

malice erected into principles of social and political action, confiscation, guillotines, assassination, petroleum and dynamite are the modes of regenerating mankind with which the Jacobins have made us most familiar, while in all their deliverances, Rousseau's teachings among the rest, self-reform is left entirely in the background and the panacea for every malady is revolution. So far, it may safely be said that, as a constructive agency, the Gospel has done more than the guillotine. Of the two sorts of fanaticism, supposing the name to be applicable in both cases, many of us will prefer that of the Salvation Army to the mild reverie of the atheistic philanthropist who only wanted a thousand men armed with muffs and dirks to remove all the obstacles which stood in the way of universal felicity.

ARTISANS, like the rest of us, are very apt to think that those who will not go all lengths with them, through right or wrong, must be criminally lukewarm, if not apostates from their cause. But any one who can say that he stood by Unionism in the days when it had scarcely ceased to be under the ban of the law and was still generally regarded as conspiracy, and that he bore without flinching his share of the storm of obloquy which followed the detection of the Sheffield outrages, if he deserves the name of "a candid friend," at least cannot be called a fair weather friend; and unless it appears that he has ever sought the suffrages of working men or had any other object than industrial justice in view, what he says, even though erroneous, may fairly be accepted as sincere. In the proceedings of the late Trades Congress at Toronto there were some things which will be generally approved, other things which more or less create dissent. The citizens of Toronto at all events are heartily ready to concur in the proposal to put a check on assisted emigration, and from some words which fell from the Mayor at the Press dinner, there is reason to hope that he intends to move the council to take, through our representatives in Parliament, the action which has become so urgently needful for the protection of this city. Against the special injustice done by the system to mechanics and others whose bread depends upon the labour market the "Bystander" has never failed to protest. The exclusion of Chinese labour is a more questionable demand. If a Chinaman, by his own resources, makes his way to this place and here sets up a laundry, why is he to be turned out, and why is the community to be deprived of the benefit of his labour? That the Chinese are incapable of being converted to Christianity, as one of the Trades delegates declared, if true, would be rather an ecclesiastical than an economical or social consideration; besides which it is contradicted by the success of missionaries in China, though we may be very sure that nobody will be converted to a religion the professors of which treat them with contumely and injustice. That these people are not easily assimilated to our civilization, especially to certain moral parts of it, is a substantial reason for viewing with misgiving any prospect of their settlement among us in large numbers; but if we would avoid hypocrisy as well as confusion of thought, we must be careful to keep the moral motive distinct from the desire of confining the Canadian labour market to ourselves. One of the delegates frankly avowed that the object which they all had in view was to obtain the greatest amount of wages for the smallest number of hours of labour; he might have added, for the smallest amount of work. This object, though very manifestly that of a class, is perfectly legitimate, provided the Unions will pursue it by fair means, and not attempt to defeat by conspiracy, intimidation, or violence, the action of the influences equally legitimate by which the interest of the rest of the community is guarded. Non-Union men as well as Union men have their rights, which society must steadfastly uphold, if it does not wish to fall under an industrial tyranny which would not only be most oppressive to the employer and consumer, but in the end ruinous to the artisans themselves, whose deterioration in skill and in the power of work would be the inevitable result. Some of the manufacturing towns in the North of England are believed to have owed their origin to the secession of trade from older centres which were under the cramping dominion of the Guilds; and now we hear without surprise that manufactures are beginning to depart from the great cities where the yoke of the Unions is strong, to the rural districts which are comparatively free. There would be a similar exodus of wealth if the violent counsels of municipal demagogues could take effect, and as a consequence all those artisans whose trades minister directly or indirectly to luxury and refinement, including a great body of printers, would be at once thrown out of employment and, with their families, deprived of bread. Above all things, let every unionist fix in his mind the vital truth that he and his brethren are members of a community, from the interest of which they cannot sever their own, and which they cannot stab without themselves feeling the wound. They are all consumers as well as producers and cannot, as a rule, raise their own wages all round without raising the price of goods against themselves. By strikes they often scatter ruin among their own mates whose work is dependent upon theirs; as the other day in Eng-

land a strike of two hundred operatives in a particular branch of manufacture threw three thousand of their fellows out of work. The physicians and surgeons have just as good a right to strike for higher pay as any other trade; and if they did, what would be the fate of the artisan whose limb had been mangled by the machine?

In the International Congresses of Europe, the English workingmen have been generally distinguished from those of France and other countries by their wise resolution to confine themselves to industrial questions, and refrain from tampering with social or political chimeras. At the Toronto Congress one delegate propounded the political axiom that every one who was called upon to obey the law must have a right to vote. This would give a vote to children as well as to the wildest of the Red Indians whom the Dominion calls upon to obey its laws. That to which, and to which alone, every man, woman and child has a right is the largest attainable measure of wise and just government; and this manifestly can be secured only by confining political power to those who are duly qualified to use it. Another delegate proposed to limit all grants and holdings of land under the Dominion to 320 acres, without regard to the quality of the soil, to the nature of the products, whether grain or cattle, or to the local conditions and requirements of agriculture. In the North-West, as was pointed out in the last of these papers, the summers being short, and the full power of labour and machinery being needed to save the harvest, farming on a large scale and with abundant capital may be the most productive. A farm of several thousand acres with machinery and a staff in proportion, and with ample sheds for cattle and sheep in the winter, might be as hopeful an experiment as agriculture could try in that region. At all events procrustean limitations imposed by reformers who are really governed not by their views of farming, but by their social fancies and antipathies, cannot possibly do anything but harm. Nothing but harm could be done, as every artisan must see, if rural jealousy of manufactures were allowed to impose procrustean limitations on the size of factories and the number of hands to be employed in them. What the interest of the whole community, apart from class jealousies, requires is that the land shall yield as much as possible, so that bread may be plentiful and cheap. This the land will do if it is freely owned, freely transferred, and freely tilled as the rules of good farming may dictate.

THERE is something saddening, it must be confessed, about the tone of many labour congresses. It is that of a council of war held by a militant tribe encamped in a hostile territory rather than that of a body of men who are themselves members of the community. The Guilds of the Middle Ages became at last, as has been said, a cramping tyranny, from which Trade fled to seek in other homes the liberty without which it cannot live. Yet their spirit was never so anti-social as is that of trade conferences in the present day. They were real brotherhoods in themselves, and the masters belonged to them as well as the men. A religious character pervaded them, and by the encouragement which their corporate devotion gave to the religious architect and painter they touched and promoted the highest art and civilization of their time. Moreover, they were schools—in their early day indispensable schools—of industry; they took a generous pride in the improvement of their several crafts and, in their way, they taught the duties of labour as well as its rights. In the councils of modern unionists not a word about the duties of labour is heard, nor is much said about the quality of work, or the progress of skill. Almost the only serious subject of deliberation is the best method of putting pressure on the community for the purpose of raising wages, and the assumption of almost every speaker is that the employer is a natural enemy, against whose oppression the life of the workman is a perpetual fight. Upon maltreatment of employers, breaches of contract with them, strikes against them without notice, malicious injury to their property or business, no declamations are heard, though these things touch the honour of labour, and will infallibly touch its interest in the end. This is not a wholesome state of feeling, or one which can be cheerfully accepted as final; but we can hardly hope to alter it unless we can in some way alter the conditions of industrial life, especially the relations between the employer and the employed. Productive co-operation, as it is somewhat pedantically called, that is, the association of workmen for the purpose of carrying on a factory without the aid, or the guiding head of capital, has been tried and has failed. But there are ways of giving the artisan a share in the profits of the business, and thus identifying his interest with that of the employer, which have been adopted with a fair measure of success. We have also had instances of large establishments so organized and conducted on so liberal a scale as to attach the workman by the prospect of promotion. But the professional demagogues of industry well know that peace with justice, though a blessing to both the parties in the labour conflict,