

comparatively trifling a cause. But, while we are not without instances of even these consequences of attempts to deprive men of what they consider their rights, we need not apprehend such serious results at once. The mere presence of physical force is often just as effectual to paralyze opposition as its active exercise. Indeed, a law passed with the assistance of women would become a dead letter more from lack of energy in those supporting it than from their lack of physical force. The women supporting it could do next to nothing towards enforcing it. The sphere in which they ordinarily move does not take in enough of the law-breaking element for them to do effective work as detectives, and most men are deterred by the odium attaching to informers from actively assisting to suppress acts not directly injurious to person or property. The energetic few who are determined to give effect to the law can soon be brought to a sense of their helplessness by a little resolute opposition, and so the law would go unenforced.

But it is said that, of those who opposed the measure the good men would all rally about it, once it became law, as they would about any other measure calculated to promote the public good. But why should they? believing as they must, either that legislation is not an efficient means to further the end in view, or that the particular law is a vexatious interference with individual rights, or that, though good in itself, its passage would add momentum to a stream of tendency the end whereof is practical slavery. Why should they support such a measure? Would not true patriotism demand a continued opposition to such an outcome of the shortsightedness of well-intentioned people?

But it is said, too, that we take no account of the immense moral force women would bring to assist the carrying out of a law. Those raising this objection, knowing how much more the observance of our laws in general is due to the influence of moral forces than to the operation of positive law, cannot understand why a particular measure becoming law should not have the support of these same moral forces. The merest glance, however, at the common manifestations of moral force, the power of public opinion, the influence of another's example, or the persuasiveness of an argument, will show that this force operates for or against a principle just as actively under one set of conditions as under another, and that the mere embodiment of this principle in a statute can affect the operations of moral force very little, if at all. The truth is, law rests entirely on a basis of physical force, and nothing, not in the nature of physical force, can add to the strength of that basis. But this fact need not have been told most advocates of Woman Suffrage. In their capacity of temperance reformers they know very well the difference between moral force suasion and the force behind the law, and it is the inadequacy of moral force to effect the purpose they have in view that leads them to fall back on the force behind the law.

We are not certain that our argument will meet with an entirely cordial reception, even from those who, on other grounds, oppose Woman Suffrage. It, perhaps, smacks a little too much of the "Might is Right" doctrine, for that. But if it is sound, its conclusions may not be disregarded. It is just as well, in these days when an Act of Parliament is looked upon as the panacea for all social ills, to know under what conditions this Act cannot prove effectual.

Ottawa.

S.

THE HUDSON'S BAY RAILWAY.

PENDING the Provincial elections, which will likely occur early in December, the people of Winnipeg are languishing upon the bed of suspense over the Hudson's Bay Railway project. The feeling that exists in regard to this great scheme is almost indefinable, and can be likened only to St. Paul's definition of faith: "It is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It is difficult to find more than half a score people in the city who honestly believe that the road, twenty miles of which are already graded, is actually going to be carried through to completion forthwith. It is looked upon as the antidote for all our ills, and yet, although the work is being vigorously prosecuted at present, it is a rare thing to meet any one who believes the enterprise is in a position that it will be completed under the present management. Upon the desirability, practicability, and, if you will permit me to coin a word, "payability," of the road, the people of this Province are a unit. To say one word that might be construed into scepticism as to the desirability of having the road at once is a dire crime in a Manitoban, and suicidal for a politician, as poor Mr. Norquay has found to his cost. He expressed the opinion at a public meeting some months ago that "there was no pressing necessity" for the road. It has taken him ever since to try to explain that he did not mean what he said upon that occasion, and the result of the coming elections only will determine what success he has met with. When I say it is suicidal for a politician to express scepticism in regard to the road, I speak literally, and the people of this city will thoroughly appreciate the fact in view of the forced, though weak, support of a city bonus to the road wrung from the *Free Press*, whose editor and proprietor is a candidate for election in opposition to the Norquay Government in South Winnipeg, the banner constituency of the Province. There are, however, a few who think with Mr. Norquay, that it is perhaps not well to hasten too rapidly; that if the road has to be built with money, the major portion of which comes from our own coffers, it may seriously re-act upon us in the future, and ultimately force us into the deplorable course adopted by several of our provincial towns, viz.—repudiation. Our debt is already quite heavy, and our assets are practically nil, the Dominion Government having acted the part of a buccaneer, and robbed us of all our lands, with the consent and approval of our worthy Premier. If the

scheme be a practical one, and as such commends itself at present to English capitalists who are willing to advance the money, Manitoba is quite willing to do her duty in assisting, but under the present arrangement of \$6,400 per mile being given by the Local Government, it looks as if the Province would have to build the entire road, in view of the fact that a bonus of \$250,000 is wanted from the city of Winnipeg. The cost of building a railway over level prairie is very light, and such assistance would go a long way towards constructing the first two hundred miles or so. Should construction cease by the time that amount of road was built, the line would be of no practical use to us, and the money we had expended would be a heavy additional burden upon us if we received no remunerating traffic. Without access to the seaboard it were worse than useless to spend a cent upon the road; until, therefore, there is an actual guarantee that the foreign resources are ample to carry the enterprise to a successful completion, Manitoba should not throw a dollar into the scheme.

President Sutherland says, and with considerable force, that the English capitalists desire a tangible earnest of the faith of the people of the North-West in the enterprise, and therefore he asks the assistance already referred to. The people here ask Mr. Sutherland who comprise the English syndicate, which he affirms he has formed to carry on the work. Mr. Sutherland replies that he dare not tell for fear enemies of the road, whom he knows exist, would seek to wreck the enterprise by pouring lies into the ears of the syndicate. It seems scarcely to be doing justice to English capitalists, who are generally pretty shrewd, to infer that they would risk so many millions in a scheme without fully satisfying themselves as to its practicability. In view of this, subsequent slanders should have little effect upon their actions.

If the road were built, and would cause the revolution in the carrying trade of the North-Western States and Canadian North-west that is claimed it will, there is no question about the beneficial results to this province. The existence of the road would at once establish real estate values in this country, which are, and have been for a number of years, in a most uncertain condition. Farm lands in the province are much in this position—they might be worth \$10 an acre, or they might be worth ten cents. It is a fact that thousands of acres of excellent lands in the Province have been sold at tax sales for an average of from ten to twelve and a half cents an acre. At least one-third of the amount so sold would not be redeemed, not because the real owner did not know of the sale and neglected redemption, but simply because he did not deem it advisable to continue paying taxes when there was no market value or demand for farm lands, and he did not know how long he might be obliged to hold his land, and pay taxes. If a revolution in the carrying trade is caused by the construction and operation of the Hudson's Bay road, an immediate value will be given to our provincial lands, so prolific in wheat-raising, and rendered more valuable by their proximity to Hudson's Bay than lands several hundred miles to the south of us. A similar effect will doubtless extend to our cities and towns, in many of which latter it is impossible at present to give lots away, as the receiver would prefer immunity from taxation, than encumbering himself with property of which there is no prospect of disposal. It will therefore be seen that the Hudson's Bay Railway might prove of inestimable value to us, providing the cost to the Province be not too great. The system upon which the Provincial Government aid is granted is this: Two years ago railway construction in the Province was at an actual standstill, and the country was suffering greatly in consequence, as hundreds of settlers who had taken up land in districts, under promise that a railway would be built, were "leaving the country with a curse," as the Conservative organ here expressed it at the time.

Something had to be done, and the Local Legislature passed a Railway Aid Act by which any railway company, having a land grant from the Government, might secure the bonds of the Province, which were negotiable in England without difficulty to the extent of \$6,400 a mile, the Government taking in exchange a first lien upon the land grant of said company for the amount of bonds issued. As the land grant which each company usually secured from the Government was 6,400 acres a mile, the Province practically had the lands at \$1 an acre, and as they concluded if the lands were not worth that much an acre they were not worth anything, the security was deemed very fair. The desired effect was secured. The C. P. R. took advantage of the guarantee and extended both its branch lines in Southern Manitoba; the Manitoba and North-Western Railway Company took advantage of the assistance and pushed their road north-west, even changing the location to keep it within the boundaries of the Province for as long a distance as possible and so secure the aid. The Hudson's Bay Railway has taken advantage of the guarantee, and several other railway companies contemplate operations in order that the assistance may be availed of by them. There seems to be a danger of the demands upon the Provincial assistance becoming so great that the question of repealing the Act might judiciously be considered by the Local Government. All these Provincial bonds carry five per cent. interest, and as nearly \$2,000,000 worth have already been issued, the yearly liabilities of the Province will be swelled by about \$100,000, which is more than Mr. Norquay accepted from the Federal Government in lieu of all our public lands. It will be surprising if the companies do not overreach the Government in connection with the transactions, and leave the Province with the liabilities and without the securities, in which event direct taxation would stare us in the face. It is sufficient, however, to cry out when we are hurt, and, in the meantime, we cannot but feel that present stress has been greatly relieved by the operation of the Act. By means of the assistance afforded by it forty miles of the Hudson's Bay Railway have been built, and if this start is sufficient earnest of our confidence to the English capitalists, and induces them to advance the balance of the money necessary to complete the road, we cannot but rejoice.

GARRY.