SOME NEW BOOKS.

Canada and the United Empire Loyalists.

The story of Canada up to the Peace of 1763 has been recounted often and effectively. Among the many books dealing with the subject the narrative called "The Fight With France for North America," by A. G. BRADLEY, will no doubt be remembered. The same author has now published through Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co. a work entitled *The Making of Canada*, which depicts the progress under English rule of the provinces now forming the Dominion from the conquest validated by the Peace of 1763 up to and including the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, of which Canada bore the brunt and garnered to a large extent the glory. This is a section of Canadian history that needed the careful treatment which in this book it receives.

I.

Before beginning a consideration of the subject proper Mr. Bradley reminds us that because Canada had been conquered in 1759-60 it by no means followed that Great Britain would care to keep the prize. Pending the negotiation of the Treaty of Paris, signed in February, 1763, the question whether Canada should be retained or restored to France was a burning issue in Great Britain, eagerly discussed by pamphleteers and by politicians within and without the houses of Parliament. This may now seem at first sight almost incredible, but our author needs only a few words to show what a plausible case was put forward by the opponents of retention, even had a quid pro quo reckoned at the time extremely valuable been left out of consideration. The contention rested on a prediction that the acquisition of Canada would involve the loss of the thirteen American Colonies. We now know that the opponents of the retention of Canada were right, but we also know how much less of a catastrophe to Britain the loss of the thirteen Colonies proved than was expected. Those who favored the retention of Canada and discounted the fear of Colonial secession did so not on the belief of any fervid attachment of the Colonies to the mother country but on the impossibility of their bringing about an effective union against the power of Britain. It was purely on this ground that Benjamin Franklin scouted the notion of secession. As it happened much the same considerations were agitating the minds of Frenchmen during the negotiation of the treaty. Some protested that without Canada, its timber and its coast fisheries the French marine would sink into insignificance. Many, on the other hand, were opposed to receiving Canada back again, regarding it as a barren and inhospitable country that brought them no profit and much trouble, and they too found further consolation in the prediction that the gain of Canada would bring about the loss of her American Colonies to Great Britain.

With the British Government the matter finally resolved itself into the alternatives of Guadeloupe or Canada. Mr. Bradley recognizes that turning to the map to-day and looking at the little French island in the Caribbean Sea, some sixty by twenty miles in area, one may well feel amazement at such an estimate of equivalence. He explains, however, that Guadeloupe had sent home in a year over two and a half million dollars worth of sugar and cotton, and Canada had exported only some thousands of dollars worth of furs. Moreover, at the time there was an important element among those conspicuous in state affairs that held tropical colonies the most to be desired. Their produce competed with no home product and supplied England with what she otherwise would have had to buy from foreign countries. Neither did tropical regions set up manufactures. Jamaica, for instance, not merely performed the office just named but purchased nearly twice as much from Great Britain as the whole of New England combined, though as consumers of British commodities the continental colonies were gaining rapidly on the islands. The fact is recalled that Burke, among others, was against retention, not merely from his preference for tropical and above all for island colonies but from fear of loosening the only practical tie that bound the American provinces to Britain.

The Treaty of Paris was signed, however, in February, 1763, and France was permitted to keep nothing in North America except the Louisiana Territory and two small islands off southwest Newfoundland. At this point Mr. Bradley invites us to consider precisely what the Canada surrendered to Great Britain meant and what were its bounds. Nova Scotia had been British for half a century and contained only the remnant of the Acadians and such settlers from New England and old England and from Germany as helped or followed the founding of Halifax, in 1748, after which a government and small legislature had been established. Cape Breton, with the dismantled fortress of Louisbourg, was given up by the French and united with Nova Scotia, to which Prince Edward Island, till then unsettled, was also temporarily attached. Newfoundland retained under its own government the isolation which it has kept to this day. As regards Canada proper, with which this book is mainly concerned, it represented in the first place all that is now usually signified by the term so far as Lake Superior, beyond which nothing was sufficiently accessible to have raised any serious question of claim or ownership. What really gave peculiar importance to the newly acquired territory and created complications with regard to its future government was the vast region between the Ohio and the Mississippi that passed automatically with it under the French cession. Into this country from the eastward ran the parallel lines of Pennsylvania and Virginia, with western limits as yet undetermined.

At the moment when swarms of greedy colonial speculators, now relieved from fear of the French, were grasping at wild lands beyond the Alleghanies richer than any in their expected provinces feudal tenure and the Catholic faith had, technically at least, been set up there by act of Parliament. For an Anglo-American pioneer to find his westward progress barred by such an unspeakable combination—erected, moreover, by a free and Protestant Government—seemed an outrage of the most flagrant kind. "So in due course the new province of Quebec was delimited upon lines roughly corresponding with the Quebec and Ontario of modern times. The great region beyond lakes Erie and Huron occupied by Indian tribes and widely scattered villages of French traders and a thin sprinkling of forts was now to be garrisoned by small companies of British regulars." This western wilderness was almost immediately to become the scene of a great Indian war and to be administered by the British commander in chief at New York until it fell into the melting pot of the American Revolution twenty years later and passed from British rule to become ultimately the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

While the Canada of that day nominally included those western solitudes, the section that had any claim to be described as inhabited was relatively small. It was restricted to an attenuated belt of cultivated soil, the tillers of which had reared their dwellings on either bank of the St. Lawrence from a point about eighty miles below Quebec, and who above the latter city continued to hug the river for the 170 miles of its upward course to Montreal, where the cultivated belt abruptly terminated. This was, as Mr. Bradley points out, a considerable longitudinal expanse for a population of 70,000, a fifth of which was domiciled in three towns, to cover with its little homesteads, keeping the settlers at the same time virtually within easy sight and touch of one another. West of the island of Montreal wooded wastes stretched away, fringing the northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie till the great inland basin, Lake Huron, cut immediately across their path. This tract, as yet virgin, was to become the province of Upper Canada twenty years later, when the United Empire loyalists came from the revolted American Colonies.

II.

We need not dwell on the invasion of Canada and the siege of Quebec by the American revolutionists, for that is a subject fully treated in all histories of the separation of the thirteen Colonies from the mother country. A subject, on the other hand, about which we hear very little in American accounts of the years immediately following the acknowledgment of American independence, but which is expounded at length in the book before us, is the coming of the loyalists, which was to exercise a far reaching and ineradicable influence on the attitude of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada. Mr. Bradley insists that the misery wrought by the expulsion of the Acadians and the burning out of the settlers of the Wyoming Valley were trifling as regards scale compared with the suffering of the infinitely greater number of American Tories and the greater sensibility of a large fraction of them. It is well known that although by the Treaty of 1783 the American people covenanted to restore the loyalists to their homes and property, they stubbornly refused to carry out the compact. In vain did Washington, Alexander Hamilton and even Patrick Henry, with many other fair minded Americans, strive to bring about the fulfilment of treaty obligations. The loyalists who tried the experiment of repatriation were insulted, tarred and feathered, or banished; sometimes half hanged, now and then wholly hanged; or flung into prison.

It only remained for the British Government to compensate, so far as it was able, those who had suffered grievously on its behalf, and this as we know it took steps to accomplish. It is true that free grants of wild land in the provinces still British cost the home Government nothing but free transportation; implements and provisions for two years were supplied, while all the officers of the colonial corps and many loyalists who had held civil appointments, as well as the widows of those who had fallen, were pensioned. A further grant, which amounted eventually to nearly $17,500,000, was allotted in compensation for losses of all kinds, including confiscations, but the difficulty of testing the genuineness of claims to share in this grant occupied a commission in London and elsewhere many years.

The author of this book considers that the landing of refugees by thousands on the inhospitable shores of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada constitutes one of the most tragic incidents in the imperial history. There were many delicately nurtured women and children among the refugees dumped out upon the shores, whether of Lake Ontario or of the Atlantic, which at that time were forbidding wildernesses. One can sympathize, he says, with the heart sinkings that found expression in the letters still preserved from some of them, as over autumn seas, huddled in small vessels, they were pitched and rolled along the iron bound coast of southern Nova Scotia. "The indented high standing mainland, bristling then with an interminable mantle of pine forests, must have chilled the hearts of men and women from the flat, well tilled levels of the Jerseys and eastern Pennsylvania; from the snug brick mansions and warm, open undulations and oak groves of easy going Virginia; from the homely fields of Kings and Queens and Orange counties, where New York loyalty had chiefly flourished." It appears that in all nearly thirty thousand refugees landed in Nova Scotia, some subsequently crossing the strait to Cape Breton, a few going to Prince Edward Island and about 9,000 to the St. Johns River and the district which soon afterward became the province of New Brunswick. In 1782-83 the population of that whole country after seventy years of British ownership had only reached a total of about 14,000, including a remnant of perhaps a thousand of the old French Acadians. It was not until 1782-83 that the foundation of Nova Scotia as a great and important province which was to contribute more than its share to the body politic of British North America was really laid.

III.

Mr. Bradley does not dwell at any great length on the loyalist settlement of Nova Scotia and the prospective New Brunswick, for no racial or serious political difficulties there presented themselves. The building up of these provinces was merely a matter of sheer hard work. The newcomers, though mixed in blood, were homogeneous in temperament and habits, and the vast majority were ardent loyalists, accustomed, however, to colonial life in all its branches, legal, political, mercantile and agricultural. How the 13,000 British already in possession, with their little colonial Government and assembly, received the overwhelming incursion our author does not pause to inquire. It was to be expected that so small a community would be swamped by a flood of more than ordinarily able men, Judges, advocates, professors, clergymen, soldiers and merchants. No doubt the energies of the refugees were temporarily paralyzed by physical hardships and misfortunes, but the United Empire loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, though unsuited to the labor of hewing homes out of a forest wilderness, were on the whole well qualified to make a country.

The first two winters, when rations had to be served out, seem to have been terribly trying. Accounts both optimistic and much the reverse went back to the States. Some said the country was fertile and the climate fine; others that they were wrapped in perpetual fogs and that moss grew in place of grass. The American Whigs, we are told, keenly relished the more despondent versions, and in allusion to the broken, indented coast line of Nova Scotia declared that it gave them palsy even to look at it on the map. For the loyalist settlers there, however, as they came to know which were the more eligible districts, life became more tolerable, and it was to be positively comfortable to their children. Those of experience and ability found congenial use for both in the many posts of trust, legal, official and other, of which in those days a growing colony was somewhat profuse, and of which most were jealously reserved for the well educated and well bred. A moderate emigration from Great Britain and the high birth rate incident to a healthy country and a wholesome life combined to multiply the 50,000 inhabitants of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton many times within twenty or thirty years. Halifax, an important naval station, waxed and prospered. Prince Edward Island, which to-day is completely covered with farms and villages aggregating in population something more than 100,000 souls, attracted many hundreds of emigrants from the American Colonies and fell under the Governorship of one Fanning, who had been a conspicuous South Carolina loyalist.

The 9,000 or so who founded St. Johns and spread up the valley of the river of that name had not long to wait before they were deemed worthy to form a sister State to Nova Scotia. The first Council of New Brunswick in 1784 was noteworthy for the quality of the settlers, including as it did two distinguished American Judges, two Colonels of Colonial Corps and men of former large estates, one of the Winslows, a Colonel of regulars; Beverly Robinson, an old friend of Washington and a large land owner in New York, and Judge Saunders, of a well known Virginia family and a bencher of the Inner Temple. Among the settlers on the St. Johns River were the Queen's Rangers, one of the most distinguished of the loyalist corps which had been captured with Cornwallis.

While the loyalist emigration was thus flowing into Nova Scotia the Canadas, with which the book before us is more directly concerned, were receiving smaller but continual waves of refugees. The exiles came by every conceivable means and by many devious routes. The influx indeed, as in Nova Scotia, had begun on a smaller scale quite early in the war. Several hundred refugees had been collected about Sorel and Montreal before the year 1780. At the close of the war, however, and for some time afterward emigrants arrived in much greater numbers and in more organized fashion. There too loyalist regiments were disbanded, and like those that went to Nova Scotia were settled together, to the field officers being allotted 5,000 acres, to the Captains 3,000, to the subalterns 2,000 and to the rank and file 200 apiece, with further plots for children as they should come of age. These military groups were known as "incorporated settlements," the townships allotted to civilians as "unincorporated." About seven loyalist corps, besides several detachments of disbanded regulars, numbering with their women and children nearly 4,000, were planted mainly on the present site of Kingston and along the shores of the Bay of Quinte, on Lake Ontario.

The early loyalist influx into Canada, however, was by no means so large as that which settled the Maritime Provinces, not numbering in all probably more than 12,000. Whereas, however, in the seaboard colonies the additions for the next few years were inconsiderable, the movement into the Canadas continued to flow steadily for many years. The banished or persecuted loyalists were succeeded by a stream of emigrants from the States impelled northward neither by violent methods nor passionate loyalty but by a host of mixed motives, among which the opportunity of securing good land at very low prices figured conspicuously. These later comers, though contributing materially to the development of the country, are not reckoned among the Pilgrim Fathers of English Canada. The latter, who as we have seen are approximately reckoned by the author at 12,000, came in for the most part at the close of the Revolution.

A natural point of settlement for them was the attractive region, fertile, well timbered and well watered, known soon afterward and to-day as the Eastern Townships, lying in the southern part of the Province of Quebec and over against the lakes and highlands of the Vermont frontier.

IV.

The United Empire loyalists, however, were not encouraged to settle in the Eastern Townships by Haldimand, who was Governor of Canada at the time. The militant note was strong in them and the Governor did not deem it wise "to place these fiery souls within sight of a community of hardy rifle shooting farmers whom at the moment they execrated." So Ontario, at that time a shaggy wilderness, was selected, and portions of it were surveyed for the main settlements. The wilderness forts west and south of the Lakes were still occupied by British garrisons in spite of the protests of the Americans and afforded some guarantee for the proper treatment of the loyalists. The refugees, as we have said, came by many routes, but the majority by canoes and bateaux up the laborious and often interrupted waterways. "Some are said even to have travelled the whole way on foot, others again from Pennsylvania and more remote North Carolina to have labored through the woodland trails in two horse wagons till they struck the watershed whence stream and lake carried them down on improvised boats and rafts to the great Canadian lakes." The new survey had begun at the edge of the French country, on Lake St. Francis, near the mouth of the Ottawa, and extended westward up the St. Lawrence for over a hundred miles to Fort Frontenac, or Cataraqui, and the Bay of Quinte, on Lake Ontario. In 1784 the first battalion of Johnson's Royal New York Regiment—this battalion was composed mostly of Germans of the Mohawk Valley, whose women and children had joined them—started to open in the present county of Dundas the broad tract of westward settlement that was to develop ultimately into a great province. Jessup's Rangers, English Americans, came next, while the King's Rangers, also English New Yorkers, under James Rogers, had lands allotted to them at Frontenac. These corps had mainly operated from Canada and been recruited from the loyalists near the borders. Here too was Major van Alstine with a large gathering of exiles from New York and Col. McDonnell with further parties of disbanded soldiers which in the next year were reenforced by some companies of Hessians detained in Lower Canada.

Away in the west the fertile levels and less rigorous climate of the Niagara peninsula had taken the fancy of Butler and his rangers, who from long garrison work at the edge of its virgin forests must have got a good idea of its value. It was undoubtedly the most desirable of all the districts then open for settlement. Lonesome and remote enough, however, in those days was the country lying within sound of the roar of the falls before American settlement had as yet touched the southern shores of Ontario and Erie. It is true, nevertheless, that the Niagara shore had even then for nearly a century been enlivened periodically by the passage of the western trade back and forth over the long portage around the cataract. The St. Clair River too, beyond the western end of Lake Erie, was an objective point for some few loyalists; this locality, indeed, had been an oasis of French settlements for three generations.

Lastly, if they may deserve the term, came loyalist refugees of another color. During the Revolutionary War not only had the estates of the Johnsons and their numerous dependents and loyalist neighbors on the Mohawk been confiscated but the flourishing villages and orchards of the Six Nations had been levelled to the ground. The Indians had been alarmed and not a little indignant when they found that the peace treaty of 1783 had been concluded without any regard whatever to their interests. The upshot of the Indian question of the day, so far as Canada was concerned, was the immigration of the Mohawks with some others of the Six Nations to British territory in two separate bodies. The greater part, under Joseph Brant, the chief who had led them in the late war, settled on the Grand River, to the north of Lake Erie, the banks of which, from its mouth to its source, covering over half a million acres of first class lands, were allotted to them by the Crown. Here in a much more contracted area their descendants may be seen today practising with moderate success the trades of the country. A smaller section of the Indians settled on the Bay of Quinte, and thus finally was broken up that famous confederation, great in spirit and discipline, though small in numbers, that had been held in dread by all the Indian peoples from the Ottawa to the Mississippi; that had been the nightmare of the French for much over a century, and that from the earliest strifes of Europeans had been the third factor which both sides had always to take into account.

Here, then, in what we now call Upper Canada were ten or twelve thousand people, the western wing, so to speak, of the first and genuine United Empire loyalists, those whose deeds or opinions had irrevocably stamped them as the partisans of the British connection. We see them scattered along the fringe of the most formidable forests in eastern North America. That we may realize their situation the author bids us look at the map, note the position of Kingston and Niagara, and bear in mind that Montreal in 1782-83 was practically the westward limit of civilization. We should remember too that people did not then dream of the innumerable facilities and inventions of modern times which so greatly ameliorate the lot of the frontier settler. The inhabitants of the thirteen American Colonies had been accustomed to think vaguely of Western Canada as a hyperborean region with an indifferent soil. As a matter of fact beneath the forests of Upper Canada lay land as good as the best of New York, the Jerseys or Pennsylvania, and far better than most of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Its forests, however, were harder to subdue than had been the primitive woodlands of most of those other countries, and the winters of Canada had terrors for the ill supplied pioneers of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

We have to keep in view the fact, moreover, that the United Empire loyalists who settled north of the Lakes were not all laboring men who had exchanged a somewhat hopeless prospect in old countries for a period of hardship coupled with the certainty of an ultimate rise in life. They had nearly all left comfortable dwellings, many luxurious homes, to begin life anew. At the outset, moreover, in spite of Gov. Haldimand's endeavors to minister to the destitute newcomers, these at times fell woefully short of supplies, while the premature freezing up of provision ships in the St. Lawrence caused great distress. In the following spring the settlers on the Bay of Quinte were on the verge of starvation. Nor had the emigrants to Upper Canada the advantage possessed by their Nova Scotia brethren of having a settled government. They were for the present outside the pale of any administrative machinery but such as they might set up for themselves for local purposes. The felling of timber and the obtaining of shelter from the weather and of supplies of food and seed—these were their sole immediate cares.

V.

One sentiment, at any rate, abode with them and cheered their darkest hours. "They were still under the British flag and beyond the reach of the people, once friends and neighbors, between whom and themselves the horrors of a most implacable civil war had raised a barrier of mutual hatred and exasperation that lingered among the exiles to the second and third generation." The exuberant loyalty of the leaders of the settlers stamped itself indelibly on the map of Canada. We are told that the fifteen children of George III. were responsible for the names of fifteen adjoining townships, and when these eponyms were exhausted other relatives of the King, whose obstinacy and deplorable choice of councillors had been the chief cause of all the woes of the loyalists, were honored in like fashion.

By 1786, when Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, returned to Canada for his second term of government, the genuine United Empire influx was over, but immigrants continued, as we have said, to flock over the boundary lines from the United States. The roll of honor, however, had been closed and practically the last name had been inscribed upon it. The forty to fifty thousand emigrants to Canada and the Maritime Provinces, to whom and to whose descendants forever the Government of the day seriously proposed to grant the right of affixing the letters U. E. after their names, now looked upon all newcomers from the States with suspicion. The reaction that followed the acquisition of independence and the inharmonious and bankrupt conditions of the country before the questions of unity, concord and finance had been settled naturally turned the minds of many Americans who had no tangible recollections of "British tyranny" to the new country in the north. By the spectre of Popery and of French feudal institutions they were no longer deterred. In the townships west of Montreal, on the Niagara peninsula or again in the so-called Eastern townships they might have been in the woods of New Brunswick, so far as any French atmosphere was discernible.

On the whole, the United Empire loyalist who settled in Canada, as he is depicted in the book before us, is a unique figure in history. Touching this point Mr. Bradley remarks: "So far as I know you may look in vain elsewhere for a truculently anti-republican democrat. If the expression sounds hopelessly paradoxical, it is nevertheless sufficiently accurate, for he had nothing in common with the British 'Tory democrat' of a recent day. If his characteristics had died with him they would be less remarkable as the product only of untoward personal experiences, but he transmitted them to his children and his children's children."

M. W. H.

The Maid of France.

The approaching beatification of Joan of Arc has called forth two interesting biographies, one by M. Anatole France, which appeared not long ago, and another, just published, *The Maid of France*, by ANDREW LANG (Longmans). The latter may be looked upon as a reply to the former, and probably would not have been written had not M. France laid himself open to severe criticism on the ground of misstating and garbling authorities. Curiously enough, Mr. Lang's biography seems to have been the first serious first hand and authoritative study of the subject made in England, although the theme has been admirably treated by two American writers, Mark Twain and Mr. Francis Lowell. We observe that while Mr. Lang acknowledges important obligations to Mr. Lowell, he seems never to have seen or heard of Mr. Clemens's work. It is worth noting that when Englishmen began to write about Joan of Arc, a century after her death, they drew their information not from the records of the trial of condemnation and the subsequent trial of rehabilitation but from French chroniclers of the Burgundian party, such as Monstrelet, and from later antipathetic French historians. The Elizabethan historians were full of national prejudice and neglected the French chroniclers of Joan's own party, the result of which neglect was the chaotic uncertainty noticeable in "Henry VI.," Part I. Mr. Lang recalls, however, that in the middle of the eighteenth century David Hume, animated by the spirit of the Scottish chroniclers who were contemporaries of the Maid, recognized the nobility of her character and the iniquity of her condemnation. From Hume's day onward Dr. Lingard seems to have been the only English historian who has taken an unworthy view of Jeanne d'Arc.

I.

There appears to be no excuse for arriving at widely different opinions concerning the character, motives and achievements of the Maid of France. Mr. Lang shows that the historical evidence for her career, although of many degrees of comparative excellence, is rich and multifarious. In the front rank stands the official record of her trial at Rouen in 1431. On each day of the trial the clerks of court took down in French her replies to the questions of the Judges and assessors. Later the French version was officially rendered into Latin, with all the other proceedings, and certain posthumous documents were added. In other words the book, being official, is the work of her enemies; how far the account is fair and honest is a question which Mr. Lang discusses at length. At all events, this record is a version of what the Judges say that Joan herself told them concerning her own life and future events. Next in importance Mr. Lang would place the letters dictated by her and letters written about her during her short active career, which lasted but thirteen months. Some of the letters written about her are full of gossip obviously false.

Concerning the politics of the period there are extant diplomatic documents, treaties, memoirs and despatches. There are also jottings of contemporary diarists more or less well informed. The historical chronicles relating to the Maid date from 1430 to 1470; some are by friendly Frenchmen, others by hostile Burgundians. Mr. Lang points out that their testimony needs to be inspected critically, with an eye to each chronicler's probable sources of information. It remains to mention what many would deem the most important evidence of all, namely, the record of the trial of rehabilitation (1450-56), in which is set forth the testimony of more than 140 eyewitnesses who knew the Maid at various periods from her infancy to her martyrdom. Mr. Lang acknowledges that in judging their depositions careful allowance must be made for errors of bias, for illusions of memory and for the natural desire of persons who had taken part in her trial of condemnation to shield themselves and to throw blame on the two Judges and their attendant assessors, who by that time were dead or for some reason were unable to speak for themselves.

There is no doubt that the evidence given by the numerous witnesses called in 1450-56 has been sometimes disparaged by those who have professed to investigate in a scientific spirit. For example, Quicherat wrote: "The depositions of the witnesses had the air for the most part of having undergone numerous retrenchments." He gives no proofs of such retrenchments, however, and Mr. Lang has been unable to find any. The latter, indeed, does not deny that certain omissions which he specifies are a great blot on the trial of rehabilitation; but that the Judges cut and garbled the replies to questions actually put he pronounces a mere baseless assertion. M. Anatole France is especially severe on the trial of rehabilitation, though he freely quotes the depositions. In the first place he points out that the witnesses merely answered the questions put to them "in the course of ecclesiastical justice." Mr. Lang for his part would not deny that we now could put many other questions. Secondly, M. France says that "the majority of the witnesses are excessively simple and lacking in discernment," to which Mr. Lang replies that indisputably they were men and women of their own time, not savants of our time. M. France further alleges that the deposition of Dunois "must have been mishandled by the translator and the scribes," as when he speaks of "the strong force of the enemy at Orleans." Mr. Lang answers that Bedford, the English commander in chief, also reported that the English at Orleans were numerous before the men began to desert. Their numbers were reduced by desertion; but even if Dunois overestimated them Mr. Lang recalls how often in the recent South African war the English commanders were guilty of similar mistakes.

Speaking of the evidence given at the trial of rehabilitation in 1450-56, M. Anatole France says: "The Captains averred that Jeanne was expert in placing guns when they knew that it was untrue." Mr. Lang's comment on this statement is: "One Captain, D'Alençon, swore to her skill in artillery, and M. France says he knows that this witness deliberately perjured himself. Less omniscient, I know not how he knows or what his acquaintance with mediæval artillery may be, but from examination of a contemporary breechloading field piece I suspect that any one with a good eye and a little practice could do what was needed."

Mr. Lang adds that many women are good shots. After noting these and other objections to the evidence given in 1450-56 the author of this book tells us that he shall use it with the warning that in twenty-five years human memories are apt to become fallacious, that the bias of the witnesses at the second trial was favorable to the Maid and that some witnesses had to excuse their own share in the trial of 1431 and to exhibit the Judges, especially Cauchon and the accusers, in the most unfavorable light. He will refrain, however, he says, from accusing witnesses of deliberate perjury out of his own will and fantasy.

II.

To say that Mr. Lang has produced a sympathetic biography is greatly to underrate the fervor of his interest in the subject. He regards Joan of Arc as the consummation and ideal of two noble human efforts toward perfection. "The peasant's daughter was the Flower of Chivalry, brave, gentle, merciful, courteous, kind and loyal. Later poets and romance writers delighted to draw the figure of the Lady Knight; but Spenser and Aristo could not create nor could Shakespeare imagine such a being as Jeanne d'Arc." Again, the present biographer sees in her the most perfect daughter of the Church. "To her its sacraments were the very Bread of Life; by frequent confession her conscience was kept fair and pure as the lilies of paradise." So we must recognize, if we accept Mr. Lang's conclusions, that in a tragedy without parallel or precedent "the Flower of Chivalry died for France and for the chivalry of France, which had deserted her; she died at the hands of the chivalry of England, which shamefully entreated and destroyed her, while the most faithful of Christians perished through the 'celestial science' and the dull, political hatred of priests who impudently called themselves 'the Church.'" In a word, waning chivalry, bewildered theological science, were confronted by the living ideal of Chivalry and Faith, and they crushed it. "Jeanne came to them a maiden and in years almost a child; beautiful, gay, with a glad countenance. * * * She came with powers and with genius which should be the marvel of the world while the world stands. She redeemed a nation; she wrought such works as seemed to her people, and well might seem, miraculous. Yet even among her own people even now her glory is not uncontested."

What manner of maid was she to outward view that at the age of about 19 rode forth on February 23, 1429, through a gate at Vaucouleurs—a stronghold held for the Dauphin near Domremy, her native village—to achieve her great adventure? There is no portrait of her. She never sat to a painter, and the popular images, whether drawn from memory or drawn from fancy, are mainly late or apocryphal. Nevertheless by collating and verifying all the contemporary evidence obtainable Mr. Lang on pages 82 and 83 endeavors to answer the question. He points out that even according to the English tradition Jeanne d'Arc was beautiful. In "Henry VI." (Part I.) she is made to explain her beauty by a miracle. Our Lady, she says, appeared to her,

> And whereas I was black and swart before,
> With these clear rays which she infused on me
> That beauty am I blessed with which you see.

The *captains* in the old mystery play "La Mystère du Siège d'Orléans" describe her thus (translated):

> Sweet she is in words and deeds,
> Fair and white as the white rose.

Mr. Lang reminds us that beauty may be suggested in the Homeric manner, as Jeanne is painted in a letter by a young knight, Guy de Laval, to his mother: "She seems a thing all divine both to see her and hear her." From other witnesses we learn that she was "beautiful in face and figure" and that "her face was glad and smiling." Her hair was black, cut short like a soldier's; as to her eyes and features we have no information. Mr. Lang deems it probable that she had gray eyes and a clear, pale color under the tan of sun and wind. She was so tall that she could wear a man's clothes. "Thus with her natural aspect of gladness and her ready April tears Jeanne was a maid whom men loved to look upon and followed gladly." Her health was perfect; her energy when tested proved indefatigable. No one could guess where she got her courtly manner of address and salutation, unless she had learned it from her crowned and gracious lady saints. She loved a good horse, a good knight and a good sword, and she loved to go richly clad. Mr. Lang notes, however, that when the Maid at last appeared before the Dauphin "she wore a black *pourpoint*, a kind of breeches fastened by laces and points to the *pourpoint*, a short, coarse, dark gray tunic and a black cap on her close cropped black hair."

III.

The author of this book is at pains to elucidate the nature of the task which Jeanne set before herself while still an ignorant peasant child of 13 and of which four years later she began the fulfilment. To use her own phrase, she was to relieve "the great pity that there is in France," a pity caused externally by the pressure of a foreign master in the capital, of foreign power in the country north of the Loire; internally by the blood feud between the Duke of Burgundy and the disinherited Dauphin, Charles VII., by a generation of ruthless treacheries and butcheries, by wars which were organized commercial speculations in ransoms and in plunder, by alien mercenaries who had deliberately stifled compassion, by great nobles who robbed the country which they should have defended and passed their time in murder and private wars.

Mr. Lang gives us the contemporary point of view by pointing out that in the opinion of most observers, French and foreign, in 1428 the rightful King, Charles VII., would have to go into exile or beg his bread and France would have to be erased from the list of independent nations. At the same time though recognizing that the word "patrie" was not yet in common use, our author warns us not to imagine that in the fifteenth century there was no national patriotism and that France was not yet a name to conjure with. He says that on the contrary "ever since the Paladins of Charlemagne in the Chanson de Roland wept in a foreign land at the thought of 'Sweet France' that term had its enchantment." It was ever on the lips and in the letters of the Maid; she used it as a spell to cast out the nickname "Armagnacs," which the English had given to the French national party. To unite France, to restore France, to redeem France, and to that end to begin by rescuing Orleans, besieged by the English, was then the task of Jeanne; but even before the siege of Orleans had begun she had formed her own conception of the method to be employed for the relief of the town. As early as May, 1428, she promised to lead her "gentle Dauphin" through hostile Anglo-Burgundian territory to be crowned at Reims. Mr. Lang recalls that at the time even disinterested foreigners spoke of her prince not as king but as dauphin. He would become king only when anointed with the holy oil from the mystic *ampoule* brought by an angel to the patron saint of Jeanne's native village, Domremy. It must be remembered that on the death of Charles VI. and in pursuance of his will and of the treaty made by him with Henry V., who had married his daughter, Henry VI. had been proclaimed King of France, as well as of England, and was recognized as sovereign not only in Paris but in almost the whole of France north of the Loire. Not as yet, however, had he been crowned in Reims.

While thoroughly alive to the difficulty experienced by the modern mind in understanding the importance attached in the fifteenth century to a few drops of oil Mr. Lang insists that in studying history we must accept the past as it existed: when occupied with the characters and events of the Middle Ages we must learn to think mediævally. "The political importance of anointing the King with the holy oil of Reims was recognized as fully by the practical Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V. and Governor of France, as by the peasant girl of Domremy. Between the daughter of Jacques d'Arc in her remote village on the Meuse and the great Lancastrian statesman and warrior in Paris it was indeed a race for Reims, and for the coronation either of the Dauphin or of the child King of England, Henry VI."

The author would have us realize, however, that the political result of success in this race to Reims, namely, the enhancement of her Dauphin's prestige and claim upon the loyalty of Frenchmen, was only one part of the plan conceived by the peasant child. She felt that she came primarily to help the poor and the oppressed. She would crown the Dauphin, but first she would bid him give her his promise to rule in righteousness. She caused him, in fact, to make to her before she set forth to rescue Orleans a promise in the nature of his coronation oath; he was to govern justly, mercifully, without rancor or revenge, as the loyal vassal of Christ. "The sacred oil was much, the golden crown was much, but to Jeanne, from first to last, free or in prison, the crown was an ideal crown, not of this world, but imperishable in the world of ideas. 'This crown,' she told the Judges, 'no goldsmith on earth could fashion.' Only by virtue of this crown could France be restored to her rightful place among Christian nations."

In the book before us Mr. Lang undertakes to prove in detail that such were the conceptions of this rustic girl, who determined, single handed, to fulfil her dream. She undertook the mission, however, not only with the clearest conviction of her own personal impotence—"I am but an untaught lass, who cannot ride and direct the wars," she said—but also with the certain foreknowledge from the first that she "would last but a year or little more." Fully alive, then, to her own lack of power, her own poverty, simplicity and inexperience and the briefness of her span the Maid applied herself to her task. "Through the last ten of her allotted thirteen months she was ill supported by the King whom she had crowned; for the last six weeks her inspiration foretold only her capture. But she had turned the tide of English conquest; henceforth the waves retired, and within the time predicted by the captive Maid England had 'lost a dearer gage than Orleans'; she had lost Paris."

IV.

Such were the marvels marvellously accomplished by Jeanne d'Arc. Though but a girl she understood, and though but a girl she employed, so professional students of strategy and tactics declared, the essential ideas of the military art, namely, to concentrate quickly, to strike swiftly, to strike hard, to strike at vital points, and despising vain, noisy skirmishes and "valiances," to fight with invincible tenacity of purpose. Jeanne, moreover, was sufficiently sagacious to know when to decline as well as offer battle at a crisis when the professional French Captains of that epoch—if we may judge from their conduct at Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt—would probably have thrown away the fruits of preceding successes by accepting the challenge of the enemy. To many who knew her she seemed simple and ignorant, "save in matters of war." Mr. Lang points out, however, that "whatsoever thing confronted her, whatsoever problem encountered her, whatsoever manners would become her in novel situations, she understood in a moment." She solved the problem; she assumed the manner; she faced the rain of arrows and bullets; she faced doctors and clerks; she animated the soldiery in Napoleon's way; she spoke and acted like a Captain, like a clerk, like a great lady, as the need of the moment required.

The author of this book sums up its purport in a few sentences: "In a crisis of the national fortunes of France the hour had come, and the girl. In other crises the hour has come and the man, Cromwell or Napoleon. We recognize their genius and their opportunity. But in the case of Jeanne d'Arc, as she was an ignorant girl of 17, human wisdom has shown itself unwilling to recognize the happy wedding of opportunity and genius and to look about for any explanation that might minimize the marvel."

THE MERRY HA-HA CURE.

Idea All Right—Trouble Is to Get the Prescription Filled.

It is all very well for a German doctor to prescribe hearty laughter as a remedy for nervous diseases, but perhaps he will also be good enough to tell us where we are to get the ingredients for his prescription.

One cannot well sit down and laugh "till the tears run down the cheeks" at nothing at all, however anxious to cure a severe attack of neuralgia.

When one comes to think of it, says the *Lady's Pictorial*, few things make one laugh to this extent, and what is one person's meat where hilarity is concerned may prove so poisonous to another as to plunge him to the very depths of depression.

There are people who will double up with merriment when they see some one else fall down a flight of steps, and afterward describe it as "the funniest thing they ever saw," but most nervous patients probably would not laugh at all if in order to effect a cure an attempt were made to excite their hilarity by throwing relatives and servants down stairs. Nerve specialists who adopt the laughter cure will have either to practise clowning or keep trained fools to set their patients "in a roar."

Goats the Fashion Now.

From the Lady's Pictorial.

The keeping of show goats is now very fashionable in England, and no wonder, for the animals are both useful and ornamental. They are pleasant pets if well kept, and a big billygoat is as strong as a pony and can draw a considerable weight. Showing them at dairy and agricultural shows is a profitable business. A great many well known ladies go in for this fancy, some being also known in the doggy world.