moved him to admiration. Both feelings are revealed in a note he made for an unwritten novel: "She sacrificed to children, and sufficiently rewarded. From a child herself, always 'the children' (of somebody else) to engross her. And so it comes to pass that she never has a child herself—is never married—is always devoted 'to the children' (of somebody else), and they love her—and she has always youth dependent on her till her death—and dies quite happily." Adrian ably demonstrates that Dickens's impression was correct, that Georgina was anything but "a clever and ruthless schemer bent on usurping the position of her sister."

After Dickens's death she became the guardian of his memory, the protector of his fame. Hacking and rewriting ruthlessly to assemble the first major collection of his letters, exerting her moral indignation upon Charley for permitting his father's miniature Swiss chalet to be sold for vulgar exhibition, protesting to *The Times* about a proposed publication of letters she wished suppressed, helping and chastising biographers, Georgina "stood guard like a dragon over the treasure of Dickens's honour." It is to Professor Adrian's credit that her possessiveness appears more affectionate than officious. He has caught the Victorian viewpoint, perhaps by letting Georgina speak so much for herself. She does so principally through the many letters she wrote to Annie Fields, wife of the Boston publisher James T. Fields, who had encouraged Dickens to read in America. The two ladies met in 1869 and, inspired by a common devotion to "the Inimitable," corresponded for almost half a century. From these letters and other sources, Adrian recreates a woman strong, active, and generous.

As a biography the book is limited in appeal by its subject. The early pages, as the author points out, have to tell us much that is familiar; the later section has none of the vitality that Dickens infused into the life around him. The *raison d'être* of the book being that it deals with a person who knew Dickens better than almost anyone else, its interest is principally for Dickensians. But then, as St. John Irvine says in a *Listener* article (22/9/55), "There is something seriously wrong with people who cannot read Dickens. Either their minds are out of order or they are suffering from moral obliquity. In either case, I don't wish to meet them, and I hope they fall over something and break both their legs."

Factory and Manager in the USSR. By JOSEPH S. BERLINER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company, Limited], 1957. Pp. xv, 386. \$9.00.

"It is the combination of high targets with perpetual shortages that constitutes the most salient fact of life for the Soviet manager" (p. 24). Dr. Berliner's fascinating book is essentially an elaboration of this theme. The factory manager must work within the framework of a prescribed production plan, which is dovetailed with the plans of all of the other enterprises that it supplies with its products and that supply his enterprise with theirs. A rigid network of regulations is designed to compel all of the managers to conform to their production plans. But such plans—fitted together like a highly complicated, many-dimensional jig-saw puzzle, and based as they must be on estimates subject to varying amounts of error—are bound to go awry. This book says a good deal about how they do go awry and what the factory managers do about it.

What are the motives that move the Soviet manager? Dr. Berliner would not rule out the manager's desire to do his part for the Communist cause or the satisfaction which comes from doing a job well, but he attaches more importance, at least for analytical purposes, to the material rewards and personal prestige that come from successful management. A successful manager is one whose firm fulfils or over-fulfils its production plan. This is so not only because the state gauges his performance by this criterion, but perhaps more importantly because his premiums, the part of his income over which he has some control, are based upon the degree of plan fulfilment. This is also the case for the other plant officials. However, a factory that regularly fulfils or over-fulfils its plan is bound to have it increased for the next production period, and so success is made more difficult to achieve in the future. As if this were not enough, the manager is plagued by shortages of supplies because of the imperfect execution of the production plans of his suppliers. Such is his perennial dilemma. How does he attempt to resolve it? The answer is to be found mainly in three aspects of Soviet factory management: the "safety factor," "simulation," and related to these, the "web of mutual involvement."

The first aspect, the safety factor, "conveys the idea of holding back a reserve, of preserving 'slack' in the drafting and execution of plan targets, so that if anything goes wrong management will have untapped resources to fall back upon in order to meet its targets" (p. 76). It frequently involves building up reserves of supplies so that production will not be held up from lack of equipment and materials. One of the consequences of this practice is the hoarding of supplies far in excess of the amounts called for by any reasonable assessment of needs. An extreme case was the enterprise which had on hand $7\frac{1}{2}$ years' requirements of thin-walled pipe. The hoarding of supplies might also arise from the preference of some ministry officials and some supplying firms to deal in standard lots, such as carloads, as in the case of one firm that received 210 years' supply of emery paper.

The second aspect of management, simulation, means using deceptive devices so that the enterprise is credited with having fulfilled or over-fulfilled its plan when in fact it has

not. Violating the assortment plan is one method of deception. A factory which produces a number of products has an overall production target measured in terms of total value of output, and also separate targets for each product—that is, an assortment plan. Since more importance is attached to the value of total production as a criterion of plan fulfilment, a firm may violate its assortment plan by producing those products which are easiest to produce, in excess of the planned amounts, in order to fulfil the overall plan. This measure, of course, upsets the State's system of priorities, and if the products are producers' goods, it leaves some firms in short supply. Because of the general shortage of commodities, the marketing of the over-produced goods is not usually a serious problem.

Another form of simulation is that of deliberate deterioration of quality so that the overall plan, and perhaps the assortment plan as well, are ostensibly fulfilled, as in the case of the canning factory in which bottles were given only one wash, to save labour and materials, instead of two as required by regulations. Falsification of reports is yet another form. A common device is to "borrow" from future production, that is, to overstate production in the report for the current month in the hope of making it up in the next month; or to do the reverse—that is, if production is considerably over-fulfilled in the current month, to understate it so that it can be applied to the next month in case the plan is under-fulfilled then.

Acquiring supplies to which a firm is not legally entitled, obtaining extra funds from the State Bank to meet costs outside of the plan, in fact the use of most of the informal and illegal devices of management discussed by Dr. Berliner, require the acquiescence of someone who is bestowing a favour. How is this favour obtained? Largely through *blat*, which the author describes in part as follows:

the use of personal influence for obtaining certain favors to which a firm or individual is not legally or formally entitled. In the industrial sphere it refers to such actions as obtaining materials contrary to the intent of the plan, or persuading ministry officials to relieve one's own firm of a difficult production task and assign it to another firm with less influence. . . . The particular type of influence needed varies. It may be influence based upon family relationship or close friendship, or it may be merely an *entrée* into a supplying firm that permits a purchasing agent to propose an unlawful manipulation without fear of being rebuffed or reported to the police. There is an implication of reciprocation of favours, but the reciprocation is usually not a direct *pro quo* (p. 182).

It is not surprising that the pervasive use of *blat* to overcome the rigidities of a tightly-planned economy has in fact led to the development of a class of specialists in its use. Such a "specialist" is called by the engaging Russian term *tolkach*, which literally means "pusher" or "jostler." His functions are to procure needed supplies and to cut red tape in numerous ways, and so to prevent the interruptions of production which would otherwise result from non-delivery or slow delivery of supplies or from lack of unplanned but needed supplies. Since there is no legal provision for the *tolkach*, his payment depends upon the firms' chief accountants, who in this as in many other instances must manipulate their accounts to provide the funds. Dr. Berliner cites a poem from *Kvokodil* (the Russian

humour magazine) about Anton Fromich, a fictitious volkach par excellence. This passage from the poem sums him up:

One hand, he knows, rubs the other,
And therefore, of all the sciences,
He has mastered one above all,
The interrelations of scordid hands.
This science says that one good turn
Deserves another in return. (p. 208)

It also sums up the whole web of mutual involvement, the third general aspect of Soviet management. All of the officials of the firm—the manager, the chief accountant, the chief engineer, the chief of the quality control department—have a vested interest in production plan fulfilment. Since the success of all of them is measured primarily by plan fulfilment, they all must soil their hands by doing what their particular positions demand to achieve this end. This even includes the Party secretary, the Party's watchdog in the enterprise. His job is to see that the enterprise conforms to the laws of the state, but his own performance is largely judged in terms of production plan fulfilment. He is therefore inclined on the one hand to ignore many of the illegal or officially frowned upon practices of the executives of the enterprise, and on the other to use his influence with the Party to obtain favourable treatment for his enterprise in the setting of production goals and the procurement of supplies. One might expect that officials who refuse to make such compromises and who insist on adhering to the letter of the regulations would be the darlings of the system. Quite the contrary.

There appears to exist in the unfolding course of Soviet economic life a tendency for the fearful or overilluminated officials to be forced out . . . The very laws which require them to defend the interests of the state serve . . . to displace from their positions the very persons who seek to defend those interests, and to replace them with persons more willing to conform to the informal relations necessary for successful performance. (pp. 246-247)

It follows from Dr. Berliner's analysis, of which the summary given above is but a skimpy sketch, that a successful manager will be one who gauges correctly the extent of the liberties he can take with the regulations in the interests of plan fulfilment, and one whose plant in fact does consistently fulfil its plan. That his is a tricky, difficult task is evidenced by the rapid turnover of plant managers: on the average about every two years. This book is mainly concerned with the Stalin era. Post-Stalin reforms include a good deal of decentralization of planning and control. The old ministries have largely been replaced by ninety-two regional economic councils. The reforms also seem to include the adoption of more realistic production plans, and a broadening of the powers of plant managers, such as giving them discretionary powers to exchange and resell equipment and machinery. Dr. Berliner feels that the reduction of pressure on the managers to use deceptive devices, a reduction that will result from the setting of production targets realistically related to the available resources, might significantly alter the character of factory management. This is no doubt true. But in any tightly planned economy, inconsistencies in

planning are bound to arise and can only be corrected by having considerable administrative flexibility of a type that cannot likely be allowed for in any plan. If this is so, such devices as *blat* and the use of the *tolkach*, whether officially condoned by the state or not, will continue to be of considerable, if reduced, importance. And their effective use will continue to be the mark of an able manager.

If the Soviet economy is riddled with inefficiency, as this book suggests, how can we account for the great increases in productivity which Western students seem to agree have been taking place in the USSR? The answer would seem to lie in part in technological advances that have been made and introduced in spite of some managerial resistance to them, but perhaps more than anything else in the rapid increases in the quantity of the nation's industrial capital from the state persistently allocating a large share of annual production for this purpose, at the sacrifice of current consumption.

Dr. Berliner's analysis has been based upon the available printed Soviet and other sources, and, more interestingly, upon interviews conducted in Germany with forty-one former Soviet administrators in various branches of activity, who went to Germany with the Soviet forces during the War and chose not to return to the USSR. He has used his different sources as cross checks on one another whenever possible. He is careful, almost to the point of tedium, to note the possible biases and other limitations inherent in his method, but justifies it, reasonably, as being the best one presently available to Western students.

The preface, by Professor Clyde Kluckhohn, written in the "gobbledegook" that is unfortunately common today among students of society, made the very high price of this book, \$9.00, at first seem exorbitant. Fortunately, Dr. Berliner's style, though wordy, is generally clear. Even it is sometimes marred by lapses into usage that will make some readers wince, such as: "The tendency of enterprises to exceed the *normed* quantities of stocks. . ." (p. 95), "The norm legitimizes a certain percentage of spoilage. . ." (p. 147), and "It has been shown for a variety of reasons, personal and situational. . ." (p. 295). But this is not said to detract from the real merits of Dr. Berliner's book. It is a highly rewarding product of painstaking research of a very difficult kind.

Dalhousie University

JOHN F. GRAHAM

Historical Essays. By H. R. TREVOR-ROPER. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: Macmillan of Canada], 1957. Pp. viii, 298. \$4.00.

This book by the Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford contains forty-two essays on subjects ancient and modern, such as "The World of Homer" and "Karl Marx and the Study of History"; and from near and far, such as "The Jesuits in Japan" and "The Jewish Dispersion." Not one of them is published here for the first time; most have appeared previously in the *New Statesman* and *Nation*. The best and the

longest is number seven on Desiderius Erasmus, reprinted from *Encounter*, and it may even tell us most about the author.

We may well ask if it is worth republishing these essays. Of course Mr. Trevor-Roper anticipates this question and answers it, or justifies it, by saying that they represent an underlying unity—the philosophy of the author. What is this philosophy? One of all sane and reasonable men. It is the philosophy of a Trimmer or an Erasmus. For in the book, as we might expect, is an approving essay on George Saville, the first Lord Halifax. By and large, Jesuits, Communists, and others who put doctrine first and men last are targets for the wit and criticism of the writer. It may be said that Mr. Trevor-Roper praises too softly, yet condemns too loudly. The meek may well inherit the earth, but until that blessed day, it is as well that the voice of sanity be expressed with strength and vigor. But he has also been criticized for being anti-Catholic in these essays, which is a gross misunderstanding of the book. It is not the Catholic recusants attempting, in the trying circumstances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to follow the religion of their forefathers who are criticized by Mr. Trevor-Roper, but the over-enthusiastic and occasionally unscrupulous Jesuits who may well seek martyrdom for themselves, but perhaps should not seek it for others. To label some of these essays as anti-Catholic is naught but Catholic Orange-ism!

To have these essays in book form is convenient (after all, we don't all read the *New Statesman*) without being earth-shaking, and at a little less than ten cents an essay they are well worth the money.

Mount Allison University

P. A. LOCKWOOD

Proust and Literature. By WALTER A. STRAUSS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [In Canada, S. J. Reginald Saunders, Toronto], 1957. Pp. 263. \$6.25

Novelty is not the least merit of Professor Strauss' essay *Proust and Literature*. Curiously enough, despite Proust's obvious fondness for everything literary, his work in literary theory has been neglected by critics; moreover, the few articles or biographical chapters dealing with this aspect of his writing were all written before the discovery of his unfinished novel *Jean Santeuil* and his fictionalized essay *Contre Sainte-Beuve*, which expresses a number of illuminating literary ideas. Even Proust's most complete and well-informed biography by André Maurois appeared before the publication of these new materials, which are changing our entire perspective on the novelist's creative career.

As a matter of fact, we did know that literary analysis occupied Proust during his entire lifetime, that he wrote critical articles sporadically, from his youthful contributions in *Le Bonquet* (1892) to his studies on Baudelaire in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* (1921); we did know that, before undertaking his *Remembrance of Things Past*, he had given much thought to the art of many writers; that his *Pastiches* were primarily stylistic exercises,

intended to have a "purgative" effect on his self-expression and sharpen his mastery of French prose. But one must say that the process of Proust's evolution was not perfectly clear. The present essay ought to be given full credit for leading us along the twists and turns of Proust's mind in his metamorphosis into a full-fledged novelist.

Proust and Literature is centered on *Contre Sainte-Beuve*, first published in 1954. Through the criticism inflicted by Proust upon his *bête noire*, we can grasp the very ideas which forced themselves upon him around 1908 and kept guiding him throughout the composition of his masterpiece. Not only does he dislike Sainte-Beuve for failing to recognize genius in Balzac, Stendhal, Baudelaire, or Nerval; but his main reason for coming to grips with the nineteenth-century critic lies obviously in his own growing Bergsonian conviction that the intelligence is inadequate when used as the sole instrument of literary analysis. The Preface of *Contre Sainte-Beuve* is significant in this respect:

Every day I attach less value to the intelligence. Every day I understand better that only outside of it the writer can grasp something of our impressions, that is to say, can reach something that is himself and the only subject matter of art. What the intelligence offers us under the name of the past is not the past at all.

It is plain that, in Proust's opinion, Sainte-Beuve completely misunderstood the nature of artistic creation by looking at literature from the outside, trying to reveal influences, connecting one book to another, seeing literary works *sub specie temporis*, while, on the contrary, a work of art for Proust is, in its uniqueness, a victory against time.

The interest of *Proust and Literature* is twofold: first, it provides us with a repertory of Proust's views on a number of writers, most of them from nineteenth-century France, but also a few contemporaries and some foreign authors such as George Eliot, Dostoevski, and Tolstoi,—thus going a long way to support a recent statement by Proust's biographer, André Maurois (Introduction to *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, 1954): "If he had not been the greatest novelist of our time, he would have been its greatest critic." Secondly, it throws new light on the genesis of Proust's great novel, by showing clearly enough why the impressionistic *Jean Santeuil* had been abandoned as unsatisfactory and how *Remembrance of Things Past* had taken shape around new ideas, which the writer elaborated or clarified from 1900 to 1910.

To have the last word in this matter, it will be necessary to wait until the appearance of Proust's still unpublished *Carnets*. But it seems unlikely that any new revelation will diverge a great deal from the conclusions of Professor Strauss' convincing essay.

Dalhousie University

PAUL CHAVY

Melville as Lecturer. By MERTON M. SEALTS, JR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Co., Ltd.], 1957. Pp. ix, 202. \$5.25.

Recent literary scholarship concerned with the matter reveals that Herman Melville's so-called "silent years," extending from the publication of *The Confidence Man* in 1857

to its increasingly neglected author's death in 1891, were a good deal less silent than the label usually applied to them suggests. Indeed, through at least the latter part of 1857 and on into 1860, they ought more properly to be called his vocal years. For during that brief period Melville did a stint on the public lecture platform, probably for no better reason than that he needed the money the venture might bring in. (In doing so he was following the well-established custom of such more or less successful devotees of the then current most popular indoor means of augmenting an income as R. W. Emerson, O. W. Holmes, G. W. Curtis, E. P. Whipple, Horace Greeley, and, favorite of them all, "the handsome" Bayard Taylor.) Research articles and queries about various aspects of Melville's three series of speaking engagements have appeared in the academic quarters from time to time from 1936 onwards; and Jay Leyda's *The Melville Log* (1951) and Carl Bode's *The American Lyceum* (1956) have lighted up several sectors of the general topic. It has remained for Professor Merton Sealts, of Lawrence College, Kansas, a past president of the Melville Society, to bring these findings together, and, with due acknowledgments for help received, occasionally to correct and add to them, and then, largely from extant, often stenographic, newspaper reports, to reconstruct, approximately, the text of Melville's missing and presumably destroyed lecture manuscripts. Melville as Lecturer is the result. It is certain to prove an indispensable, if not the definitive, word on its subject.

In selecting his lecture themes, Melville was constantly bedevilled by the necessity of having to decide between what he would prefer to offer his hoped-for audiences and what those audiences would willingly pay to hear. "Statues in Rome," his choice for the opening series (1857-58), was based on material drawn from impressions recorded while on a visit to Europe and the Levant from which he had lately returned, and was obviously dictated by his preferences. It was, of course, a case of choosing unwisely. Almost any one of his rural neighbors could have told him that the average lecture turn-out tends "to feed from a low trough." And if, in view of the likely prospect of extending his speaking tour beyond the Alleghenies, he had consulted Emerson he might have been informed that "The climate and people [out West] are a test for a man of letters. . . . the people [there] want a hearty laugh, and [only they] who give them that are heard with joy." But Melville was in no mood to take advice from either the lowly or the learned. He knew what he wanted to tell his potential listeners, and, what is more to the point, he thought he knew what they should be told. The consequence was that his first lecture foray, though not a failure, was an indifferent success. And it created for him no very favorable reputation as a lyceum ball attraction. For his second swing around the lecture circuit (1858-59), he made some concession to the fact that on the first he had been most often billed as the author of *Typee* and *Omoo*. But the selection of "The South Seas" for his subject, and his anything but hearty endeavor to amuse his listeners with the sort of personal-adventure digressions they expected of him, did little or nothing to enhance his platform appeal. For his third and last lecture effort (1859-60), "Travel," based like the first on the journal of his recent trip abroad, he was able to hook but three dates.

The opening section of Professor Sealts' book includes a chapter on each of the Melville lectures, devoted to outlining, summarizing, and appraising their content, and estimating the general reception they may have met with. Alternated with the first two of these chapters are two more giving whatever details regarding the time and place of delivery, the attendance, and the audience and press reaction that are available about the earlier two of the lectures. (Only one newspaper account of the third lecture has been found.) A final chapter goes over much the same ground, so far as the collected data permits, for all three lectures. This organizational procedure has the advantage of driving home through repetition the testimony of every scrap of relevant evidence, but it has also the unfortunate, perhaps unavoidable, effect of tempting the reader overwhelmed with statement and quotation in duplicate, and even in triplicate, to cry out in protest, "I heard you the first time."

No such regrettable effect attends the reading of the second section of Professor Sealts' book: The conjectured text of Melville's lectures it presents is a notable achievement in literary reconstruction. To bring it off required the collation of not fewer than fifty-four press notices, and the piecing of them out with addenda from both the manuscript of Melville's travel diary and from the two printed and annotated editions of it. The composite version of the reading-desk copy from which Melville held forth thus produced is underpinned with a solid footing of notes clearing up his numerous literary allusions and citing parallels recalled from his prose and anticipating those in his verse. The very accent of Melville speaking seems to have been caught. Better still, he emerges from his restored utterance as the striking figure of defiant conservatism he so often was. His condemnation of certain missionary practices among the South Sea islanders, his enthusiasm for classic art as compared with modern, his rejection of New World materiality in favor of Old World idealism, his championing of the poet's reading of life against that of the scientist—all these unorthodox points of view, and more of the same tenor appearing in his novels and tales, are repeated in his lectures. On the whole his auditors were relatively unconcerned over these sometimes outspoken, sometimes slyly interpolated, controversial comments, but there were a few violent objections recorded against them. For the present-day reader, troubled as he is with doubts about "progress" or disturbed by the revolutionary stirrings in South Africa and in south-east Asia, they become, more surely than anything else these lecture scripts reveal, the treasured highlights. Witness the continuing timeliness of these typical excerpts:

[Apropos of the statuary he saw in the Vatican Museum.] The Vatican itself is the index of the ancient world, just as the Washington Patent Office is of the modern. . . . What comparison could be instituted between a locomotive and the Apollo? Is it as grand an object as the Laocöon? The world has taken a practical turn, and we boast of our progress, of our energy, of our scientific achievements. . . . Do all our modern triumphs equal those of the heroes and divinities that stand there silent, the incarnation of grandeur and of beauty?

[Apropos of proposals to annex Hawaii and other Pacific islands to the United States.] As a philanthropist in general and a friend of the Polynesian in particular, I hope that these Edens of the South Seas, blessed with fertile soils and peopled with happy natives, many yet uncontaminated by the contact of civilization, will long remain unspoiled in their simplicity, beauty and purity. And as for annexation, I beg to offer up an earnest prayer—and I entreat all present and all Christians to join me in it—that the banns of that union should be forbidden until we have found for ourselves a civilization morally, mentally, and physically higher than one which has culminated in almshouses, prisons, and hospitals.

Melville! thou shouldst be living at this hour.

University of Washington

V. L. O. CRITICK

Santayana's Aesthetics. By IRVING SINGER. Cambridge : Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. ix, 235. \$6.25.

Is "aesthetics" the study of art, or of beauty, or does it concern the elucidation of standards of taste along the lines indicated by Kant in the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*? In favour of the latter notion, we can say that aesthetics enquires into something with an exact meaning that may not be accurately described and into states in the inner mind that are common to a group of people. It implies an admiration for some object outside ourselves and is therefore not wholly subjective. In order to accept aesthetics at all, we must assume that a certain experience exists and that such an experience is an aesthetic experience. A systematic approach to aesthetics presumes analysis of such experience; a neo-classic aesthetic based upon the *Poetics* of Aristotle demands concrete objects such as "categories of the sublime" and "modes of beauty," but Kant objected to all neo-classic attempts to dictate on the grounds that "genius does not obey rules of aesthetics—it creates them." Since Kant we have had two separate developments—that of aesthetics proper and that of the study of art history. We have theories of beauty, as for example those of Winckelmann, Hogarth, and Hegel, and we have incursions into the philosophy of art such as were undertaken by Ruskin, Schopenhauer, and T. E. Hulme.

Like Valéry, Santayana looked back at Schopenhauer's aestheticism and considered aesthetic contemplation to be man's highest activity and a part of the good life, emancipated from the material world. During Santayana's lifetime there was a reluctance to accept him as a philosopher even though he consistently tried to see life steadily and whole, in terms of a philosophy that would illuminate the problem of man's living. He looked back at the historical spirit of the nineteenth century and was early absorbed in the panorama of human activity which it revealed but, though he accepted Hegel's synoptic vision of the Universe and Man as a totality, he was not a disciple of Hegelian dialectic. Unlike Croce, he denied that history is the essence of philosophy and maintained that it is in fact a "servile science," the results of which can be used by philosophers to illustrate personal ideals which are themselves really instruments in the life of reason that finds its most elevated expression in religion, art, and science, the chief constituents of an ideal

society. Philosophically, he was a "critical realist" for whom the supreme reality was spirit which contemplates the flux of existence; in his material view of the metaphysician's "spirit" he was close to Spinoza (and, for that matter, to certain Indian religious metaphysic). Spinoza's *vis existendi* becomes Santayana's "animal faith," to which what is ordinarily called "knowledge" is relegated. Spirit is immune from the material flux and is distinguished by its capacity to detach itself in contemplation from the animal psyche.

Santayana was sceptical of all claims to knowledge of the ultimate reality and moved pragmatically in the world of common sense; as a philosopher he returned to a Platonic notion of eternal forms or "essences," out of the contemplation of which a practical ideal of life satisfying to the free spirit of man could be created. As he himself put it in a letter to the Marchese Origo, "Experience is a mere peephole through which glimpses come down to us of eternal things."

Dr. Singer's study of Santayana's aesthetics comes to be a critique of his whole philosophical position, or rather positions, since his fidelity shifted during his lifetime from psychological to ontological concerns. His aesthetics and philosophy of art, written mostly before 1925, are controlled by his later statement of the doctrine of essences and their separation from existence. In a brief preface, Dr. Singer outlines the purpose of his study: firstly, to inform upon and clarify Santayana's philosophy and especially his aesthetics and philosophy of art; secondly, "to suggest a more adequate approach to several of the problems in these fields." The result is a useful, though necessarily rather dull critical analysis of Santayana's aesthetic, followed by two chapters on the standard of artistic excellence and on the nature of criticism. General studies on aesthetics tend to be less fruitful and certainly less appealing than expositions of specific theories of imaginative art, mainly because the latter can readily be applied to the judging of particular works.

In these final chapters, the author rejects certain of the dogmatic elements in Santayana's critical theory and makes some tentative proposals for a more flexible criterion of taste "which is loyal to the variegated pattern of ordinary experience." His suggestions are in the nature of feelers towards a more pragmatic aesthetic, "a new tradition . . . untainted by the belief in an epistemological given, a distinctive aesthetic attitude, or any uniqueness of fine art." To call this "cultural contextualism" a new tradition is to make an exaggerated claim for the application in practice of modern neo-Hegelian idealism, as seen, for example, in Dewey. This view of the artist and the critic enmeshed by powerful social forces is one which has been applied in practice to literary judgments since the second half of the nineteenth century. Dr. Singer hovers between the traditional and the experimental in restating this position, and we feel that Santayana's worth as a critic could have been more adequately demonstrated by means of an examination of the modern critical arena and of Santayana's place in it. Since this is not undertaken, the book ends on a negative, or at least inconclusive, note. Regarded as an early attempt at a whole view of Santayana's philosophy, however, it makes a favourable impression. It suggests further lines of

investigation in the field of aesthetics and will be a useful addition to the library of the serious student of philosophy.

University of King's College

A. M. KINGHORN

Churchill and Other Poems. By HARRY AMOSS. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957. Pp. 34. \$2.50.

Carpenter's Apprentice and Other Poems. By GORDON LECLAIRE. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957. Pp. 24. \$2.50.

Myth and Monument. By THERESA E. and DON W. THOMSON. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957. Pp. 16. \$1.00.

Three Dozen Poems. By R. G. EVERSON. Montreal: Cambridge Press, 1957. Pp. 51. \$3.00.

There are as many ways to climb Mount Parnassus as there are men to try them—and almost as many failures. Each failure is the result of human laziness—the inclination to rest on a comfortable slope rather than to reach the summit where the living Galatea of a perfect poem awaits. There was only one Pygmalion, and he was a sculptor, not a poet. Poets could, however, approach their Galatea more closely, if they only would.

Harry Amoss never intended to climb to Galatea. At best, he only wanted to go far enough up Parnassus to display the charms of another goddess, Education. In *Churchill and Other Poems*, the Muse smiled upon his quatrains but betrayed his efforts to climb higher. Had he known more about her exacting demands, he would have never let himself fall flat, as in the following couplet from "Churchill":

Last of the mighty oaks nurtured in freedom!
Brambles and briars now supersede freedom.

Gordon LeClaire wove an almost perfect rope of form and threw it up the mountain; furthermore, he sent the spirit of religious feeling up the rope, but the man himself stuck fast at the base and refused the climb. Therein lies the failure of the *Carpenter's Apprentice*.

Theresa E. and Don W. Thomson have exchanged the decaying ropes of Victorian prettiness they used in *Silver Light* for the more modest but sturdier strands of Imagism. Two poems in *Myth and Monument*, "Therapist" and "Andria Doria," left them, temporarily at least, over the heads of common climbers and offer promise of still higher progress in future.

In R. G. Everson's *Three Dozen Poems*, one sees a genuine mountaineer in training—testing the ropes of his technique and the muscles of his manhood. In this testing, he has already climbed above the other poets mentioned—and is in the greatest danger. He may become so interested in his present ropes and muscles that he may forget his business, which is to climb still higher.

The University of New Brunswick

FRED COGSWELL

The Complete Works of Montaigne. Translated by DONALD M. FRAME. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957. Pp. xxvi, 1094. \$12.50.

The *Essays* of Montaigne, which constitute by far the most important of his complete works, have been translated several times into English. The earliest translation was that of John Florio, which appeared in 1603, eleven years after the death of Montaigne, and eight years after the posthumous edition of the author's last revision of his masterpiece. This translation, copies of which are believed to have been owned by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, may still be bought (very slightly revised) in certain popular editions (*Everyman's*, for example). In 1685 and 1686 appeared the translation of Charles Cotton, revised in 1842 by the younger William Hazlitt (son of the great essayist) and in 1910 by William Carew Hazlitt; this last version, still further revised, is used in a recent *Modern Library* edition. In 1925 the Harvard University Press brought out a translation by George B. Ives, known to some as the "fig-leaf edition," in which all passages relating to sex were left in the original French, a procedure that must have done much to lighten the task, as well as satisfy the conscience, of the translator. It is no longer published. In 1927 the Oxford University Press published a translation by E. J. Trechmann, which is still to be found on booksellers' shelves. From 1934 to 1936 the Alfred A. Knopf Company published a translation by Jacob Zeitlin that was thought in 1936 by the *Saturday Review of Literature* to have "taken its place as a standard work;" unfortunately, it has since gone out of print. And now we have the *Complete Works* translated by Professor Frame of Columbia University. Of the translations now readily available (i.e., those by Florio, Cotton-W. C. Hazlitt, Trechmann, and Frame), which is the best?

Most readers today, I suppose, expect a good translation to be, first, a faithful rendition of the original, both in content and style; and then, as far as possible after these ideals have been attained, to be pleasantly readable in English.

As to content, both Florio and Cotton (and even his revisers) are guilty of a number of errors, and Florio of a good deal of unwarranted embellishment. Montaigne is not always easy to understand. His speech is highly idiomatic, frequently obscure, and occasionally even Gascon (the château of Montaigne is situated a little over halfway along the road from Bordeaux to Bergerac). Cotton admits ruefully that he found the *Essays* "the hardest book to make a justifiable version of that I yet ever saw." Scholarship has gradually illuminated the darker places, however, and the translations from Trechmann's on are, on the whole, accurate.

As to style, no translator could have failed to reproduce the purposely rambling, digressive mode of expression of the original, and every translator has done his best to bring out the wonderfully rich imagery of Montaigne's speech. Yet each translation is different—because, of course, there are as many ways of translating Montaigne, or any other foreign work, as there are ways of writing English. Florio's translation is in Elizabethan English, and a noble example it is of that rich and sonorous tongue. The fact that it is nearly contemporaneous with Montaigne does not, however, make it a better vehicle

for the transmission of Montaigne's thought than any "possible translation by a later hand," as Henry Morley claimed in his introduction to a new edition of the *Essays* in 1885. Why should it? The translation of Cotton, a friend of Isaac Walton, is in the English of the seventeenth century. Zeitlin takes Cotton as his model in style, and sticks close to him. Trechmann and Frame alone translate Montaigne into the English of our day. Frame sometimes with a trace of American accent—compare, for example, these parallel passages:

| Montaigne | Trechmann | Frame |
|---|---|---|
| ... on les chasseroit d'arrivée ... | ... they would be rejected at the outset ... | ... they would be thrown out right away ... |
| Il y en a qui se sont fait arracher des dents vives et saines ... | Some have had live and sound teeth drawn ... | There are some who have had live healthy teeth yanked out ... |
| ... faire la figue à la force et à l'injustice ... | ... to snap our fingers in the face of violence and in- justice ... | ... to thumb our noses at force and injustice ... |

Trechmann does not attempt to translate the expression "vogue la galée!"; but gives its meaning in a footnote: "come what may!"; Frame translates: "Let 'er rip!" Frame's translation is always clear, fresh, vigorous. His occasional use of colloquialisms like those cited above is in keeping with his aim to "capture in modern English not only [Montaigne's] meaning but also the living, natural quality of his style." Yet I am bound to say that I still find Trechmann's translation more readable than any other I have seen; and this is not at all to imply that Trechmann fails to transmit, also, much of the peculiar charm of expression of his original.

On the other hand, Frame's translation is undoubtedly superior to Trechmann's in the matter of "strata indication," in which he (like Ives and Zeitlin) follows the practice of modern French editors (Pierre Villey and others). A word of explanation may be needed here. Montaigne revised his *Essays* once, but in rather a peculiar way: "J'adjouste," he explains, "mais je ne corrige pas." He adds, but does not correct. His additions sometimes reveal a change of attitude from the earlier edition: his new thought then appears together with the old. At the time of his death, Montaigne was preparing yet another edition, with numerous further emendations. The *Essays* as they now appear, therefore, represent three distinct strata. In his introduction, Frame cites places where such collocation of contradictory material might lead a reader who was unaware of the strange manner in which the *Essays* were composed to "write [Montaigne] off as irresponsibly inconsistent." Trechmann's translation does not indicate strata at all.

Of the editions now in print, I should choose Trechmann and Frame over Florio and Cotton because of the greater accuracy of the modern translators. I believe Frame's translation to be the best of all because it embodies the findings of the most recent scholarship on Montaigne (including that of the translator himself); because it includes within a single

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volume not only the *Essays* but the *Travel Journal* and *Letters* of Montaigne (these minor writings have already appeared in English, with the exception of four or five letters, translated by Cotton, Trechmann and others; they occasionally throw an interesting sidelight on the *Essays* themselves); finally, because it is so beautifully printed and bound—all this with the single reservation that Trechmann's translation remains unsurpassed for beauty and ease of expression. One last word: any reader seeking a more critical edition than either of those just mentioned should try to find a copy of the Zeitlin translation, in which the Introduction and Notes are excellent.

Dalhousie University

H. F. AIKENS

Mental Health in College and University. By DANA L. FARNSWORTH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. ix, 244. \$5.95.

It is perhaps too easy to criticize many of the current publications on mental health. They nearly always mean well, and they are an expression of and a response to real enough needs within our society. Their expressed objectives are not only in keeping with our democratic values; they might well be associated with religious aspirations, so lofty and idealized they are. However, there are few subjects that can compare with mental health when it comes to built-in assumptions, value judgments passed as reasoned conclusions, so-called facts based on impressions, and loose thinking. No two psychiatrists are likely to agree on the meaning of mental health. This is not too disturbing. More serious is the fact that we have very little reliable knowledge about the conditions that make for mental health—hardly enough to justify full blown mental-health programs. To add confusion to the dearth of facts, the phrase *mental health* usually does not mean the same thing to the psychiatrist and the layman. Psychiatry has coined and publicized the phrase as a means of changing the public's attitudes toward mental and emotional illness. This publicizing has practical value, since early treatment is often important in effecting remissions—just as it is with cancer. But we know so little about the causes of either cancer or mental illness that any implied preventative program is at best misleading.

Mental Health in College and University is based on a series of eight lectures which Dr. Farnsworth gave to the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1956. The book is not designed to be an exposition of so-called mental-health problems, their nature, treatment, and prevention. Rather, the author is concerned to point up the need for mental-health programs in the university and to discuss some of the ways and means of filling the need. On the last two pages of the text Dr. Farnsworth reveals what is apparently an important motive in advocating mental-health programs in universities. In effect, he argues that survival depends on man's controlling the destructive powers of prejudice, discrimination, super-nationalism, and atomic weapons. Towards that end he advocates the promotion of mental health on a nation-wide and world-wide scale. It must be done, he states. Since no more influential

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group exists than college graduates, he feels that the university would be the place to start: "If we could really find a way of teaching good mental-health principles to college students, the resultant knowledge would spread widely, surely, and effectively." This statement is rather unfortunate, for upon analysis it undercuts the author's whole thesis—he admits that we do not know how to teach mental-health principles. It is also regrettable because Dr. Farnsworth's aims are laudable: there is no doubt that universities could benefit from an adequately conceived counselling service.

Dr. Farnsworth's case for some form of mental-health service in the university is reasonably good. He feels the service should not be focused primarily on those who have severe emotional problems, but on those who have difficulty in adjusting in the new community of the university. The present generation of students has been reared in a period of change, uncertainty, and stress. Many of them have not attained that degree of emotional maturity which would enable them to gain maximum benefit from their studies. In addition to the loss of efficiency and the suffering involved, a proportion of them fall by the wayside, and society may be the loser. It is estimated that ten per cent of any student body is likely to need help. Dr. Farnsworth proposes a broad and flexible mental-health or counselling service to meet this need. He emphasizes the part that teachers might play in counselling, when their role would be student-centred rather than subject-centred as it is in the classroom. "Such counseling should serve the ultimate purpose of raising academic standards." This is about as far as the author goes with respect to academic standards, and this is to neglect the historic and currently pertinent function of the university. The university is not designed to provide some place where our youth with the means may grow up. Rather the university's basic function is to cultivate curiosity, to seek knowledge, and to pass on man's accumulated heritage of the mind and of the spirit. This function implies exploration and research on the one hand and promotion of the optimum conditions for learning and thinking on the other. This should be the emphasis of a university counselling program: the exploration and promotion of the optimum conditions for learning and thinking.

In the appendix there is a brief report from a world conference on mental health which was held at Princeton in 1956. The introduction includes a number of statements of what mental health is not, such as adjustment under all circumstances, freedom from anxiety and tension, and conformity. One feels that these are points which might well have received extensive discussion in a book that purports to discuss mental health in the university. However, Dr. Farnsworth does not pretend to present a provocative treatise. Granting his purpose and his conceptual and professional frame of reference, his book does point up a problem that has often been neglected by universities.

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Edited by E. E. RICH and A. M. JOHNSON. With an Introduction by K. G.
DAVIES. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1957. Pp. lxxii, 357.

The chief contents of this volume are letters, commissions, and instructions from the governors, deputy governors, and committees of the Hudson's Bay Company in London to the governors, deputy governors, and Council on the Bay, and to commanders of the Company's ships sent thither, as contained in one copy book from June 2, 1688, to June 13, 1696. It is a one-sided correspondence, inasmuch as no reports or replies to these letters have been preserved in the Company's archives; and, although it embraces an exciting period of Anglo-French rivalry for control of the trade of the Bay, it does not cover either the beginning or the end of that rivalry, beginning as it does only a year before King William's war and ending a year before the Treaty of Ryswick. None the less the appendices, notes, and above all the introduction enable the reader to look before and after, to follow the fortunes of the Company and its employees, and to share with them the excitement of the Revolution of 1688 in England (following which the Company obtained Parliamentary sanction of its charter for seven years), the fluctuation in control of the forts on the Bay, and the efforts of the Company to cope with their problem of inflation—a rise in the cost of trading goods and a fall in the price of beaver. In this period Radisson appears again, not as the chameleonic arbiter of affairs on the Bay, where the steadfast D'Iberville operates in the French interest alone, but as a supplicant for favour in London. Not the least interesting of the letters in this volume are those in his behalf and the Company's adverse reply thereto.

In this period also Henry Kelsey embarked on his voyages to the interior to bring new Indians to trade at the Bay, who perchance might be willing to give more beavers in exchange for the goods they needed—thus helping to offset inflation. Another measure adopted by the Company to that end was to diversify the number of commodities sought after, such as whale oil, isinglass, walrus tusks, and small furs—otter, fox and marten; but apparently they had not much success with any of these experiments except with marten.

Attempts were also made to encourage local food production, especially the growing of barley, oats, wheat, peas and beans, but although they had some success with flax and barley there was no appreciable diminution in the quantity of provisions that were sent from England.

On the whole it seems clear from the documents in this volume that English interests in the Hudson Bay "colony" were defended almost entirely by the exertions of the Hudson's Bay Company. No aid was forthcoming from New England or New York, as they were occupied with Acadia and Canada; and, although King William granted letters of marque to the Company's ships during the war of 1689-97, it was not until 1696 that he could spare two men-of-war to assist the Company against D'Iberville, who commanded ships of the French navy from the first. These documents also reveal the fact that the Company was always ready to reward its employees who served it well; and in return they

expressed the hope that in case of any attack, "all in general & each Individuall in perticular will behave themselves with such courage Resolution & Bravery as becomes Trew English men, tenderly sensible of their owne and their Native Countries honour."

Appendix C gives the case of the Company against the French as presented to the Lords Commissioners of Trade in 1696; and the Introduction has many interesting things to say about the Company's financial statements and policies.

Archives of Nova Scotia

D. C. HARVEY

Edward Blake, Irish Nationalist: A Canadian Statesman in Irish Politics, 1892-1907. By MARGARET A. BANKS. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 370. \$5.50

There is something quite misleading in our habit of compartmentalizing, not only various branches of knowledge, but even the major and minor subdivisions within the discipline. Thus it is quite usual to write about and even think in terms of English history, American history, imperial history, and "the expansion of Europe." If we historians do not employ "conceptual tools," we occasionally lapse into conceptual periods and fields.

It is when one is confronted with a theme that does not quite fit, that one realizes how much we are committed to these concepts. The presence of Scotsmen in Canada is a commonplace which fits the concept of imperial expansion overseas, but a Canadian-Irishman sitting at Westminster as an Irish Nationalist is an uncomfortable morsel to digest. Miss Banks' theme cuts across our normal pattern, and it is inherently stimulating. But it is just in this problem where the author's difficulties begin.

Edward Blake was a Canadian of considerable stature and notoriety, a famous lawyer, and a leader of the Liberal Party. He can be placed satisfactorily in his Canadian historical setting. Again, the intricacies of Irish national politics and the accompanying controversies over Home Rule are well known in the context of British history. But the problem of dealing with an aging Blake in his British-Irish setting to the satisfaction of Canadian and British tastes is quite difficult. There is the further difficulty that, when dealing with the ultimate years of a long career, one is impelled to make estimates and sum up the man. In this case, the Irish years are in such a different context that a meaningful appraisal of Blake is quite impossible, using their evidence alone. This book, then, is a neonograph on the last chapters of Blake's life. We still must await a fuller biography before we can expect the appraisal of the man.

When Blake agreed to go into Irish politics in June, 1892, he claimed that he went as a private member, and that his part would be a minor one, because of his age and inexperience in this new field. In fact, his Irish career was fairly unobtrusive. He sat for the Irish riding of South Longford throughout the fifteen years, and seldom spoke in the House. He did not confine himself to Irish politics, but conducted a practice before the Judicial Committee



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of the Privy Council in these years. Within the Irish Parliamentary Party his interest lay chiefly in party finance, in constitutional issues, and in drafting the party's resolutions, rules, and bills. On several occasions Blake's personal loans or his efforts at fund-raising in Canada and the United States tided the party over periods of financial collapse. He was a mature and stable adviser, and he seems to have been regarded by successive leaders as one of several principal lieutenants.

Yet he is the same Edward Blake who was known so well in Canada. His maiden speech at Westminster was an hour-and-a-half reply to Joseph Chamberlain in defending the Home Rule Bill of 1893. To Sir Henry Lucy it was "a compendious effort with something subtly colonial in its character." And, Miss Banks' explanations notwithstanding, he continued his predilection for proffering his resignation on various occasions of adversity and criticism. Redmond in 1904 referred to it in the words "It is a pity he is so sensitive. . .", and to Blake wrote, "The Freeman Correspondent was very stupid, but really people don't mind these statements."

Miss Banks has produced a scholarly but cautious treatment of Blake in his Irish context. It is clear that she sees issues in Blake's perspective. It may be that a reader with emotional attachment to groups other than the party supported by Blake might feel that justice was not done to their cause. I personally hope that this is but a preliminary study, and that Miss Banks is preparing the full biography.

Acadia University

PAUL CORNELL

Critical Moments: Kenneth Burke's Categories and Critiques. By GEORGE KNOX. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957. Pp. xxiii, 131. \$3.50.

One difficulty which has always faced literary critics is concerned with the accurate usage of terminology. Increased faith in scientific method during the later Renaissance compelled a precise definition of the nature and scope of the critical instrument, and by the mid-eighteenth century the principles of Newtonian physics had been carried over into the field of artistic criticism by philosophers such as Hutcheson and Hume, who proceeded part of the way towards the founding of an aesthetic. More recently psychologists, sociologists, logicians, and semanticists have tried to establish a fresh approach to their provinces of speculation by inventing new terms which have not been sullied by long usage and which do not bring with them any inherited emotional bias.

Kenneth Burke, poet and analytic critic, is one influential pioneer of such terminology, but, like many other pioneers of his kind, he has erected a barrier of incomprehensibility between his own mind and the minds of his readers. This barrier is made even more formidable by the diversity of his philosophical and literary interests, so that our modern inclination to pigeon-hole a man and his special "field" together cannot be easily satisfied where Burke is concerned. He has been labelled "a neo-liberal pragmatist," which is a "newspeak" way of



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saying that Burke averts his eyes from traditional criticism and inclines towards Marxist attitudes—not, however, with the inflexibility of the run-of-the-mill Marxist, whom he attacks for over-simplification.

Burke has never been widely read, but his influence on some well-established "new" critics such as R. P. Blackmur demands that he be given serious consideration. Mr. Knox's "slim volume" follows in the wake of shorter critiques of Burke—for example, the essays by Stanley Edgar Hyman and Marius Bewley, which represent respectively favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards Burke's criticism. Knox anticipates his reviewers when he states that "the difficulty of introducing Kenneth Burke is largely one of explaining his terminology without using his terminology." *Critical Moments* does manage to explain Burke a little more clearly than Burke explains himself, and, since the justification of a critique of a critic is mainly one of strict utility, Knox's book must be awarded positive credit despite the limitations implicit in and arising from the specific task (explaining terminology) which he sets himself. One presumes that the person who would read Knox will have read something of Burke's or at least be willing to do so, for *Critical Moments* is in the nature of an illustrated guide to, and not a substitute for, Burke's *Works*.

Burke's first important critical volume was published in 1931, and a number of others followed hard upon it: *Permanence and Change*, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, and *A Grammar of Motives* together developed a vocabulary which, in the words of Marius Bewley, "insulates its user against the shock of the work of art itself." Such a vocabulary and the "science" of criticism which it claims to explain implies a transcendental fusion of criticism with "the other sciences." His analytic method does not have much attraction for the Anglo-Saxon mind, which has a persistent bias towards explaining the essence of a work of art with reference to its origin. The best English criticism is predisposed to illuminate its subject through history or biography firmly controlled and sheers away from the excessive use of an analytical method which treats literature as though it were a patient etherised upon a table. Burke's approach enables his disciples to overcome the national barriers separating them from the English literary tradition mainly because it takes little heed of the level of human personality. His specialized vocabulary goes a long way towards luring attention from the literary work itself, and his ideas, considered one at a time, are stimulating enough to persuade the reader that he is being brought closer to the work under discussion whereas the writer is actually reducing it to propaganda.

Burke views language as symbolic action, more or less as Blackmur does, and conceives literature, as he puts it, "dramatically." His idea of the function of the literary critic as stated in *Attitudes Toward History* is that he should "integrate technical criticism with social criticism [propaganda and didactics] by taking the allegiance to the symbol of authority as [our] subject." His principle of hierarchy is the stabilising force behind all his attempts to "integrate" poetics with dialectic. Burke's criticism is an eccentric combination of the transcendental with the material and is (apparently) devoted to the establishment of an eclectic method for analysing the action as it is revealed in the symbol.

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One obvious defect in *Critical Moments* is its lack of real critical rigour—it is all Burke and no Knox. The writer hardly ever commits himself to a positive opinion on the limitations of Burke's practical criticism, so that *Critical Moments* leaves us in the air with a feeling of awesome respect for Burke's shiny vocabulary but only the foggiest notion of what it has to do with literature or literature with it.

University of King's College

A. M. KINGHORN

The Wine of Eternity: Short Stories from the Latvian. By KNUTS LESINS. Translated by Ruth Speirs and Haralds Kundzins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press [Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd.], 1957. Pp. xx, 179. \$4.25.

On the extinction of Latvian freedom at Soviet hands in 1944, most of the intelligentsia who had not been murdered or shipped to Siberia escaped to the West. Among the latter was Knuts Lesins, professor of music, dramatist, and short-story writer, who after six years in Germany migrated to the United States in 1950. The first book of his fiction to appear in English translation is *The Wine of Eternity*, chosen and translated by Ruth Speirs and Haralds Kundzins from the six published volumes of his short stories in Latvian. He is also the author of three novels and two volumes of essays.

Lesins has a profound attachment to the countryside of his native land and to the fundamental character of his nation. There is the pride of farmer Varpa ("In the Blizzard"), who gives his refined wife away to a rival. There is the desperate buffoonery of Duka ("The Tailor and the Wolves") who plays his fiddle in the very muzzles of the attacking wolves and outfaces them. There is the old man's reckless and hot-headed hospitality in "The Fiery Descent of Old Koris." There is a brutal, impulsive murder by a dull-witted and aggrieved lad in "A String of Beads." In all of these tales, character is more important than plot.

The strongest and longest narrative of all is the title-story in the collection, "The Wine of Eternity," which has much of the flavour of a German *Märchen* but with a poetic profundity of meaning that lifts it to a higher level. On his wedding day, young Janis Nebeda, fulfilling his promise to a dead friend, visits the latter's grave, passes into the underworld, and drinks two glasses of a strange wine. When he presently leaves the churchyard, he finds that two hundred years have passed. Thereafter no earthly liquor can intoxicate him, but he has moods of deep sadness as he ponders on the problem: "Why does man live on this earth?" A prospective father-in-law refuses to concur to another wedding until Janis Nebeda proves his humanity by getting drunk. In search of an infallible potion, he seeks out a wizard. When the latter gives him a jug of plain water, Janis drinks with sudden ecstasy and disintegrates into a little heap of dust on the floor. The water had come from a brook that flowed past the old churchyard. Almost equal in fantasy is "One-day Land," where everyone re-lives the happiest day of his life, without yesterday or tomorrow.

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One might have expected bitterness and self-pity from an exile, but the prevailing mood of these stories is a calm wisdom that finds deep and abiding significance in human life.

Acadia University

WATSON KIRKCONNELL

Errand Into The Wilderness. By PERRY MILLER. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press [In Canada, S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited, Toronto], 1956. Pp. x, 244. \$4.75

As this profound volume embodies the conclusions of twenty-five years' effort on the part of a brilliant and dedicated student of New England history, it can be appreciated fully and reviewed adequately only by those who are steeped in the narrative and critical history of the United States and have unlimited space at their disposal. In a brief notice one can hardly do more than indicate its aim and list its contents.

Its aim is to set before its readers, after "a fresh and profane examination" of that "stultifying conception of Puritan history which had settled like a cloud of patriotic obscurantism over historians of a generation ago," the meaning of America; or to expound "the innermost propulsion of the United States." Paradoxically, this profane examination paid more respect to the theological writings of the Puritans than their patriotic champions did; and, while insisting "that the mind of man is the basic factor in human history," allowed the Puritans to explain themselves in their own terms. The very title of the first "piece"—and the warp of the whole volume—was taken from an election sermon of Samuel Danforth in 1670, *A Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness*; and this sermon among others shows how articulate and troubled the Puritans of the second generation were as to their mission to America. Consequently, when Professor Miller says, "There is nothing so idle as to praise the Puritans for being in any sense conscious or deliberate pioneers of religious liberty," he is able to give chapter and verse, so to speak, from the writings of the Puritans themselves. The same is true as to their attitude towards democracy.

The table of contents lists ten articles, essays, or addresses, which Professor Miller prefers to call pieces, written or delivered at different times and collected in one volume, as forming a coherent whole on the main theme: the nature and result of the Puritan errand into the wilderness. The titles of these pieces are "Errand into the Wilderness"; "Thomas Hooker and the Democracy of Connecticut"; "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity"; "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia"; "The Puritan State and Puritan

Society"; "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening"; "The Rhetoric of Sensation"; "From Edwards to Emerson"; "Nature and the National Ego"; "The End of the World".

Though the mere listing of the titles of these chapters gives little idea of their illuminating contents, it indicates that the first five are concerned with the pattern of mind from which American as distinct from European culture—*theological and social*—is to emerge; and that the last five deal with the process of that emergence and its issue.

In the first piece the author views the Puritans in both senses of the word *errand*—on a mission for others and on a mission of their own. They were the first to found an ideal civil and ecclesiastical society—a Calvinist *internationale* for the temporarily stalled Reformation—and, after Copernicus and Newton had exploded the medieval cosmology under which the Puritans had gone on their errand and the Toleration Acts in England had caused the Puritans at home to forget or ignore their agents in the wilderness, the first to find the meaning of their errand "by themselves and out of themselves." In the second piece, he explodes the myth that Connecticut had been a democratic secession from theocratic Massachusetts. In the third, he shows the modifications of rigid Calvinism effected by the Puritans through their doctrine of the covenant, which in a sense brought God under law as the English parliament did the king. In the fourth, he shows that even in Virginia the religious motive was prominent at first, through the clergymen who acted as promoters and publicity agents and offered the emigrants "regeneration" as well as "riches." In the fifth, by a description and examination of the Puritan State and Society, he shows how far they had achieved the original idea of their errand when they found themselves on their own.

In the second part of the book the author has the more difficult problem of following the Puritan errand over a longer period of time in the expanding and receding wilderness of America—expanding as both the Mississippi and the "Oregon" roll within its boundaries, and receding as the pioneer and the arts of civilization come into conflict with Nature. However, he sees Jonathan Edwards—a child of the wilderness whose head was full of Newton and Locke—through the Great Awakening and the adoption of Locke's sensational psychology, giving a new definition of the Puritan errand by contending that the guiding rule of Society should be not "the eternal values" but the "public welfare," thus substituting the social compact for the covenant of grace. He also sees a connection, though not quite the missing link of evolution, between Edwards' and Emerson's love of nature. After discussing the part played by Emerson, Bryant, Cooper, Melville, and others in what was tantamount to the substitution of the cult of nature for Christianity and after noting the bewilderment of those who saw ultimate doom in the conflict of nature and civilization and the necessity of choosing between them, he sees the Puritan errand disclosing itself as an errand without end, still hankering after an end of the world that would be accompanied by judgment, which in that two-fold sense was more impossible in the atomic age than in the age of Newton and Copernicus.

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British Emigration to North America: Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period. By W. S. SHEPPERSON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press [In Canada, Thomas Allen Limited, Toronto], 1957. Pp. xvi, 302. \$5.00

This is a welcome addition to the small list of summary volumes on emigration from Great Britain to North America—the more so because it pays more attention to the views of the British people and governments on emigration than to accounts of the reception of the immigrant into the New World, for and about which much had been written by interested promoters and disinterested travellers. As Professor Shepperson says, "The nearly 250 works published by Britons about America between 1836 and 1860 brought practically every phase of the western society under close, if sometimes superficial, scrutiny." He also says that he chose this period for a study limited to the Atlantic migration because in it "Britain's official North American emigration policy of providing information and protection while avoiding involvement and promotion had been firmly established," and because it was relatively easy to isolate the different policy adopted towards emigration to the South Pacific. Moreover, because the Irish exodus was a different movement, he confined his study to England, Scotland, and Wales.

After a general discussion of the tradition of emigration, he divides his study into two parts. The first deals with the emigration movement amongst agriculturalists and labor and as inspired by humanitarians and religious bodies; and the second with the attitudes of business and government, concluding with a summary chapter on emigration in practice and theory. Appendix A reproduces five contemporary poems which depict vividly the advantages or disadvantages of emigration; and Appendix B gives five statistical tables, which list all emigrants from the United Kingdom, 1815-60; English, 1853-60; Scots, 1853-60; the occupations of emigrants in 1856; and the statutes at large relating to British emigration, 1800-60. A rather formidable, classified but uncritical, bibliography provides the basis for further study—whether that of checking the author's narrative or revising his interpretations. On the whole this is a useful handbook on the subject for Canadians as well as "Americans." Such inaccuracies as occur in references to the British North American provinces are not due to the author's lack of objectivity.

Archives of Nova Scotia

D. C. HARVEY

The Sacred River: Coleridge's Theory of the Imagination. By JAMES VOLANT BAKER. Intro. by Richard H. Fogle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. Pp. xiv, 308. \$4.50.

Professor Baker is well aware that there is some need to justify the writing of another book on Coleridge, and says himself: "It may seem unnecessary to undertake a further study of Coleridge's *Theory of the Imagination* at this time, when so many notable studies of it have already been made. Yet there is always *lebenraum* for fresh study, especially



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if that study is from a new approach." This new approach is from the point of view of the historical and critical value of Coleridge's theory of the role played by the unconscious in imaginative creation, in so far as this theory can be pieced together from the references scattered throughout his works. Graham Hough has said that *Biographia Literaria* is undoubtedly a work of genius, and would undoubtedly be failed as a Ph.D. thesis at any university. It is perhaps this double quality, manifest in most of Coleridge's writings, which has attracted so many scholars and critics. There is considerable scope for scholarship in plotting the critical and philosophic sources of Coleridge's eclectic theories; equally, there is considerable scope for criticism in effecting a reasonable synthesis of the scattered references, and in determining their value as a poetics. Professor Baker establishes a more or less clear separation of the two approaches, and devotes the first half of the text to an admirable and scholarly exposition of the background to Coleridge's theories. Thus, the avowed *raison d'être*, the "new approach," of the book is reached only after travelling over more or less familiar ground. This is not to dismiss the excellence of the detailed survey of the successive influences on Coleridge's thinking, supported as it is by an impressively wide range of reference. It does sometimes seem, however, if the "new approach" is kept in mind, that Professor Baker is unduly attracted by the apparatus of scholarship, by the opportunities for recondite argument or the adding of another name to the index. The establishment of the fact that the influence of Berkeley had turned Coleridge against Hartley before he had read Kant, and the refutation of Croce's attack on Descartes do not seem to aid the critical approach which is to follow.

A general exposition of Coleridge's theories and sources is certainly relevant to Professor Baker's main critical thesis that the value of Coleridge's thinking lies in his postulation of the importance of unconscious association to creative writing, and that the weakness lies in the stigmatization of mere works of the fancy—"the associative power"—born of his over-violent reaction to Hartley. Professor Baker sees a paradox in Coleridge's statement that "an unconscious activity. . . is the genius of the man of genius" and the implied value judgment of "Milton had a highly imaginative, Cowley a very fanciful mind." The paradox, in fact, is only implied in Coleridge because, Professor Baker would say, "he had not thought the subject through quite to the bottom." Coleridge's "fancy" was a power of the passive mind working with materials supplied by the principles of mechanistic association. When it operated without the modifying power of the imagination, the associations which it presented remained separate—undissolved and undiffused—but, Professor Baker argues, associations are modified in the unconscious long before they are brought out by the imagination for use in a poem. The difficulty would seem to be that Coleridge had formed his distinction between fancy and imagination some years before Schlegel presented him with the concept of the unconscious, and Coleridge does not seem to have made the clear equation between passive and unconscious mind which would have involved a modification of his earlier theory. When Coleridge speaks of the unconscious, he implies that it is a vital and active power; when he speaks

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of the fancy, he explicitly states that it is the reverse. Professor Baker argues for a synthesis of the two, involving the dropping of the term "fancy" and an application of "imagination" to the whole process of creation. By this he avoids the dangers of Coleridge's old-fashioned "faculty" psychology while retaining the threefold excellences of Coleridge's theory of imaginative creation as the reconciliation of opposites, the operation of all the mental powers of man, and the employment of the unconscious.

In thus modifying Coleridge's poetics, Professor Baker is aware that, at times, he is elaborating hints and making connections which Coleridge either did not see or did not wish to make. Moreover, although he frequently attacks critics who have accused Coleridge of fragmentary thinking, he often finds it necessary to employ phrases such as "this remark looks as though," "our tentative conclusion," and "it is not certain how far Coleridge himself was aware of this consciously," and never more so than when he is considering Coleridge's influence on later writers, critics, and theorists, and his relevance to post-Freudian psychology.

The Sacred River is a thorough consideration of most aspects of Coleridge's theory of imagination, well indexed and foot-noted, but the title is misleading in so far as it focusses attention on only part of the treatment, although this is admittedly the part for which Professor Baker implies most originality—the "new approach," the *raison d'être*.

Dalhousie University

A. H. ROPER

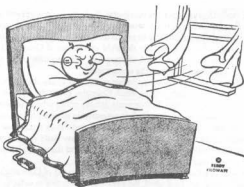
BOOKS IN BRIEF

Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581). By WILLIAM J. BOUWMA. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. vi, 328. \$8.50.

Volume XXXIII in the series "Harvard Historical Monographs," this book is the first comprehensive study in English of Postel. It will be of particular interest to specialists in Renaissance studies. Postel was a man of many interests—scholar, Christian cabalist, Arabist, humanist. Mr. Bouwma explains just how Postel "concerned himself with all the stock problems that filled the intellectual atmosphere of his age."

The Creative Experiment. By C. M. BOWRA. New York: Grove Press, 1958. Pp. 255. \$1.75 paper; \$3.50 cloth.

A reprint of a fine critical study of European tendencies in poetry between 1910 and 1930. In his analysis of the "creative experiment" typical of twentieth-century poetry, C. M. Bowra examines the work of Apollinaire, Cavafy, Mayakovsky, Pasternak, Lorca, Alberti, and T. S. Eliot. Of special interest to English readers is the thirty-page discussion of Eliot's *The Waste Land*.



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Study Abroad. Vol. IX, 1957-1958. Paris: UNESCO, 1957. Pp. 836. \$2.50.

The ninth edition of an important reference book on international educational opportunities. It lists more than 75,000 fellowships and scholarships open to foreign students.

The American Business System: A Historical Perspective, 1900-1955. By THOMAS C. COCHRAN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. viii, 227. \$6.25.

An analysis of twentieth-century business development explaining how changes in technology, the spread of managerial enterprise, and the rise of the welfare state created the present structure of the American business system.

Soviet Transportation Policy. By HOLLAND HUNTER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. xxiii, 416. \$10.25

This is the latest volume from the Russian Research Center of Harvard University. It surveys Soviet transportation policy from the middle 1920's to the present and compares the operating procedures of Soviet and American railroads.

Educational Finance in Canada. By H. P. MOFFATT. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1958. Pp. 95. \$1.75.

This little book presents the Quance Lecture in Canadian Education for 1957, delivered at the University of Saskatchewan by the Nova Scotia Deputy Minister of Education. Dr. Moffatt first examines the history of the financing of education in Canada and then offers some solutions to problems of finance now facing our educational institutions.

Rimbaud. By C. A. HACKETT. London: Bowes and Bowes [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada)], 1957. Pp. 109. \$1.80.

Professor Hackett finds the unifying theme of Rimbaud's work to be "a child's belief in his omnipotence." It is because his "fierce lyricism" appears first to the "tumultuous and undisciplined emotions" of our own adolescence that the study of Rimbaud had given rise to the fantastic diversity of critical response wittily alluded to in the first chapter of this monograph. Yet it is "only in so far as we can develop beyond our own immaturity . . . that we shall really be able to see and to understand Rimbaud's work." It is through a conscientiously dispassionate and unbiased approach that the author leads us to a fresh appreciation of the certain artistry of this amazing poet, who produced all his literary work between the ages of 15 and 19, then spent the rest of his life in adventurous travel, ending his career as a trader and gun-runner in Abyssinia. The book is in the *Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought Series*.

Words of Faith. By FRANÇOIS MAURIAC. Translated from *Paroles Catholiques* by Rev. EDWARD H. FLANNERY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 118. \$2.75.

The six lectures printed here were given by M. Mauriac between 1929 and 1953 and include his speech at Stockholm, "An Author and his Work," which was occasioned by

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his receiving the Nobel Prize for literature. Mauriac has always been a man with a message, and, as well as speaking through his novels, he has spoken frequently in his own voice. It is a voice whose seriousness carries in it strong overtones of the seriousness of Pascal—an early and abiding influence upon the writer. The present selection shows us very well Mauriac's belief that only a Christian consciousness can fully understand the present world situation and meet its challenge. It also shows us his concern that his fellow-believers and fellow-countrymen should implement their beliefs by social and political action.

Six Theosophic Points and Other Writings. By JACOB BOEHME. Introduction by Nicolas Berdyaev. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958. (Ann Arbor Paperbacks). Pp. xli, 208. \$1.95.

A work by the great German mystic, Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), who influenced William Law and William Blake. J. R. Earle's translation, first published in 1919, is here reprinted.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Birro, Celia. *The Ways of Enjoyment: a Dialogue Concerning Social Science.* New York: Exposition Press, 1957. Pp. 114. \$3.00.

Clemens, Cyril (ed.). *Mark Twain Jest Book.* Kirkwood, Missouri: Privately Printed, 1957. Pp. 32. \$2.00.

Drew, Joseph. *More of the Truth in Poetry.* New York: Exposition Press, 1957. Pp. 111. \$3.00.

Macdonald, P. A. *Parallels in Physics and Biology.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957. Pp. ix, 74. \$2.50.

Mueller-Deham, Albert. *Human Relations and Power.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxi, 410. \$3.75.

Olson, Charles. *Call Me Ishmael: A Study of Melville.* New York: Grove Press, 1958. (Evergreen Books). Pp. 119. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$1.25.

Stein, Stanley J. *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders], 1957. Pp. xv, 316. \$9.25.

Pearson, Lester B. *Where Do We Go From Here?* (The Gideon D. Seymour Memorial Lecture Series). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. Pp. 20.

Preliminary Inventory, Record Groups 14, 15, and 16. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1957. Pp. 30. \$.50.

Willey, Gordon R. and Phillips, Philip. *Method and Theory in American Archaeology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Toronto: University of Toronto Press], 1958. Pp. ix, 270. \$4.75.

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