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## E. J. PRATT AND EVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT:

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## TOWARDS AN ESCHATOLOGY

Whether we approach E. J. Pratt's peetry working forward from Sir' Charles G. D. Roberts' Orion (1880), or backward from Earle Birney's David (1943), Pratt's Newfoundland Verse (1923) and Titans (1926) are central to any discussion of the continuity of Canadian writing. Not only did Pratt consciously follow in the tradition of the public poet first established by Roberts, but his early poems are related through their content to Roberts' work. A transitional Victorian or an early modern in thought, Pratt, like Roberts and like Samuel But'er, wrote essentially from the impulse to reconcile Christianity and evolutionary thought. His paetic cosmology explicitly embodies the evolutionary ethics of T. H. Huxley's famous Romanes lecture, "Evolution and Ethics" (1893), with the exception that Pratt identifies the highest evolution of ethical man with Strauss' historical Jesus and describes the act of ethical choice in terms of Wilhelm Wundt's mechanistic psychology.

Strongly influenced by his Newfoundland experiences of continued struggle against an implacable nature, a struggle which he characterizes in The Book of Newfoundland (1937) as "the ironic enigma of Nature in relation to the Christian view of the world", and by his early training in theology, much of Pratt's poetry can be seen as the attempt to make man more equal to the struggle against nature. Nature, in this sense, implies both external nature and man's own tendency to revert to primitive self-interest, a tendency which Pratt sometimes identifies with original sin. The central concern of Pratt's poetry is often the problematic nature of human progress and the danger of man's reversion to an earlier and more primitive stage of behaviour. Even in the early and facetious The Witches Brew (1925), Tom, the sea-cat, is an Adam further down the evolutionary scale, and his drunken spree is a parody of the fall of man.

The development of Pratt's poetry suggests a series of evolutionary parables in which ethical man, or his surrogate in the giant animal or machine, is pitted against T. H. Hux'ey's "cosmic process". The cosmic process is evolution, but it is a later and Darwinian extension of Tennyson's nature "red in tooth and claw" in which evolving nature encompasses both external and human nature. Other than the primary re-elation of the cruelty of the struggle for survival, the general effect of Darwinism upon Pratt, as upon Samuel Butler and T. H. Huxley, was the gradual breaking down of boundaries between the organic and the inorganic, between the human and the animal, and the discovery of similarities between these categories not previously recognized.1 In But'er's Erewhon (1872) this breaking down of categories is explicit in his extended comparisons between human life and its manifold analogies in mechanical, vegetable and animal life. Pratt also absorbs this aspect of Darwinism into his poetry and while the early work explores the relation between the human and the animal ("Carlo", Newfoundland Verse) his later work suggests the relation of all parts of evolutionary nature (Towards the Last Spike) within the cycle of the cosmic process. Pratt views wireless, radar and radio as evolutionary extensions of man's capacity for speech in much the same way as Butler describes tools as extensions of human organs. Simi'arly, his stress on the evolution of the machine ("The Submarine") and his view of man as an extension of the machine which can become his master ("The Man and the Machine") are a'so strongly related to Butler's Erewhon.

Much of Pratt's poetry can be seen as the attempt to make man more equal to nature. Unassisted man confronting nature is almost completely powerless: only the giant animal or the marvellously crafted machine can successfully battle the cosmic process on its own terms. The human struggle against nature expressed in Rachel and "Clay" is displaced by the struggles of the powerful and gifted anima's of Titans who are, in turn, displaced by the great machine of The Titanic. But in The Titanic as in "Clay", it is still man's struggle against nature which is Pratt's primary concern and the ship is man's surrogate. It is not until "The Truant" that Pratt affirms that man alone can successfully confront the cosmic process.

Ironically, Pratt's early movement towards the animal past is a devolutionary step in terms of man's ethical development; similarly, the latter movement towards the machine can a'so be a devolutionary step in ethical terms although it may be a step forward in terms of man's scientific progress. Like Samuel Butler in *Erewhon*, Pratt views the machine as one step above the animal on the evolutionary ladder:

No forbear of the whale or shark,
No saurian of the Pleiocene,
Piercing the sub-aquatic dark
Could rival this new submarine.
The evolution of the sea
Had brought forth many specimens
Conceived in horror—denizens
Whose vast inside economy
Not only reproduced their broods,
But having shot them from their wombs,
Devoured them in family feuds
And passed them through their catacombs.
But was there one in all their race
Combined such terror with such grace

Which knew the way
To sound and circumvent a storm
Or steal a march upon her prey?
No product she of Nature's dower,
No casual selection wrought her
Or gave her such mechanic power. (Still Life, 23)

The submarine is a superior creature, evolved beyond nature and no longer dependent upon the vagaries of natural selection for her power. The tremendous advantage of the machine is that it is better equipped to battle nature than are any of the natural creatures. The horror of the machine is that (like the iceberg from *The Titanic*, like the ship itself, and like the grand Panjandrum) it is activated by "mechanism" rather than the moral sense. Consequently it is a superior animal in the cosmic sense in that it is so nearly self-sufficient: it kills not for food but upon command; even "if they die" as Pratt writes of the German tanks in *Dunkirk*, such creatures "do not suffer death". Outside the pale of human frailty, they are not governed by human morality. When man, who should provide the moral imperative for the machine, neglects his reason (as in *The Titanic* where "the judgement stood in little need of reason") or when he perverts his reason to the service of death (as in "The Submarine") man's ethical self is denied in the reversion to primitive nature.

Identifying the machine with an increase in evolutionary technology but an atavistic fa'l in moral evolution (as is explicit in the metaphoric development of *The Titanic*), Pratt briefly abandons the machine to investigate a new aspect of man's evolutionary development. In the simplest sense, Brébeuf is

the hybrid which results from crossing animal strength with the Christian ethic, and he becomes the pinnacle of Pratt's evolutionary structure. Brébeuf's victory over his own human nature and the amoral processes of nature as they are embodied in his tormentors becomes a vindication of ethical man.

With the end of World War II and the renaissance of hope in man's ability to control his own savagery, Pratt turns again to the machine and man's struggle against nature in *Towards The Last Spike*. Again he sees man as a part of nature (in much the same way as he had in the lyric "Newfoundland") and again the relation between man and the particularities of stone, gorse and tree is the same cosmic energy which T. H. Huxley identifies as animating all life:

. . . man, physical, intellectual, and moral, is as much a part of nature, as purely a product of the cosmic process, as the humblest weed.

Thus, it is not only true that the cosmic energy, working through man upon a portion of the p'ant world, opposes the same energy as it works through a state of nature, but a similar antagonism is everywhere manifest between the artificial and the natural. Even in the state of nature itself what is the struggle for existence but the antagonism of the results of the cosmic process in the region of life, one to another?<sup>2</sup>

It is this vision of the world (derived ultimately from Darwin and perhaps immediately from Butler and Hux'ey), which undergirds Pratt's merging of Scotsmen, gorse and Laurentian rock in *Towards the Last Spike* and which accounts for the consistent merging of hero and fce, life and death impulse, labourer and Laurentian shie'd which John Sutherland, Northrop Frye and A. J. M. Smith have all identified (but without reference to Darwinism) as characteristic of Pratt's poetry.<sup>3</sup> In *Towards The Last Spike*, cosmic energy is manifested in a kind of nutritive metamorphosis which causes the Scottish labourers to become the equals of the land itself:

Oatmeal was in their b'ood and in their names. Thrift was the title of their catechism. It governed all things but their mess of porridge Which, when it struck the hydrochloric acid With treacle and skim-milk, became a mash. Entering the duodenum, it broke up Into amino acids: then the liver Took on its natural job as carpenter: Foreheads grew into cliffs, jaws into juts. The meal, so changed, engaged the follicles:

Eyebrows came out as gorse, the beard as thistles, And the chest-hair the fell of Grampian rams. It stretched and vulcanized the human span. . . .

(Towards The Last Spike, 3)

Similarly, later in the peem, nature, man's opponent, is described as engaged in its own internecine strife which gives it human characteristics:

The men were fighting foes which had themselves Waged elemental civil wars and still Were hammering one another at this moment. The peaks and ranges flung from ocean beds Had wakened up one geologic morning To find their scalps raked off, their lips punched in, The colour of their skins charged with new dyes. Some of them did not wake or but half-woke; Prone or recumbent with the eerie shapes Of creatures who would follow them. Weather Had acted on their spines and frozen them To stegosaurs, or taking longer cycles, Divining human features, had blown back Their hair and, pressing on their cheeks and temples, Bestowed on them the gravity of mummies. But there was life and power. . . .

(Towards the Last Spike, 35)

In actual encounter, ship and berg, priest and Indian, Scotsman and Canadian rock, are reduced to their nearest common denominator in nature; it may be the meeting of rock with rock, of a steel ship with a "corundum" berg, or a collision of superstitious Indian nature with priests who convert with the aid of magic. It is possible, and perhaps necessary, for Pratt to develop his metaphors in this fashion because he sees all parts of evolutionary nature as the manifestations of cosmic energy in an inter-related continuum.

A simi'ar movement back to origins, but in this case a movement back to the primal void before man emerged, is suggested by Pratt's early sonnet, "The Ground-Swell:"

Three times we heard it calling with a low,
Insistent note; at ebb-tide on the noon;
And at the hour of dusk, when the red moon
Was rising and the tide was on the flow;
Then, at the hour of midnight once again,

Though we had entered in and shut the door
And drawn the blinds, it crept up from the shore
And smote upon a bedroom window-pane;
Then passed away as some dull pang that grew
Out of the void before Eternity
Had fashioned out an edge for human grief;
Before the winds of God had learned to strew
His harvest-sweepings on a winter sea
To feed the primal hungers of a reef.

(Newfoundland Verse, 17)

Nature, in Pratt's view, is not that benign Romantic nature which embodies deity, as is suggested in Wordsworth's "The Tables Turned", where "One impulse from a vernal wood/May teach you more of man,/Of moral evil and of good,/Than all the sages can". Pratt's nature is Huxley's post-Darwinian nature, profoundly inimical to man and his moral values. In an address given at Cornell, Pratt strongly rejects the Wordsworthian ethos, arguing that he could not reconcile the Romantic concept of nature with the Victorian need "to put man in his evolutionary setting": "We look upon life with the eyes of a Thomas Huxley who saw the ethical and the cosmic in perpetual struggle". (Pratt Collection, Box 10, No. 7) Because Huxley's cosmic process is fundamentally amoral, the representative man of Pratt's poetry who differs from the rest of nature (or who can be a "truant" from it by virtue of his evolved reason and the moral sense) must forever strugg'e against it by opposing the cosmic process with human and moral values. In Pratt's view, the highest evolution of ethical man is Strauss' historical Jesus, and the moral imperative which governs ethical action is best described as the spirit of Christ in man, that militant Christianity of "the bugles on the barricades" of his central poem, "The Truant". Here, ethical man asserts his moral values in defiance of the amoral mechanism of the cosmos; in Huxley's words, the cosmos is "brought before the tribunal of ethics . . . [and] condemned".4

As his acceptance of Thomas Huxley's evolutionary ethics implies, Pratt felt a strong moral revulsion to some of the implications of social Darwinism; in particular, he could not agree with the ethical sanction given by Herbert Spencer to "the survival of the fittest". Pratt's early poem, "The Great Feud", a "fantastic picture of some stage in the evolutionary struggle for existence", which he wrote "to show how near to extinction a race might come, if the instinct to attack and to retaliate upon attack were given absolute rein without any moral considerations" (Pratt Collection, Box 1, No. 6), is a bloody par-

able of human "descent" which quite explicitly states the perversion of reason and the moral law which inevitably accompany the survival of the fittest. Pratt's female anthropoidal ape, "the cleverest of her time", distorts truth and her newly evolved moral law as she takes upon herself "the strain/Of the descent". This punning conclusion to "The Great Feud" implies not only the ape's descent to a neighbouring valley where her brood lies hidden, but also the perverted "reason" of the descent of evolutionary man.

As this survey may have indicated, Pratt's whole poetic vision is directly related to the cosmology of T. H. Huxley's famous Romanes lecture of 1893, "Evolution and Ethics". Huxley's cyclic view of evolution in which atavism or retrogressive evolution is an essential part of the process is reflected in Pratt's poem *The Titanic*; Huxley's view of the universe as cyclic energy is expressed in "The Truant" (see also "Cycles", "From Stone to Steel", "The Radio in the Ivory Tower"). Particular details of Huxley's essay are also reflected in Pratt's work: the problem of Huxley's "thoughtful drone . . . with a turn for ethical philosophy" of the Prolegomena to "Ethics and Evolution" is embodied in Pratt's ethical ape; further, some aspects of Huxley's view of the modern hero as a "monk", the man who has given up self, "whose highest aspiration is to be the passive instrument of divine Reason" are suggested by Pratt's Brébeuf.

In addition, The Roosevelt and the Antinoe, Behind the Log and Dunkirk are all expositions of evolutionary ethics as they are opposed to the cosmic process. In The Roosevelt and the Antince, Pratt negates the symbols of a transcendent Christianity:

But no Gennesaret of Galilee
Conjured to its level by the sway
Of a hand or a word's magic was this sea,
Contesting with its iron-alien mood,
Its pagan face, its own primordial way,
The pale heroic suasion of a rood.
And the absolving Father, when the ship
Righted her keel between two giant rolls,
Recrossed herself, and letting go his hold,
Returned to his berth, murmuring

God rest their souls.

(The Roosevelt and the Antinoe, 31)

Like Huxley who regards the cosmic process as essentially antithetical to man's moral values, Pratt does not represent nature as responsive to the abstract symbols of these values. Further, this particular disaster requires that the ethical

ideal be given a concrete human form: only the human deed can act against the cosmic process:

The hour had come for argument more rife With the gambler's sacrificial bids for life, The final manner native to the breed Of men forging decision into deed—Of getting down again in the sea, And testing rowlocks in an open boat, Of grappling with the storm-king bodily, And placing Northern fingers on his throat. (The Roosevelt and the Antinoe, 37)

Pratt's focus is on Christian humanism, the self-sacrificing deed as it is reflected in human action.

However, as Julian Huxley suggests, human ethics require the working of a particular psychological mechanism if they are to be put into practice. In Pratt's work, this ethical impulse is most often described in terms of Wilhelm Wundt's mechanist philosophy. Pratt's metaphor for moral action appears to evolve spontaneously, and it first takes its characteristic form in *The Iron Door*:

And as the door swung forward slowly
A sound was heard, now like the beat
Of tides under the drive of winds,
Now like the swift deck-tread of feet,
Steadying to a drum
Which marshalled them to quarters, or the hum
Of multitudinous voices that would tell
Of the move of life invincible.

(The Iron Door, 27)

Here, one of the sounds associated with the moral justification of the universe, (implied by the apocalyptic opening of the iron door,) is the beat of the drum which marshals the great host of souls through the door. Earlier in Pratt's work, particularly in Newfoundland Verse, the sounds of drum and church bell had been specifically associated with the apparent lack of a moral sanction in the universe. In the poem, "The Ice Floes" "the muffled beat . . . of a drum" accompanies the "count of sixty dead". In "The Toll of the Bells", neither church bell, national flag nor "the tidal triumph of Corinthians" can bring assurance of a moral universe:

But neither trumpet-blast, nor the hoarse din Of guns, nor the drooped signa's from those mute Banners, could find a language to salute The frozen bodies that the ship brought in. To-day the vaunt is with the grave. So.row Has raked up faith and burned it like a pile Of driftwood, scattering the ashes while Cathedral voices anthemed God's To morrow. (Newfound'and Verse, 15)

In The Iron Door, for the first time, the external signal is no longer associated with death without hope but becomes a reassurance of a moral value in the universe.

Like Samuel Butler whose thought his most recembles, Pratt was a sensitive man greatly troubled by the Victorian conflict between Science and Religion (or, more specifically, between evolution and ethics) and his poetry continually explores the possibility of finding some acceptable compromise between the two. Butler's Erewhon, The Fair Haven (1873) and Erewhon Revisited (1901) stretch both Darwinism and conventional religious thought to their logical absurdities in order to present the alternative of a reasonable faith, unencumbered by miracle and founded upon the human Christ. Claude Bissell suggests that in the Collected Essays Butler "turned the evolutionary process into a biological commentary on St. Paul", a new dispensation for the faithful in which evolution may be seen in the old religious terms.8 Many of Pratt's poems are also evolutionary fables with specifically moral and Pauline frames of reference. His poem, The Fable of the Goats (1937) written from the certainty of an impending Second World War is a commentary on the beatitude "Blessed are the meek" as well as an evolutionary parable of wishfulfillment in which the ruminant equivalent of world peace is attained through the evolution of a sport "phagocyte" in the blcod of an Aryan goat. "The Great Feud", The Witches' Brew, The Titanic, "The Truant" and Brébeuf and His Brethren are also largely moral fables of the ambivalent nature of human progress within the explicit framework of evolution and ethics.

The free sacrifice of self (the Christ-like heroic act which represents the pinnacle of evolutionary ethics) is specifically associated with the old religious frame of reference through Pratt's transformation of Wilhelm Wundt's psychology. In Pratt's poetry, the external and mechanical signals of Wundt's "new" psychology, the "trumpet", "bugle" and "drum" of Wundt's theory of perception are vitalized as the internal ethical ideal located within

the blood and nerves of man. The Iron Door, Pratt's early and puzzling "visionary" peem, may be read as a peetic Pauline Eschatology specifically dealing with "the last things" of death, judgement and the possibility of life hereafter, in which the iron door of the cosmic process (death) is opposed and finally superseded by the Pauline hope of eternal life as it opens to a transcendent vision signalled by "the swift deck-tread of feet,/Steadying to a drum".

Again, like Butler, Pratt continually suggests that it is human "will", the courage and determination to accomplish a heroic act (despite the risk of self-sacrifice, if necessary) which established an ethical frame of reference that suggests the existence of a spiritual world. Butler states in the Note-Books that it is the element of human "free-will" so essential to man's being (and so inconsistent with that other dominant element of the universe "necessity") which assures man of the existence of an unseen world.9 Pratt's Brébeuf, as well as his Jesuit brethren, are characterized by a steadfast "will" channelled into the severely disciplined way of the cross. Similarly, the iron door finally opens to the insistent pounding of the woman representing universal humanity, repudiating cosmic determinism and affirming the existence of a transcendent world. It is also the "strange precipitate" of the truant's human will which resists the grand Panjandrum's most powerful "catalyst" to affirm the existence of a moral order in the universe. Man alone, of all nature, has evolved to create a moral mechanism which will enable man to rally to those "bugles on the barricades". In this free heroic action, often prejudicial to man's own self-interest, Pratt, less directly than Butler, implies we may find the strongest evidence for an ethical order beyond the providence of the cosmic process.

A belated Victorian, Pratt provides the bridge between the older Canadian poets of the 1880s and the moderns of the 1920s and '30s, F. R. Scott and A. J. M. Smith. Pratt is usually regarded as a sport in the stream of Canadian poetry, a roast-beef-and-whiskey mutant of epic proportions who came from Newfoundland to found a new and original poetry. Corollary to this view of Pratt as a literary sport, is the belief that his poetry of the 1920s and 30s indicated an entirely new direction in English-Canadian poetry. Recent appraisals of Pratt's work have either hailed him as the chief spokesman for the modern movement in Canadian poetry or, later and more speculatively, queried the future reputation of a lover of primitive "gotterdammerung", this "last-born literary child of frontier America". 10

Despite the Eliot-like rattle of a jazz tune in *The Titanic* and a prevailing ironic perspective, Pratt is not a modern poet in the sense that his vision of the world is informed by *The Waste Land* but neither is he a simplistic

primitive. Rather, he is a transitional Victorian, firmly rooted in the evolutionary ethic of the 1890s, and working out a fairly complex evolutionary structure. Like Samuel Butler, Pratt is attempting a compromise between the old teleology of received religion and the Darwinian world without design, ultimate'y insisting that design resides within the organism, within the blood and nerve cells of man. Pratt's particular vitalism wedded two of the theories of Wilhelm Wundt's evolutionary psychology to maintain that the mechanical act of "perception" (associated with the automatic will to action) can be informed by "aperception", the spontaneous recognition of a moral truth which can be transmitted through habit from generation to generation.<sup>11</sup> Pratt's anthropoidal ape has a moment of apparent aperception when she formulates her "moral law"; unfortunately, this is actually little more than unenlightened self-interest, and this error will be transmitted to her progeny. Cyrus, on the other hand, in The Fable of the Goats has a true aperception, and his moral discovery will also be transmitted to his descendants through his genetic substance, the sport "phagocyte" in his bloodstream. Wundt's theory of aperception has many affinities with Samuel Butler's "unconscious memory", and either would have provided Pratt with a theory of evolutionary morality.

Pratt's interest in evolution has been identified by Northrop Frye in his introduction to *The Collected Poems of E. J. Pratt* (Macmillan, 2nd ed. 1962) and by Peter Buitenhuis in his introduction to *The Selected Poems* (Macmillan, 1968); however, Pratt's unique relation to evolutionary ethics, in particular his affinities with T. H. Huxley and Samuel Butler and his continuance of a Darwinian tradition in Canadian poetry first established by Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, has not been previously indicated.

One of the unexpected pleasures awaiting the student of Pratt's work is the discovery (or re-discovery) of the many-sided critics' Pratt. Here is the Christian Pratt, the Christian humanist Pratt, the agnostic Pratt and the atheist Pratt, not to menion the Aeschylean, Sophoclean, and Professorial Pratt, jovial raconteur of the faculty dining table. Were all this not sufficient, there is still the young Newfoundlander Pratt; hardworking, penurious and resourceful, the student just "up" from Newfoundland and the subject of innumerable anecdotes relating to "grand" dinners and to home-brewed remedies.

Like Roberts, who gained critical recognition with Orion (1880) and who continued as a smiling public man for over forty years, Pratt quickly became a highly regarded Canadian figure. He gained a national reputation with Newfoundland Verse (1923) and Titans (1926), a reputation which steadily increased through the middle fifties and into the sixties with "The

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Depression Ends" (1932), The Titanic (1935), Brébeuf and His Brethren (1940), Dunkirk (1941), and Towards the Last Spike (1952). As Professor of English at Victoria College, University of Toronto, from 1920 to 1953, as one of the five poets contributing to the influential manifesto of the new poetry in Canada, New Provinces (1936), and as editor of The Canadian Poetry Magazine (later The Canadian Author and Bookman) between 1936 and 1943, Pratt continued to exert a strong personal influence on the development of poetry in Canada.

Pratt was, in the best sense, a poet of the people as his poetry grew out of the Canadian experience. Darwin's evolution and Huxley's cosmology may have provided the intellectual outlines of Pratt's poetic world, but Canadian history, Canadian geography and Canadian cultural experience, as well as Pratt's good heart and his moral vision, give substance to this world. Pratt's narratives, Brébeuf and His Brethren, Behind the Log, Dunkirk, and Towards the Last Spike, all recapitulate Canadian experience—the struggle against the wilderness, the building of the railroad, Canadian participation in World War II—in terms which Canadians have understood and with which they have identified. It may be that the evolutionary myth is particularly suited to a young country where the vision of progress is a powerful one and where the struggle against nature is still a remembered feature of life as the movement from Canadian prairie homestead to small town to city can still be spanned by one man's lifetime.

## NOTES

- Claude Bissell, "Samuel Butler and Evolution", Evolution: Its Science and Doctrine, Symposium presented to the Royal Society of Canada in 1959, ed. by Thomas W. M. Cameron, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1960, 197.
- 2. T. H. Huxley and Julian Huxley, Evolution and Ethics, (London, Pilot Press, 1947), 39.
- 3. John Sutherland, The Poetry of E. J. Pratt: A New Interpretation (Toronto: Ryerson, 1956), Northrop Frye, Introduction to The Collected Poems of E. J. Pratt, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1962), A. J. M. Smith, Some Poems of E. J. Pratt: A pects of Imagery and Theme, The Pratt Lecture, 1969, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 4. Huxley, op. cit., 68.
- 5. Ibid., 47.
- 6. Ibid., 79.
- 7. Ibid., 106.
- 8. Bissell, op. cit., 192-193.

- 9. "This element of free-will, which comes from the unseen kingdom . . . [is] carried down to the most tenuous atoms whose action is supposedly most purely chemical and mechanical . . . Its existence is one of the proofs of the existence of an unseen world." Samuel Butler, The Note-Books of Samuel Butler, The Shrewsbury edition of the works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1926), 325.
- Fred Cogswell, "E. J. Pratt's Literary Reputation", Canadian Literature, No. 19 (Winter, 1964), 6-12. See also the essays on Pratt collected in E. J. Pratt, Critical Essays on Canadian Writer; ed., and with an introduction by David G. Pitt (Toronto: Ryerson, 1969).
- 11. Wilhelm Wundt, Lectures on Human and Animal Psychology, translated from the 2nd German ed., by J. E. Creighton and E. B. Titchener (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1894), 235-251.