

## Book Reviews

*World War I and the American Novel.* By STANLEY COOPERMAN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press [Toronto: Copp, Clark], 1967. Pp. xii, 271. \$6.50.

*The Modern Confessional Novel.* By PETER AXTHELM. New Haven: Yale University Press [Montreal: McGill University Press], 1967. Pp. viii, 189. \$5.75.

Convinced that art documents the spirit of its age, Hippolyte Taine formulated the principle that literature is generated by the collision of a national spirit with a historical moment. This equation is revived a century later in Stanley Cooperman's *World War I and the American Novel*, a study that resembles Taine's *History of English Literature* both in the design of its argument and in its conception of fiction.

Professor Cooperman contends that American novels which took World War I as their subject, including those by Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, and Cummings, were "not simply 'influenced' by the war, but in a vital sense created by it." The vision of absurdity which pervades that art, its variations on the theme of disillusionment, its tone of strident protest or despairing irony, its impassive narrative techniques, are all presented as consequences of the unique American experience of unprecedented conflict.

Outrage and disillusion were inevitable, the author maintains, because both the American soldier and the novelist who spoke for him had so many illusions to lose. Seduced by political, religious, and even literary propaganda with an idea of war at once righteous and exciting, they embarked for the Western front as crusaders in the combined service of democracy, God, and their own manhood. But the war they were encouraged to imagine as a dramatic proving ground of national and personal authenticity was in reality barren of all purpose and meaning, was in fact a lunatic abattoir in which real lives were squandered on symbolic battles. Reacting against their deception by the counterfeit values of propaganda, American novelists deflated romantic abstractions with their accounts of the bestial realities of mechanized warfare. Their revolt against what Hemingway stigmatized as the obscenity of patriotic rhetoric was impelled also by a sense of self-betrayal. Propaganda did not create the peculiar American vision of war; rather it sanctioned what the author describes as an innate passion for holy crusades, which itself was a liberation from Puritan rigidity and a compensation for amoral materialism.

Like the novelists he discusses, Professor Cooperman takes as his principal target the official lies that endorsed and fed the war. He devotes more than half his book to a comparison of stories told about combat, by politicians, clergymen, and writers, with the actual facts of combat. In contrasting at length its propaganda with its reality, he amply demonstrates that in World War I only lives were cheaper than words.

Yet despite his reiterated distrust of rhetoric, the author implicitly designates it as the essence of the novel. He judges fiction primarily in terms of its avowed intention to protest and its effectiveness in moving its readers to belief. He criticizes Elliot Paul's "withdrawal from indignation", finds E. E. Cummings "exasperating" because instead of expressing his anger "he vanishes behind impossible laughter", dismisses Dos Passos' concern with aesthetics as "a weakening of protest", and summarily convicts Hemingway of having made a separate and existentially irrelevant peace. Such monistic judgments are perhaps entailed by the study's premises, for Taine also concluded that the more visible a book makes sentiments appear, the more literary it is. Professor Cooperman goes further by demanding not only that a novel's sentiments be explicit, but also that they be of a particular kind. He contends that the novel of protest, of "negation", was in the face of the war "the only morally conscious reaction possible for the intelligent or moral man." The author's preoccupation with the historical pertinence and moral propriety of fiction, though in some ways very attractive, identifies his book as something closer to ethical than to literary criticism.

The major flaw of this book, however, is not that Professor Cooperman shares the motives of the rhetoric he excoriates, but that he utilizes its tactics as well. As the documents reprinted here demonstrate, propaganda does not inform, it convinces; it does not argue, it asserts; it does not describe the complexities of experience, it imposes on them the crude symmetries of melodrama. In this sense, this book is propaganda for its author's view of the war and of literature. He asserts throughout, for example, that World War I, unlike the war that followed it, had no "external cause". Conflicting views are dismissed without examination as "revisionism", a process simplified by the author's failure to acknowledge the existence of works as forcefully documented and as influential as Fritz Fischer's *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, which appeared in Germany in 1961.

More dismaying than his exclusion of counter-arguments is Professor Cooperman's management of the evidence he does present. He offers *The Red Badge of Courage* as his only historical document of the Civil War and as a typically romantic example of its literature. He startlingly omits to observe that Crane was born six years after the war had ended, that he had no experience of its "realities", and that writers who, like De Forest and Bierce, did participate in the Civil War are usually as immune to romantic illusions about combat as Dos Passos and Hemingway. He finds Faulkner's *Soldier's Pay* to be one of the few

post-war novels to express adequately the numbness engendered in the soldier-novelist by technological combat, again neglecting to point out that this novelist was no soldier. To acknowledge that one of the most authentic of World War I protest novels was written by a man who got no closer to the Western front than the RAF training school in Toronto, and who in 1953 was still nostalgic about the opportunities for heroism in that war, would have raised interesting questions about the relationships among historical experience, belief, and fiction—questions which this book purports to answer but which its neat formulas consistently exclude.

Peter Axthelm's *The Modern Confessional Novel* rests on the contrary assumption that novels imitate novels rather than the historical actions of men. Recent novels of tortured self-analysis are anatomized and evaluated as extensions of a tradition established in the confessions of Augustine and Rousseau and transmuted into an enduring fictional mode in Dostoevsky's *Notes from the Underground*, which provides, Mr. Axthelm asserts, "a prescription for the genre of the modern confessional novel". The ground rules and most of the terms for the sort of generic criticism of fiction presented here were set down in Frye's "Theory of Genres" and developed in Kellogg's and Scholes' *The Nature of Narrative*. That neither of these seminal works is mentioned in Mr. Axthelm's book is a measure of how seriously he takes the taxonomic pretensions of his study.

This is not the anatomy or broadly-based history of a genre, but an inventory of half a dozen novels that have a few elements in common. It is never made clear whether Mr. Axthelm regards the confessional novel as a form in which the narrator is his own subject, as in Golding's *Free Fall* and most of the other novels and precedents the author cites, for he also includes in that category *The Brothers Karamazov*, which contains several confessions in a larger frame, and *Herzog*, where first-person introspection is limited to the hero's letters. The form delineated here appears to be distinguished by its thematic rather than its narrative affinities. But the claim that "Essentially, the modern confession can be described as a quest for values, an effort to impose meaning and order on one's life" excludes so few novels of the past hundred years as not to be a definition at all.

The theoretical generalizations in this book are not thoughtfully argued but dutifully discharged, as if they were an obligatory preamble to Mr. Axthelm's real interest, the explication of individual novels. These are often convincing and perceptive. But persuaded that books beget other books, the author often regards the novels he evaluates as conscious responses to or consequences of their predecessors. As a result, his essays are marked by a conspicuous consumption of literary echoes that obscures otherwise acute interpretations.

*Writers in Arms.* By FREDERICK R. BENSON. New York: New York University Press [Toronto: Copp Clark], 1967. Pp. xxx, 345. \$5.95.

The writers whom Professor Benson has examined in his treatment of the "literary impact of the Spanish Civil War" are Georges Bernanos (*Les grands cimetières sous la lune*), Ernest Hemingway (*For Whom the Bell Tolls*), Arthur Koestler (*Spanish Testament*), Andre Malraux (*L'Espoir*), George Orwell (*Homage to Catalonia*), and Gustav Regler (*The Great Crusade*). One must assume that it was for the sake of a comparative study and not for intrinsic literary merit that these authors were chosen. In any case, Professor Benson is not so much interested in the literary worth as in the respective pictures of the war that are represented: he is interested not in how the pictures were drawn but in what they present. As a result, the reader is apt to lose sight of the fact that these are works of art.

The book is organized around a series of essays dealing with various themes or issues: Ideas, Religion, Violence. It is introduced by three chapters on the alignment of American and European writers, on political commitment and on the specific circumstances which brought the six authors to the subject of the Spanish rebellion. The first two episodes are excellent studies of a very delicate and controversial matter: the relationship of an author to political debate. It is a subject explored several years ago by Daniel Aaron in *Writers on the Left*, but Professor Benson's analysis surpasses in length and quality Aaron's necessarily brief account of the Spanish ordeal.

When *Writers in Arms* moves into what appear to be the core chapters, its perspective begins to falter, and it falters because the author seems not to have used his primary sources judiciously. His discussions of Ideas, Religion, and Violence derive from a broad-ranging attention to major and minor published histories and memoirs. In and of themselves, they are generally astute, helpful, literate. But, again and again, Professor Benson interrupts these thoughtful essays with a profusion of pertinent excerpts from his six authors. Thus we learn what Bernanos and others had to say about the Ideas, then what they had to say about Religious Troubles, and then what they had to say about Violence. These excerpts are so many documents which are not really major contributions to the essays. Skipping back and forth from one author to another, as he must, Professor Benson does not help the reader who wants to measure Bernanos' or Hemingway's developing vision.

What this format does offer, obviously, is the opportunity to compare and contrast the six authors' position on this or that topic. Comparison is the rationale of the book. A comparative study might just as well have been organized, however, by treating each author separately in relation to the various themes or topics which a scholar might wish to discuss. In this way, the images, the vernacular, the forms, as well as the political positions, could be distinguished and appraised.

The essential objection to Professor Benson's book, however, is that it has no intention of examining these several novels and memoirs as works of literature. He does not show convincingly that he understands the distinctions in form and technique between such volumes as *Homage to Catalonia* and *Spanish Testament* and such obvious works of fiction as *For Whom the Bell Tolls* or, even, *L'Espoir*. There are distinctions, and they inevitably influence the shape and direction which the "documentation", so assiduously excerpted, has taken.

University of Western Ontario

VICTOR HOAR

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*The Territorial Imperative.* By ROBERT ARDREY. New York: Atheneum, 1966. Pp. xii, 390.

In 1960, Robert Ardrey turned from writing plays and produced *African Genesis*, a study of the australopithecines. The finds of these pre-men had attracted wide attention, but Ardrey took the philosophical approach to its most important feature, man's rapid turning to the carnivorous life with its demands upon intelligence and aggressiveness. Many less versatile animals had made this change before man, but they had done it gradually, which allowed their laggard genetic pattern to keep pace with the pre-adapted behaviour. Man had already a simian intelligence which allowed him to change his behaviour rapidly. As a result, he entered upon the violence of predation without the safeguards which other species built up to prevent their damaging their fellows. Man began as Cain, a murderer of his brethren, and the short term of his human existence has not rid him of this instinct. The book was delightfully written and except by psychologists, who ignored it, was well received.

Now he has done it again, but this time the study is of the importance of "territory", some corner of the world which is one's own. The study of birds first turned up the importance of territory, and this reviewer can remember his surprise, half a century ago, when he first heard that the songs of birds were not expressions of "gladness" or sentiment but warnings against trespassers. Since then, detailed studies of the behaviour of living things have found a territorial instinct in most of the animal world. Ardrey skims the extensive literature of the science of behaviour and turns at last to the primates, with special attention to the lemurs of Madagascar among whom every form of territorial animal society is represented. The descriptions are vividly evocative, and not only of the animals. "And in my brother's voice I hear / My own unanswered agonies." Ardrey turns specifically to man's behaviour and shows how men react to territorial threats. In animals we call such behaviour instinctive, but in man it is referred to frustration in childhood.

The presentation is artistic, authoritative, beyond criticism, and I must agree with his thesis that human behaviour is basically instinctive and that territory

is one basis of sanity. Fifty years ago in Jamaica, I was asked why the labourers of one "pen" stole even from each other, whereas on another pen a few miles away there was comparative stability. My suggestion, based on observation and not on theory, was that the first pen was surrounded by large properties, the second by small holdings from which the labourers were drawn. Ownership increased self-respect and respect for others. Ardrey's other assertion that behaviour and not genetic change is the basis of evolution is not new, but it seems scarcely to have penetrated biological laboratories.

One may disagree over minor details. Territory is not everything. One need only listen to the desperate shouts of a phoebe who has found an unclaimed bridge but lacks a mate to complete the pattern. Freud exaggerated the priority of the sexual instinct; Ardrey prefers the territorial instinct; no one upholds the importance of the parental instinct. Yet all together, in varying proportions, make up the pattern. Ardrey attributes the decline of gorillas and elephants to their lack of territorial instinct, but these are giants in their own fields and do not need the security of territory. It is their misfortune that size is no defence against human predation.

Ardrey asserts that natural selection moulds the whole species and not merely the surviving individual. This is obviously true, since only the species and not the individual will continue. Animal males usually fight under instinctive rules and not to the death; human societies have man-made morals for lack of instincts, but these are forgotten beyond the social territory, which may be of land, race, or ideology: if meek societies have ever inherited the earth, it has escaped the eye of history. So human agglomerations move on towards giantism, and the individuals that comprise it become reduced to cogs in a vast machine and are frustrated in their basic instinct for territory. This, according to Ardrey, leads to violence, riots, neuroses, beards, and aimless sex, and to a destructive discontent with the most nearly affluent society that the world has yet seen. The only answer to such disorder is the threat of military or police violence, and that is palliative at best.

Perhaps, as Ardrey hopefully suggests, a reformation of psychology by a recognition of the elaborate instinctive equipment of man might turn government policies towards more possible objectives. This may be doubted, for our paleontological record gives no single example of a gigantistic species which has turned back into the more demanding field of competition in quality instead of quantity; but that does not detract from the fact that Ardrey has made a valuable contribution to the as yet unwritten natural history of mankind.

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J. S. ERSKINE

*Chaucer and the Shape of Creation: The Aesthetic Possibilities of Inorganic Structure.* By ROBERT M. JORDAN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: Saunders of Toronto], 1967. Pp. xiii, 257. \$6.95.

From time to time many critics have offered interpretations of Chaucer. They have examined Chaucer's sources; they have hunted for actual Merchants, Knights, and Prioresses; they have sought out historical allegories. Recently there has been a spate of new approaches, some of which have been merely applications of modern critical techniques to a literature which was not based on modern aesthetic principles. Lumiansky, for example, has seen the *Canterbury Tales* as a drama, and—while he makes some interesting points—he leaves many questions unanswered. D. W. Robertson has been much more successful in going back to the Middle Ages to ascertain the symbolic and allegorical tradition which Chaucer knew and upon which he presumably based his poems.

In *Chaucer and the Shape of Creation*, Professor Jordan looks at medieval aesthetic theory, endeavouring to find in it an explanation of the thought patterns of Chaucer's poems. Beginning with Plato's *Timaeus*, he traces the principle of universal harmony and proportion to Boethius, Macrobius, and St. Augustine; to Dante and his theory of division in a poem; and to the fourteenth-century rhetoricians, who also laid emphasis on structure. He then shows that medieval architecture, as exemplified in the Gothic cathedral, embodies the same doctrine of geometric proportion, and hence celestial harmony, which is prescribed for literature.

Applied to Chaucer's poetry, the above-named principles imply a form which reflects the poet's vision of man and God: the poem possesses in its divisions and subdivisions some of the structural features of a cathedral, all joining to form a unified whole, and Professor Jordan examines *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, and the *Tales* of the Merchant, Knight, Miller, Clerk, and Parson from this point of view.

The result is an interpretation which explains many of the inconsistencies in narrative technique and tone which have previously puzzled critics. The Merchant is not intended to be a unified character; rather, Chaucer employs several voices and several points of view to combine into one tale a series of comic attitudes towards folly and marriage. In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Professor Jordan works out a symmetrical structure for the events as a whole and also develops a "vertical" pattern in which the characters are on a fictional level, the narrator on a "real" one, and, finally, all is seen in terms of the Creator. The whole has its architectural parallel in the harmonious grouping of larger and smaller arches, ribs, buttresses, and other features within the Gothic pattern.

Some of Chaucer's works are especially remarkable for their neat structure, notably *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Parson's Tale*, and *The Knight's Tale*. This last is particularly symmetrical, and Professor Jordan's theory underlines the fact.

It is not certain, however, that the system will work equally well for all the other tales, and it is doubtful whether anything like a mathematical harmony of parts is ever attained. The architectural analogy, while answering some questions, raises others which limit its application.

The principle of inorganic structure is, on the whole, a valuable discovery. It explains apparent disparities, and it settles many of the questions that have been asked concerning Chaucer's characterization. In eliminating inconsistencies in points of view, it creates further unity. Most important of all, it is a principle that accords with medieval practice and does not force Chaucer into a modern mould. We have not heard the last word on the subject, but Professor Jordan has opened a valid and important avenue of approach which will repay further investigation, both in Chaucer and in other medieval authors.

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R. MACG. DAWSON

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*Prince of Librarians: The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi of the British Museum.* By EDWARD MILLER. London: André Deutsch; Athens: Ohio University Press [Don Mills: William Collins], 1967. Pp. 356. 50s.[\$7.50].

Although great libraries are essential for modern scholarship, we seldom remember the difficulties of the scholars who worked before these libraries arose. A few hundred years ago scholars had to depend for books chiefly on their own libraries and on the uncertain generosity of a few great collectors. Nevertheless, a student working in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century studies is repeatedly surprised at the mass of references to printed literature made by the most learned scholars of those periods, working under difficulties before which we should feel properly humble. Among the developments which have created very different conditions is the rise of the British Museum library. In the history of this library, to which so many collectors, librarians, and other devotees have contributed, the greatest name belongs to an Italian revolutionary and exile.

Antonio Panizzi arrived in England in 1823, "with not quite a sovereign in his pocket, knowing no one nor a word of the language." He took up an obscure position in the Museum library a number of years later, and eventually became, first, Keeper of Printed Books and then, at last, Principal Librarian and thus head of the entire Museum. During his years of authority, he vastly increased the library's holdings, both by purchase and by enforcement of the widely disregarded copyright provisions for the supply to the library, by the publishers, of free copies of all printed books. He guided the Museum and its library through the dangerous world of the nineteenth-century reform movement in which they, as well as Parliament and the universities, were altered. It was one of his advantages that he had the gift of friendship and was intimate with the great Whig families in almost the last generation of their existence. He was also a friend of an astonishing



collection of politicians, dilettantes, men of letters, and even—for he never abandoned his revolutionary Italian nationalism—of revolutionaries. He retained during all his life some of the passions of the Italian vendetta, and an unattractive side to his personality is found in his incessant quarrels with colleagues and subordinates at the British Museum and with members of the public.

The present biography of Panizzi recaptures little of this fire. It is written in a plain, rather crabbed style, and one senses that in his whole approach to his subject the author is performing a continual act of restraint. The only enthusiasm he permits himself in the book is a mild hero worship, which becomes rather more marked towards the end. Although Panizzi's quarrels are described, the reader is given the facts, not the personality behind them. Taken simply as a detailed factual account, written from an extensive range of sources, many of them in manuscript, this work is most useful. One only wishes for something a little more human, a little more vivid, about this strange Victorian, this librarian Disraeli.

Foreigners in English society play a special role for the historian of that society. They establish a contrast to set off the native characteristics. They pose to contemporaries problems and questions which these would not otherwise have considered, and which the historian is very glad to find answered or put on the way to being answered. This is even more true for those intruders who are almost but not quite English: Scotsmen like Burnet; Irishmen like Burke; half-English exotics like Disraeli and Lord Acton. Panizzi belonged of course to the former group, being totally foreign, but he made himself, as he grew increasingly into an Englishman, also a claim to be a member of the second group. At the last, to all outward scrutiny, only his bad spoken English (his written English was impeccable) distinguished him as a foreigner. Yet there is little trace in this biography of this rewarding contrast that one expects to find. Perhaps it is the author's fault. Perhaps it was Panizzi's. He may have successfully performed, after all, the true civil servant's role of wholly merging personality into the machinery of administration. Only one conflict between Panizzi and his environment really stands out. He was repeatedly reproached in the press as a foreigner. Surely there were, wrote a scathing enemy when Panizzi still occupied only a minor position in the library, "deserving Englishmen of letters . . . able to write out the titles of books as well as a foreigner". England in the lifetime of Panizzi was at the height of her power. The age of embarrassment had not yet come. These attacks are a curious note on the dark side of Victorian society.

*University of Waterloo*

ROYCE MACGILLIVRAY

*Milton and the Renaissance Hero.* By JOHN M. STEADMAN. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [Don Mills: Oxford University Press], 1967. Pp. xx, 209. \$5.95.

In this aggressively theoretical volume, Dr. Steadman analyses Milton's transmutation of the values commonly assigned by Renaissance poets and critics to the epic hero. In this analysis he proposes (p. xiii) to consider: "(1) his treatment of the heroic formulae commonly accepted as ethical and literary norms, (2) his distinction between their valid and invalid modes, and (3) his revaluation of epic tradition in terms of this dichotomy." In each of his five main chapters, II to VI, he traces his thesis through one of five familiar epic formulae, those of fortitude, sapience, leadership, Amor, and magnanimity. This is a strategic limitation among many possible heroic virtues. On the other hand, he takes within his consideration not only *Paradise Lost* but also *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes*, with a passing glance at *Comus*.

In each such chapter, Dr. Steadman finds Milton exposing the falsity of the old epic virtues as displayed by Satan, Beelzebub, or Harapha and the immutable worth of their Christian counterparts as exemplified in the Messiah and in the repentant Adam and Samson. The supreme example of Milton's demolition of the old epic tradition he finds in the portrayal of Satan: "Line by line, stroke by stroke, he was painting—on glass—a portrait, far larger than life, of the conventional hero. When it was complete, he would shatter it" (p. 24).

From this whole process of analysis come some rather drastic conclusions: "*Paradise Lost* is at once both epic and counter-epic. If it imitates the established models of heroic poetry, it also refutes them. In its own way, it achieves an intellectual revolution no less extraordinary than those of Copernicus and Kant (p. xx). . . . Milton found the heroic poem brick and left it marble (p. 177). . . . The familiar epic themes have been 'transubstantiated' (p. 193)."

The style is lucid and precise, and the whole book a model of definitive statement.

Yet somehow it is all too cut and dried to be worthy of the living complexity of Milton and his poetry. The poetic process does not begin with a systematic, dogmatic blue-print of heroic characteristics. If Milton had so launched his epics, they would never have gone into orbit.

Dr. Steadman would seem, moreover, to be unduly generous in ascribing originality to Milton's substitution of the frail sinner for the godlike traditional hero and to his polarizing of human depravity and divine mercy. These were common-places of contemporary theology and flourished abundantly in a lush Renaissance growth of Biblical epics and Biblical tragedies. For *Paradise Lost* alone I have tracked down 144 analogues in the period 1500-1667, but only six of these are mentioned by Dr. Steadman in his checklist of Renaissance poetry and criticism on

pages 20-22. His interest seems to have been concentrated on non-Biblical epics and dramas, and the theological originality of Milton in comparison with these would be self-evident; but an inclusion of Grotius, Taubmannus, Mellius de Sousa, Rolim de Moura, Ramsey, Salandra, and Vondel, not to mention *Christiads* by Vida (briefly mentioned twice by Steadman), Laparelli, and Clarke, would have altered the focus.

The flamboyant comparison of Milton with Copernicus and Kant implies major changes in the direction of literature, comparable to those in astronomy and epistemology, but where is the evidence? Where are the significant epic successors to *Paradise Lost*?

A drawback for most students is the failure to give numbers for the books and lines in the numerous quotations. It is often important to be able to check a passage with its context, and only the seasoned Miltonist could turn immediately to the exact page. Nor does the author divulge the edition from which the quotations are made.

One is also troubled by the assumption, noted in the second paragraph above, that Milton has carefully built up a glorious picture of the heroic in Satan, only to smash it in derision by the snaky metamorphosis of Book X. But surely we have been exposed to a long revelation of the infinite falsity and evil of Satan at every step of his great expedition. There is in him a progressive inner degradation, carefully expounded in the poem. First we have the spiteful design against our innocent first parents purely to annoy a God whom he dare not attack directly. On his arrival on earth, he becomes a peeping Tom, then a toad, finally (by choice) a snake. To become a snake by compulsion in Book X is not a capricious device by which the author disposes of a glittering epic hero but an inevitable final stage for the Father of Lies.

Acadia University

WATSON KIRKCONNELL

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*Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography*. By EDWARD W. SAID. Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Toronto: Saunders of Toronto], 1966. Pp. xiv, 219. \$4.95.

It must first be admitted that *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* is good reading; Professor Said writes well. To his credit also is his recognition of the importance of Conrad's letters as touchstones for the fiction. According to Aristotle, the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor; and one is reminded, while reading the letters, of this kind of greatness. Life, Conrad insists, is an indestructible knitting machine: "It knits us in and it knits us out. It has knitted time, space, pain, death, corruption, despair and all the illusions—and nothing matters." Like the most cynical Absurdist, Conrad declares: "One must drag the ball and chain of one's selfhood to the end. It is the price one pays for

the devilish and divine privilege of thought; so that in this life it is only the elect who are convicts—a glorious band which comprehends and groans but which treads the earth amidst a multitude of phantoms with maniacal gestures, with idiotic grimaces. Which would you be: idiot or convict?"

Indeed, the letters are so rich that one wishes that Professor Said had made some stylistic comparisons between them and the fiction, an ideal way, it would appear, to point up the wrongheadedness of Moser's and Guerard's view of Conrad's waning creative powers and of Leavis's view of Conrad's so-called "adjectival excesses". Unfortunately, Said accepts Leavis's pronouncement, but attributes it to psychological rather than artistic inadequacies in Conrad. To this reviewer, Said's explanation (a troubled mind "hiding within rhetoric") is quite unsatisfactory; one has only to observe the control and economy in the earlier *The Nigger of the "Narcissus"* to realize that the rhetoric in *Heart of Darkness* is being consciously employed (as in *Hard Times*, for example) to evoke a certain response to the materials in hand.

When Professor Said discusses the short fiction in part two, he is superb. Drawing on Bradley, Sartre, and Schopenhauer, he identifies important philosophical configurations in Conrad's consciousness: and in his useful and intelligent discussion of an early story, "The Return", heretofore treated indifferently by the critics, Said explores Conrad's retrospective mode and his continuous efforts, like those of Yeats in "Leda and the Swan", to make past and present co-exist in an eternal present (which is the realm of all great art).

In this connection, it is worth mentioning the dangers involved in quoting from the letters in anything more than matters of technique. In one breath Conrad can speak of the courage which comes with "the forgetfulness, or rather the obliteration of the past"; in another he can insist on the necessity of rescuing from the past vanishing phases of existence. The unwary critic finds himself bogged down in contradictions or, like the devil, quoting Scripture for his own purpose. And this leads to a major misgiving about the book.

In the title, *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography*, there is a subtlety or ambiguity which Professor Said does not fully comprehend. Said argues that the war of 1914-1918 finally released Conrad by incarnating his own private struggles, and that *The Shadow-Line* could be read as a gloss on the war in Europe, with its crises, beleaguered ideals, and so on. Conrad's writing is autobiographical, but not in the sense that he experienced exactly the *events* of his stories (though this must often be the case), but rather in the sense that he has experienced exactly the *feeling* or *emotion* which dominates each of his works. Thus the crisis of the war for England may well have brought into focus Conrad's own early trials, with all their existential resonances, as a young man and captain, just as his own feeling of insecurity as a man and as a writer has led him in *Chance* to write of the rejected Flora de Barral. I see no justification, however, for

expecting in the stories exact historical parallels with the *events* of Conrad's life or the larger events of European politics. Therefore, when Professor Said begins to speak of the significance of the credit moratorium during the war in relation to the events of *The Shadow-Line*, it is difficult not to find oneself very much out of sympathy with his thesis.

University of Toronto

GARY GEDDES

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*Dickens: A Collection of Critical Essays.* Edited by MARTIN PRICE. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall [Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada], 1967. Pp. 184. \$4.95.

Collections of essays on Dickens appear, as they ought to appear, frequently and with various approaches. George Ford's *The Dickens Critics*, taking representative essays from the 1840s to the present, is perhaps the most interesting, certainly if read as the companion to his *Dickens and his Readers*. Most specialized is Lettis and Morris's *Assessing 'Great Expectations'*. Gross and Pearson's *Dickens and the Twentieth Century*, though the title is slightly misleading, is the most contemporary and the least cannibalistic, the articles being written for the volume and ranging from plain bad to excellent. It is essentially British, though the most eminent English Dickensians are omitted. Martin Price's new anthology cannibalizes and therefore has the opportunity to range widely and select the best. Curiously, three of its twelve essays are captured from *Dickens and the Twentieth Century*—a strange concentration, given the vast number of essays and parts of books from which to choose.

Along with four essays on Dickens in general, Price gives us eight on major novels from *Pickwick* to *Our Mutual Friend*, so that the various stages of Dickens' development are touched upon. The individual essays and chapters are well-known to specialists and are first-class examples of criticism for the general reader interested in Dickens. One can quibble, of course (why not Moynahan rather than Pickrel on *Great Expectations*?), but on the whole the essays are well chosen, including studies by Dorothy Van Ghent, Barbara Hardy, George Ford, W. H. Auden, Steven Marcus, Kathleen Tillotson, Lionel Trilling, and J. Hillis Miller. More than the other collections, this gives a sense of the vitality and variety of Dickens criticism, both American and English, in recent years, with perhaps some slighting of the invaluable historical and bibliographical work done in England by such writers as K. J. Fielding, Philip Collins, Humphry House, John Butt, and Kathleen Tillotson, and in France by Sylvère Monod (the choice, even in this area, shows how healthy Dickens scholarship has become). The seminal essay by Edmund Wilson, and the controversial essay on *Hard Times* by F. R. Leavis are omitted, presumably for the same reasons of unavailability that kept them out of *The Dickens Critics*.

Price's introduction to the collection is a general impression "as we turn back to Dickens from Dostoevsky or Kafka, from Brecht or the theatre of the absurd, . . . better able to see some of what has been there all the time." The assessment is lively and intelligent.

*University of Alberta*

R. D. MACMASTER

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*The Realm of Art.* By JOHN M. ANDERSON. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967. Pp. xiv, 190. \$8.75.

Professor Anderson does not use the word "realm" in his title as a mere figure of speech. To experience what he calls "aesthetic occasions" is to travel a path away from the context of our ordinary behaviour patterns, to suffer loss of the ordinary self, and to participate in the disclosure of content or vision. This "disclosure of content" is awareness of the bond between what is merely given to the sense and the patterns which form what is given to the sense.

We enter the realm of art partly through accident and partly through the activity of the artist. "Activity" is a key word: Anderson talks about the "art-work" as a sustaining activity; the artist "enacts" a painting. (All art, he says, has something of the characteristics of action painting: it is a release of force from the artist, an event, an "aesthetic occasion.")

"Art-work" is to be distinguished from "art object". An art-object is something that we can respond to in our ordinary intellectual, emotional, and practical contexts. The "history of art" is about art objects. But to respond aesthetically is to respond to the "presence" of the human being (the artist) who sustains the activity of revealing content to vision. Of revealed content there can be no history; it is process, transient and accidental.

"Realm" in *The Realm of Art* is the continuing disclosure of content, but this content is not merely a sense phenomenon. It includes the participant's awareness of the human "presence" of the disclosing artist, and of its negation, the "other", or "alien", examples of which are ugliness, pain, horror, and evil. Comedy and tragedy are discussed in terms of the tensions between the "presence" and the "other": "In comedy we are caught up by the other and we accept it; . . . in a tragedy, by contrast, it is man who holds our attention as he brings himself to stand before the other" (p. 131).

These remarks and quotations are intended merely to give a rough idea of what goes on in this fascinating book. Words such as "given", "content", and "other" are used in such a way that they are explained by the book taken as a whole and by an emerging context. One can trace many influences in this vocabulary to modern European phenomenology, but the argument is original, so much so that it will perhaps be more remarkable for its influence on works in aesthetics as yet unwritten.

Anderson holds art-work in genuine esteem: his grasp is firm but respectful. For him there is, in the realm of art, reason to believe in the perfectibility of mankind.

(On page 39 the word "martial" appears where obviously "marshall" is intended, and on page 63 a line of type is missing.)

University of Toronto

GEOFFREY PAYZANT

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*The Devil's Disciple*. By DANIEL C. BOUGHNER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1968. Pp. 264. \$5.95.

Neither Machiavelli nor Jonson would have been pleased by this solid example of "Ultra Germano-Criticasterism". Ostensibly a study of the influence of the one upon the dramatic art of the other, *The Devil's Disciple* so ignores the glories and profundities of both that neither would have recognized himself in its pages. Neither would have believed himself so aimlessly pedantic or have thought himself so dead, and both would have resented the systematic elimination of joy from their craft.

The entire work is riddled with the decay of the old-time graduate school, that institute of higher loathing. It is all there, and all in the name of Scholarship: the compulsive collection of learned flotsam; the insistent survey of influences, sources, borrowings, and backgrounds, pertinent or not; the uncertainty about the audience, with the resultant inconsistency in handling foreign languages; the often stilted or plain bad writing, sounding regularly like a sight translation by a myope; the confusion between history and literature, with the former too frequently winning out; the reference to self in the third person neuter, even in the notes (which are themselves often pointless and are of course well hidden at the back); the working assumption that paraphrase is the same as criticism, and that summarizing plots and dropping of names is proper commentary. (To summarize Machiavelli is bad enough—the stories are extant and writ in choice Italian, and *La Mandragola* was produced not so long ago on a London stage—but to summarize *Sejanus* and *Volpone* is downright insulting.) It is all there, a thoroughly joyless practice which springs from a fundamental perplexity over what art is all about and which in consequence persists in making a scarecrow of the laws of what Wellek has somewhere called judicial criticism, "a necessity of the human mind". And it is done with such authority that, quite in keeping with its graduate-school character, it makes one feel guilty criticizing it.

More disheartening is the fact that Professor Boughner started out with something worth saying. Machiavelli's theory and practice in comedy and elsewhere were indeed revolutionary, and there is no doubt that they influenced Jonson, both in his views on the purposes of comedy and in his exploitation of a four-part structure cutting across a five-act division. These points are not insig-

nificant in any study of the development of English drama, and, in chapters on the design of *Every Man in His Humour* and other "comic masterpieces", Professor Boughner makes them convincingly enough. But he makes them so diffusely (is it really necessary to outline the plot of *Every Man In* to discuss its design?) and after so much needless learned palaver that one could not care less when one gets to them.

It is difficult not to be upset by a study such as this. Not only does it disappoint by its erudite irrelevancies, but it also depresses by its relentless examination. One cannot help fearing that it will be just such a work that will bring to an end the traditional comforts of academe, that while Berkeley simmers, Columbia smokes, and Paris burns, the Professor Boughners will continue to fiddle with dead scholarship until sanity cries Enough! and forces a moratorium on liberal disciplines.

*University of Manitoba*

S. WARHAFT

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*Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England.* By RONALD PAULSON. New Haven and London: Yale University Press [Montreal: McGill University Press], 1967. Pp. 318. \$8.50.

*Henry Fielding: The Tentative Realist.* By MICHAEL IRWIN. Oxford: Clarendon Press [Don Mills: Oxford University Press], 1967. Pp. 147. \$4.25.

With the modern insistence on the primacy of the illusion in fiction, the demand that an imaginative work hold us in an airtight little world that bears no direct reference to the outside world of mere actuality, a book on satire and the novel has a healthy corrective function. Satire, as an element in the novel, works with a centrifugal force which is bound at points to break through that "wall without chinks or loopholes" with which Ortega declares a novelist should surround "the closed precinct of his novel". The eighteenth century, the age of satire as of the birth of the novel, is the natural period to choose for a study of the relation between the two.

Ronald Paulson is of course perfectly aware of the frequently rival claims of satire and the novel—how exaggeration can interfere with realism, and social comment with illusion; but at the same time he demonstrates just how much the English novel owes to the element of satire that was its inheritance from other genres. "After 1730", he points out, "Fielding, Smollett and Sterne were the only first-rate satiric temperaments to emerge in England, and all three turned to the novel. Thanks largely to them, we now have other kinds of novel besides the one described by Ortega y Gasset."

Paulson's study of Fielding shows the growth of the novelist in terms of his increasing grasp of the complexity of motive and character. Starting with a satiric view of man as a self-seeking hypocrite whose actions do not measure up to his professions, he develops—partly through reaction against Richardson (from whom,



however, he had much to learn)—a more complex judgment of action as inseparable from motive. By the time he has, in *Tom Jones*, come to be ready to extenuate a wrong action if the motive was right, he has evolved from the satirist to the novelist.

For all the modern critics' praise of Fielding's irony, Paulson points out that he was most circumspect in his use of it, since he recognized it as a double-edged weapon. "Irony is capable of furnishing the most exquisite Ridicule", he wrote in 1748, "yet as there is no kind of Humour so liable to be mistaken, it is, of all others, the most dangerous to the writer." And, being unwilling to get into trouble with his own side, as had Swift with *A Tale of a Tub* and Defoe with *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*, Fielding was careful to alternate straight comment with his irony, so that his readers would be sure to get the point.

For Smollett, as Paulson has shown, satire was not only a mode but a subject. His protagonists characteristically take upon themselves the role of castigators of a corrupt society; but just as Smollett as a novelist recognized the dangers of a purely satiric view of humanity, so Peregrine Pickle discovers that he must cease to be a "practical satirist" in order to become a decent human being. The combination of idealistic legislator and savage executioner that Smollett saw in the satirist—explored at length in his protagonists, from knight-errant to criminal—is more succinctly realized in his account of Crabtree with his colony of spiders in the Bastille: "Although I presided with absolute power over this long-legged community, and distributed rewards and punishments to each, according to his deserts, I grew impatient of my situation; and my natural disposition one day prevailing, like a fire which had been long smothered, I wreaked the fury of my indignation upon my innocent subjects, and in a twinkling destroyed the whole race."

With Sterne, who takes the Whig attitude of affectionate delight in idiosyncrasy, satire in the novel begins to take other and less recognizable forms; Paulson traces it as it becomes less stringent in concentrating on suffering virtue rather than vice in the sentimental novel, and then merges into the novel of manners with Fanny Burney and Jane Austen.

The book is a fine and discriminating piece of work, and Paulson's detailed scrutiny illuminates facets of the novels he treats with admirable clarity. The only reservation would be on its structure. Perhaps because the introduction may serve doubly for this and his other recent book, *The Fictions of Satire*, one feels that he takes too long in establishing his premises before he gets to the novels; his carefully documented distinction between Tory and Whig satire, for instance, seems only peripherally applicable to Fielding and Smollett.

If in Paulson's book one occasionally loses sight of the wood for the trees, Michael Irwin, in his book on Fielding, spends a good deal too much time in establishing what has long been obvious to any serious critic—that is, that he is a moralist. "Fellows like Fielding", Ford Madox Ford told us once, "pretend that

if you are a gay drunkard, lecher, squanderer of your goods and fumbler in placket-holes you will eventually find a benevolent uncle, concealed father or benefactor who will shower on you bags of tens of thousands of guineas, estates and the hands of adorable mistresses." But that was in 1929, and hardly needs refuting now. Moreover, in the course of showing how Fielding frequently sacrifices form to didactic intention, Irwin has a tendency to suggest that morality is a discrete ingredient in a work separable, say, from plot, character, and form itself. Irwin's contribution is in his study of the diverse modes that Fielding tried to combine in his novels, and the extent to which he succeeded. He goes a long way towards explaining Fielding's curious failures in evocation: why a holdup in *Tom Jones* is not exciting, for example, or an emotional scene not moving. If his contention that Fielding was not the "vulture" of Charlotte Brontë's phrase is somewhat superfluous, Irwin's serious reservations about Fielding's art deserve attention.

*University of Alberta*

JULIET McMASTER

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*Spenser's Images of Life.* By C. S. LEWIS. Ed. ALASTAIR FOWLER. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Toronto: Macmillan of Canada], 1967. Pp. xii, 144. \$3.50.

Spenserian criticism is rarely light reading, principally because the bulk and complexity of *The Faerie Queene* are such that most studies of the poem require a depth that renders them also complex. Furthermore, if they attempt to cover the entire poem, they become highly condensed in the effort to avoid even greater bulk. The present volume, because of the peculiarities of its approach and the circumstances of its publication, is neither complex nor highly condensed; and, although it may not be light reading, it is far easier reading than most books dealing with *The Faerie Queene*.

*Spenser's Images of Life* is a posthumous expansion into book form of the notes of the late C. S. Lewis's Cambridge lectures on Spenser. The work has been undertaken with obvious care by Alastair Fowler (*Spenser and the Numbers of Time*) and, if the comparison of Dr. Fowler's text with the four plates that reproduce Lewis's original notes is any indication, it is obvious that the text is very close to the lectures that Lewis delivered at Cambridge, if not to the actual book that he himself planned to base upon them.

As such, the book is apparently largely Lewis's own work, with relatively little editorial expansion. Fortunately, Dr. Fowler has made no attempt to write in Lewis's own style, and those felicities of expression that resemble that style (reading *The Faerie Queene* as a novel "is like going to a Mozart opera just for the spoken bits") are obviously his own.

The book is not a pretentious one, and should not be read with great expectations: it should be read for what it is, a series of lectures by C. S. Lewis. If

the reader takes this approach, he gets something of the quality of what one would expect from a Lewis lecture—positive but cautious assertion, insight and lucidity supported by scholarship, and a style that is a mixture of elegance and directness, seriousness and wit. At the same time, it suffers from the circumstances of its composition in that it touches here and there upon important aspects of *The Faerie Queene* but does not develop any single argument at great length.

Basically the approach that Lewis has taken in *Spenser's Images of Life* is one that seeks to illuminate certain features of the poem from the study of some of its imagery, particularly with relation to the sixteenth-century tradition of the pageant. Within this tradition Lewis includes several visual types that influenced *The Faerie Queene*: the pageant proper or symbolic procession, tournament pageantry, the masque, traditional iconography of the gods, hieroglyphs and emblems, and philosophical iconography. Drawing upon such naturally divergent sources as Alciati's *Emblemata*, Ebreo's dialogues, Pico, Ficino, Botticelli, contemporary records of pageants, tournaments, and masques, and even upon H. Rider Haggard for illumination, Lewis examines primarily several erotic motifs—some of which he touched upon more than thirty years ago in *The Allegory of Love*. These include the many images of the false Cupid as the enemy of "True Love"; the several atypical images of True Love (largely seen in the harmony implied in the hermaphroditic Venus); the myth of Belphebe and Amoret in the light of the Garden of Adonis; an interpretation of Britomart's dream (and Britomart's role in the poem) both on the sexual level and, through Artegall and Osiris, in relation to the conception of justice; and the miseries of the forever-about-to-be-raped Florimell. The principal pageants or pageant-like representations that are used to support these discussions are the House of Busyrane, the Temple of Venus, the Bower of Bliss, the Garden of Adonis, Isis Church, and the Wedding of the Thames and the Medway.

Two other chapters widely analyse Spenser's images of good and evil, finding chiefly that the images of good are light, active, joyful, satisfied and free, while those of evil present darkness, passivity, solemnity, starvation, and imprisonment. Finally, Lewis discusses the story of Arthur in relation to the inconsistencies of the Letter to Raleigh and to the Christian Platonism of the poem. Lewis also deals briefly with objections to the relative lack of depth of Spenser's characters, merely pointing out that "facelessness" is conventional in romance and in allegory.

These are all difficult features of *The Faerie Queene*, and, as was remarked earlier, Lewis can only touch upon them lightly in such a short book. But Lewis is gone, and Dr. Fowler has wisely refrained from attempting to expand his notes beyond what they suggest—a short book, of "ideas too interesting to be delivered lightly to oblivion".

*Canadian Books*

*Contemporary Canada*. Edited by RICHARD H. LEACH. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968. Pp. xii, 328. \$10.75.

Books consisting of papers given at a seminar are not always very successful in the non-commercial sense. This one is, and its usefulness is not confined to a foreign readership. It is published under the auspices of the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, and consists of eleven papers given by Canadians at Duke University between May and October, 1966, and a concluding essay by the editor, who is a professor of Political Science at Duke. As the names of the Canadians\* would lead one to expect, their contributions all show a high level of competence. This, in itself, would not ensure the book's usefulness to Canadian readers. The condition of Canada on the threshold of its second century was the subject of so much investigation in Canada that those Canadians who took part in it and those who have paid attention to the results might think they have little to learn from a final roundup, however competent those who carried it out might be. For this reason it is unlikely that a seminar having this objective would be organized in Canada for a Canadian audience comparable to that of Duke. Canadians who are knowledgeable about their country might also feel that since the audience was a foreign one the contributors might have to devote too much of their time to presenting it with elementary information about Canada. But the audience at Duke was an exceptionally sophisticated one. The seminar at which the papers were presented consisted of the advanced graduates and faculty in the several social science disciplines represented on Duke's Committee on Commonwealth Studies. While the contributors would probably have taken more knowledge for granted on the part of a similar group in Canada, they knew that their listeners, though non-Canadian, were informed, intelligent, and critical and have treated them accordingly. The material presented is not, therefore, burdened with the excessively elementary. The quality of the individual papers and the breadth of their collective scope are such that one would have to be a very close student of Canada or a very attentive member of the Canadian public not to learn something from them. It is, in any case, convenient to have in a single volume so comprehensive an exposition of the Canadian condition. A Canadian who is not but who wishes to become a member of Canada's attentive public could find no better book with which to start.

That the seminar was held in the United States and not in some other country outside Canada is probably a source of strength in that the contributors

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\* The Canadians are Nathan Keyfitz on human resources; Hubert Guindon on the two cultures; William C. Hood on the economy; H. E. English on industrial structure; Gérard Dion on trade unionism; John Meisel on parties and politics; J. Murray Beck on federalism in ferment; Claude T. Bissell on education; Irving J. Goffman on social-welfare policy; James Eayrs on military policies; and Richard A. Preston on external relations.

were free from any inhibitions about giving due emphasis to the heavy omnipresence of the United States for Canada. Most of the external comparisons in the book are made with the United States, and Canadian-American relations in all their variety and complexity constitute a dominant and recurrent theme. Since the importance of the "American fact" is as great for Canada as that of the "French fact", it would be difficult to over-emphasize it, and over-emphasis is easily avoided.

Nor is the title "Contemporary Canada" much of a misnomer for a book that appears some eighteen months after the last paper was given. In his remark that Canadian federalism since 1963 "has been in such a state of ferment that whatever is written on the subject may be out-of-date before it appears in print", Beck shows his concern for the operation of the time factor. It is true that since late 1966 we have had two sensational party conventions, two new leaders, and now the majority government that Leach, clearly, and Meisel more doubtfully, think desirable; that it has turned out to be Mr. Trudeau and not Mr. Marchand who has been given the main job of convincing Quebec of the merits of the Pearson-Trudeau solution to the problems posed by Quebec's demand for greater autonomy; and that there is at least the possibility that the majority support that Mr. Trudeau succeeded in gaining in Quebec means that Quebec has found another spokesman speaking a different tune from all who spoke for it in 1966. But these and other developments that "date" some of the statements made are for the most part superficial or accidental phenomena. The basic problems remain. Despite Mr. Trudeau's electoral victory in Quebec, for example, Beck probably retains his doubts about the viability of the Pearson-Trudeau solution, and there will be many Canadians who continue to share them. They are doubts that are strongly reinforced by Guindon's demonstration of the need of the new French-Canadian middle class for more social and economic space.

Unable to report consensus on the assessment of conditions and prospects or on policies, the contributors are not content merely to report differences of opinion. Most of them offer one or more points of view of their own. Thus Bissell suggests that Canada would do better to indulge in intellectual rather than in economic nationalism and Preston is clearly of the opinion that the Liberals handle foreign affairs better than the Progressive Conservatives. By listing no fewer than six functions for a military establishment Eayrs sets himself up for the conclusion that the Canadian establishment is currently deprived of adequate strategic justification. Canadians will differ on these and other opinions put forward. While this reviewer agrees with Eayrs, he would be disposed to argue against Meisel that the persistent survival in Ottawa of the "House of Minorities" is not one of the short-run causes of the low estate enjoyed by the federal parties and that the two old parties are more doctrinaire and the New Democratic Party less so than he seems to suggest.

In an otherwise quite detailed profile of Canada there is one significant



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omission. The editor and one or two contributors refer to the growing affluence and the economic strengths of Canada. Regional disparity is not overlooked, and statements about it are solidly backed up by an adequate statistical display. The extent of poverty and degree of economic inequality among individuals do not receive comparable treatment. The need for social welfare policies is tacitly assumed in the account given of them by Goffman and when Meisel makes his statement that Canada is an opulent society he throws in lightly the qualification that this "does not, of course, mean that there are not serious problems of poverty and deprivation." That is all. It is high time that the facts concerning poverty and economic equality became a standard and prominent feature of surveys of the state of a nation.

Dalhousie University

JAMES H. AITCHISON

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*The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths.* Edited by L. S. F. UPTON. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967. Pp. ix, 174. \$2.75.

This volume is part of a new series, entitled "Issues in Canadian History" and edited by Professor Morris Zaslow of the University of Western Ontario, which makes use of the "Problems Approach", a technique pioneered by two famous—or perhaps infamous—series in European and American History published by D. C. Heath and intended as aides for teaching university undergraduates. This Canadian series adds a new dimension to the older pattern since it includes contemporary documents and commentaries and a selection of secondary sources. It is a major and already much imitated departure for Canadian History and, if nothing else, it reflects the increased market potential of the Canadian undergraduate. Other titles already published in the series are *The French Canadians, 1759-1766*; *Racism or Responsible Government: The French Canadian Dilemma of the 1840s*; and *The King-Byng Affair, 1926*. To judge by the success of its first four numbers, the series should prove a profitable one both for its publishers and for students of Canadian History.

Success with a "problems" approach depends upon striking a balance between documents and secondary commentary. The richness of the documentary sources is very evident in this particular volume. Among secondary sources, mythology is carefully separated from sound historical writing. The principal shortcoming of this and other volumes in the series is the general absence of editorial assistance in the body of the text. Professor Upton's terse introduction is excellent, as far as it goes. But the mythology is not dissected. Instead, the reader is left with a sometimes meaningless collection of statements. The real importance of the Loyalists lies more in their myths than in their actual coming; and in this volume the myths are not systematically analyzed.

The Revolutionary phase of the Loyalist experience is rapidly being liberated from the mist of mythology. In the past decade the scholarship of such American

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students of the Loyalists as W. H. Nelson, P. H. Smith, and Wallace Brown has overthrown many earlier misconceptions. However, "The quality of Canadian historical writing about the Loyalists is much inferior to that of American scholars." While there has been a resurgence of writing on the nature and composition of Loyalist migrants, there has been an unfortunate absence of some "more balanced assessment of their influence" in shaping the "Canadian Identity". It is this aspect of their impact that awaits the historian of the future.

Professor Upton, who is an associate professor at the University of British Columbia, comes to his editorial task with excellent credentials. His edition of *The Diaries and Selected Papers of Chief Justice William Smith*, for the Champlain Society, has been widely acclaimed. With its introduction and notes, it constitutes a major contribution to the understanding of the mentality and aspirations of a very influential Loyalist. It is unfortunate that the present volume does not give full scope to his editorial ability. "Issues in Canadian History" is devoted to the hypothesis that history "verges upon a creative art in its task of careful analysis, imaginative synthesis, judicious evaluation and sympathetic assessment". This volume does not live up to such grandiloquent aspirations. There are too many important problems awaiting solution by Canadian historians, including that of the Loyalists themselves, to waste valuable effort on what graduate students so aptly describe as "Mickey Mouse" collections.

Dalhousie University

D. A. MUISE

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*The Politics of Survival: The Conservative Party of Canada, 1939-1945.* By J. L. GRANATSTEIN. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967. Pp. xii, 231. \$6.50.

In every polity in which democracy and diversity are made to co-exist, issues occasionally arise which—on grounds of race, or of religious belief, or of regional interest—serve to divide the citizens and threaten the underlying consensus upon which their social order is based. In Canada, to resolve such disputes and survive in office is the true test of the agile politician, and for Mackenzie King, the master of the craft, success was the product of obedience to the following rule: When conflicts develop of a fundamentally divisive kind, evade or conceal them if possible, postpone or confuse them if necessary, compromise on them as a last resort; but at all costs deny yourself the luxury of plainly taking sides.

In a book which is certain to become an indispensable source for Canadian historians and students of political affairs, Professor J. L. Granatstein of York University demonstrates how the failure to recognize the force of this dictum, and the inability to act upon it, helped to bring the Conservative Party dangerously close to extinction during the course of World War II. The difficulty was compounded by the multiplicity and ineptitude of the party's successive leaders, and by the cease-

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less strife among the members of its most active ranks, but the core of the problem was its failure to produce policies which could appeal to electors across the full range of Canada's sectional interests.

The party's dilemma, and its internal divisions, centred upon two intractable issues. The first was the question of conscription, and of the image of the British Empire—for some glorious, for others sinister, for the remainder politically inexpedient—to which it gave rise. The second was the problem of social welfare, and whether without it the party could survive the challenge of the C.C.F. These seem strange quarrels now, for in Canada conscription is no longer militarily relevant, the Empire is unmistakably dead, and welfare is admired publicly by all (although some still dispute the details and the cost of its implementation). But during the Second World War, they were live and volatile issues, and the Conservative Party therefore suffered from its failure to discover a politically satisfactory formula for their resolution. From March, 1939, to November, 1941, under R. J. Manion and R. B. Hanson, it officially repudiated the conscription-in-wartime position with which it had been associated since 1917. The result was the worst of all worlds: the Anglophiles within the ranks were alienated from the leadership, while the electorate at large remained unconvinced of the reliability of the party's change of heart. When Arthur Meighen resumed the leadership late in 1941, French Canadians especially were confirmed in the wisdom of their caution, for he nailed to the platform once again the conscriptionist plank. Meighen's failure to recognize the growing importance of domestic social security issues, and to cater to them, deprived him of a seat in the House of Commons, and hence ultimately of the leadership; but the damage he had done persisted long after his departure. In the general election of 1945, the Conservatives, now led by John Bracken, won only sixty-eight seats, of which forty-eight were in Ontario, and a mere two in Quebec.

Professor Granatstein tells the story of these misfortunes well, and with professional style. More significantly, perhaps, he bases his account largely upon a thorough investigation of the public and private papers of the men most immediately involved in the events with which he is concerned, and this substantially increases the utility of his book. His reliance upon such sources sometimes has the effect, however, of narrowing the focus of his discussion to the activities of the party élite, and political scientists may wish to complain of his neglect of the rank and file. They will be unjust if they do, for the volume contains more than enough revelations to keep them busy. The information which it provides on the party's relationship with its sources of financial support is a case in point. Stockbrokers, publishers, mining magnates, and railwaymen hover in the pages of this book like hawks in search of prey, dealing in politics as they doubtless deal in the market. It is comforting to learn that they did not always get their way, but the cost of defying them was heavy. When Manion refused, for example, to adopt policies supported by the C.P.R. and other business interests, "the effects of the drought

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[in party finances] were felt across the country", and the Conservatives fought the 1940 election with less than half the resources available to the Liberals. Professor Granatstein goes so far as to conclude that "the error which ultimately cost [Manion] the leadership, was in opposing, rather than appeasing, the party's powerful business and financial supporters."

For these and other revealing disclosures, students of Canadian political affairs are much in the author's debt.

*Dalhousie University*

DENIS STAIRS

*The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803.* Edited with an introduction and notes by CHARLES BRUCE FERGUSSON. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1967. Pp. lxii, 550.

The latest edition of the Champlain Society is the fourth in a series of five volumes that will cover the whole of this valuable diary from 1762 to 1812. Perkins was a Connecticut man who came to the little town of Liverpool shortly after its foundation by emigrants from New England. He became an active merchant and ship-owner, colonel of militia, magistrate, and a member of the Nova Scotia assembly. He kept the diary on sheets of foolscap, which were stitched together in volumes (probably by his wife) as the years went by. In 1822, ten years after Perkins' death, his widow removed to live with a son in the United States. She took the diary with her, and in the course of time no one in Nova Scotia knew of its existence until 1897, when a great-grandson living in New York, the Reverend J. Newton Perkins, sent the mass of foolscap to Liverpool as a gift to the town.

Volume Four of the Champlain Society's publication covers the period 1797-1803, which of course includes the first phase of Napoleon's wars and the brief uneasy Peace of Amiens. The Nova Scotians felt painfully the rub of these affairs. The best markets for their fish and lumber were in the West Indies, where the French and Spanish colonies became nests for predatory warships, privateers, and outright pirates. Perkins noted the losses of merchant ships and men from his town, and then the inevitable turn to revenge (and sometimes fat profit) in a nautical game of tit for tat. During the period under review at least seven private ships of war, licensed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and armed by His Majesty's naval stores at Halifax, went forth from Liverpool. Perkins was a shareholder in more than one. Under His Majesty's rules, all prizes taken had to be sailed home to Nova Scotia, confirmed as lawful captures by a Court of Vice-Admiralty, and then sold at an official "vendue". The Liverpool privateers, operating almost entirely in the Caribbean Sea, were all of two thousand miles from home. It was a rough game, with more hard knocks than ha'pence, although a few captains and owners managed to get rich.

This exotic chapter of Canadian naval history was a natural changeover from

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Nova Scotia's peacetime business. In normal times Perkins' people built ships, sailed out to the Banks for codfish, to Labrador for salmon, and then for a market away to the West Indies, British Guiana, Spain, Portugal, or "the Wine Islands"—the Canaries and the Azores. They were so utterly absorbed in scafaring that for nearly forty years after the pioneers came to Liverpool nobody bothered to explore their own river more than a few miles from tidewater. Even when a road was cut through the forest to join the Annapolis Valley with the bustling South Shore port, it was largely an enterprise of Valley farmers, eager for trade.

A man of many interests, in a growing community, Perkins wrote down with his careful quill the daily business and social doings of the townsfolk, and his notions about their morals, religion, health, and education. In all tangible matters he was precise about measurements, and prices too, so that the diary is of value in studying the times from any point of view. And because the people were determined individuals, with widely various views and affairs, the whole thing reads in a marvellous way.

Perkins' description of a smallpox epidemic in the winter of 1800-1801 is a case in point: the outbreak, the futile attempts to isolate the disease, the erection of "pest-houses" in the woods, the warning white cloths flapping outside every contaminated home, the resort to inoculation in the old rude way, the final switch to "kine pox". Inoculation, using pus from a patient undergoing the disease in a fairly mild form, had been practised for many years. It was dangerous, but the only known way to stave off a wretched death until Doctor Jenner published his vaccine discoveries in England in the period 1798-1800.

Just after Christmas, 1800, the Liverpool magistrates forbade a major of militia to inoculate his family at home, and ordered him to "wait for the Kine Pox". In Newfoundland, John Clinch is said to have used Jenner's method some time in the early summer of 1800. Otherwise this note by Perkins seems to be the first mention in Canadian medicine. Probably the magistrates had sent to Boston for a supply of vaccine matter. In July, 1800, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Harvard College had obtained from England a number of threads infected with cowpox. To prove his faith in the new method he began by vaccinating four of his own children. Later he exposed them in the common ward of a smallpox hospital, and they proved to be immune. In those days when smallpox was a recurring scourge, especially in the seaports, the news of this boon must have spread throughout the Atlantic states and provinces by the winter of that year.

In February, 1801, after watching the results in others, and after his usual cautious consideration, Perkins had his family "innoculated by Mr. John Kirk, all in the left hand between the thumb and forefinger . . . by making a small incision and Laying an Infected thread into it about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an Inch in Length".

A few weeks later the owners of the Liverpool privateer *Nymph* were getting her ready for another cruise to the Spanish Main, and Perkins noted casually,

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"Doc. Falt has inoculated a Number of the Privateersmen". Even in a town flying white flags almost everywhere, there was still the war of powder and shot.

Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, Archivist of Nova Scotia, has edited this volume (as he did the second and the third) with a good choice of the interesting and significant, an excellent introduction, and useful footnotes.

*Liverpool, Nova Scotia*

THOMAS H. RADDALL

*The Gunners of Canada: The History of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Artillery.*

By G. W. L. NICHOLSON. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967. Pp. 478. \$12.00.

Colonel Nicholson is the author of several books on military history. Some of them, such as *The Canadians in Italy* or *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, deal with complex subjects, but it is probable that he has never before handled a difficult theme as well as he has done in the first volume of *The Gunners of Canada*. The Royal Regiment's long and honourable history is by no means an easy one to relate, for at the outset a whole host of problems presses down upon the author. The artillery is a supporting arm. In consequence, as Nicholson says, its role "was less spectacular than that of some other arms, particularly the infantry". Then again, the artillery is a technical arm, and the daily work of gunners is filled with such recondite terms as "mean points of impact", "hundred percent zones", "meteorological telegrams", "box barrages", "ranging points", "angles of sight", and "zero lines". As though these difficulties were not enough, the artillery, even in the First World War, was sub-divided into types—heavy, medium, field, garrison, coastal, and anti-aircraft—each with its own equipment, establishment, and specialized role. In spite of these inherent difficulties, Colonel Nicholson has succeeded in producing a book that is at once scholarly, accurate, and extremely readable. It is no mean achievement.

*The Gunners of Canada*, as is often the custom with regimental or corps histories, casts well back to find its origins. In this volume, at least, the title justifies a chapter largely devoted to the artillery of the *ancien régime* and another one on the early colonial period. The accounts of the guns in the American War of Independence, the War of 1812, and the Fenian Raids are interesting, even if they provide us with little that is new. The story proper really begins with Confederation and the establishment of the first regular batteries.

The reader is taken through the North West Rebellion, the South African War, and the period of reorganization and militia reform that preceded the First World War. More important, possibly, he is given a real understanding of what the average artilleryman's life was like in those days, how he worked, what were his hours of parade, and how it felt to live in a world bounded by barracks, stables, and summer camps. The narrative is pleasantly permeated with the smell of leather, metal polish, horses, wool uniforms, and—occasionally—cordite.

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Rather more than half of this book is very properly devoted to the Canadian artillery in the First World War, and it is here that the author is at his best. The general panorama of that war is, of course, familiar to the student of military history—Second Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, St. Eloi, Mount Sorrel, the Somme, Vimy Ridge, Hill 70, Passchendaele, Amiens, and the last hundred days. Colonel Nicholson takes us over the same ground, but we see it now from the gunner's point of view. Many readers will probably realize for the first time that the First World War was in many ways an artilleryman's war, that time and again, as at Vimy Ridge, it was the guns that conquered the ground and the infantry who occupied it.

The technical and tactical developments of the war years are dealt with clearly and adequately, so that the book can be read with enjoyment by the ordinary man without specialized knowledge. The documentation is excellent, and Nicholson has made full use of war diaries, official orders, reports and records, as well as of personal letters, diaries, and interviews with participants. Lively and often amusing anecdotes lighten and illuminate even the more sombre portions of the text. There is a judicious selection of photographs and the maps, drawn by E. H. Ellwand, are excellent.

All in all, it is difficult to fault this book. One might legitimately complain that too little is said about artillery spotting by aircraft or that a little more detail on the essential communications of the artillery—line, visual, and wireless—would have been welcome. It may be noted that at the time of the taking of Vimy Ridge in April, 1917, there was no such thing as a Royal Air Force, and there seems to be no good reason why footnotes should consistently be placed on the right hand page, irrespective of their point of origin in the text. But these, after all, are the merest quibbles. *The Gunners of Canada* is an excellent book, and if the second volume comes up to the same high standard the Royal Regiment of Canadian Artillery will be able to congratulate itself on possessing by far the best of the Canadian corps histories.

*Directorate of History,  
Canadian Forces Headquarters*

D. J. GOODSPEED

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*Profiles of a Province: Studies in the history of Ontario.* Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 40 Eglinton Avenue, 1967. Pp. xiii, 233. \$6.00 (paper, \$5.00).

This collection of essays was published by the Ontario Historical Society to celebrate the dual centenary of Canadian confederation and the province of Ontario. The twenty-five contributions, compiled by Miss Edith G. Firth and introduced by Professor Morris Zaslow, touch on various aspects of the historical, political, economic, and cultural development of the region known since 1867 as Ontario. While

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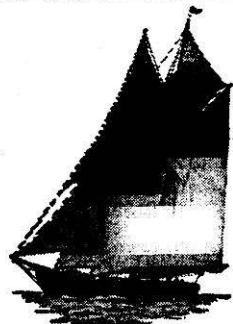
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most of the articles are essentially historical, ranging in time from the settlement of the Loyalists in the late eighteenth century to the politics of the 1930s, the volume also includes essays on religion, education, tourism, painting, and literature, together with a number of black-and-white photographs of old buildings and landscape paintings.

The arrangement of the material, which is partly chronological and partly thematic, gives a certain unity to the volume, but it does not entirely avoid the usual defects of collected essays, despite Professor Zaslow's claim that to "a surprising degree . . . the result is a reasonably well-rounded, integrated, comprehensive group of essays". Moreover, even when due allowance has been made for an understandable and not unwelcome variety in the methods of presentation and approach adopted by the authors, there remains considerable unevenness in the quality and length of the contributions. Several essays are far too short, and these arouse but fail to satisfy the reader's interest. Others suggest long neglected papers or casual talks hastily refurbished for the occasion, and some of the reprinted articles might also have been allowed to enjoy a decent obscurity. Most of the biographical essays are no more distinguished than the Ontario worthies whose careers they narrate, and at least a couple of the contributions can only be described as pointless ephemera. Perhaps not surprisingly, there are few traces of literary fluency or polished prose, and several of the articles cover very familiar territory in a pedestrian and unimaginative fashion. Apart from Professor S. F. Wise's excellent study of "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition", few of the essays break new ground or represent perceptive, scholarly contributions to the history of Ontario.

Given the circumstances and purpose of the enterprise, however, it may be churlish or unfair to judge the volume by rigorous standards of criticism. The quality of the articles suggests that the book is addressed to the general reader, who will undoubtedly derive enjoyment from browsing through this variegated homage to Ontario's past. Nor should the members of the Ontario Historical Society be criticized for giving themselves the pleasure of celebrating the centenary in a most appropriate way, and one that possesses greater value and more lasting interest than most of the recent rash of centennial projects.

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