

between the two races was unknown; and Sir John says that so late as after his entrance into public life French and English butchered one another in the streets of Montreal. But at this time the serious cause of friction had been removed. So long as the representative Assembly was checked in all its movements by the Crown-nominated Chamber exasperation was sure to result from the collision. The wrath of the popular leaders fell upon the instrument by which the Assembly was held in check, and the worst feeling between the two Chambers was kept up. Responsible government made it necessary to bring the two Houses into harmony, and in this great work Sir John bore no part; it was done before his influence in the Legislature was felt. The part he bore in aiding the two races to work politically together has not been inconsiderable, and it is impossible for on-lookers not to feel sometimes that the less we had of the costly achievement the better. By humouring the French, especially on fiscal questions, it is possible for an Ontario leader to get their support. It was to please Quebec that the Federal Government assumed a heavy burthen of debt due by the two Provinces. This and similar compliances have enabled Sir John to control the Quebec Vote; but it is a policy that costs dear and tends greatly to increase the Federal debt. The speeches were not allowed to close without a warning from the Premier of Quebec that he was going back to Ottawa to ask for more money from the Federal treasury. There are no signs of amalgamation between the two races. The French pride themselves on being a people apart from the rest of the population. Intermarriage is rare, and religion not less than race tends to keep distinct the line of division. One people the French and English populations of Canada can never become in the absence of amalgamation; and to-day its absence is almost as marked as it was fifty years ago.

It fell to several of Sir John Macdonald's colleagues to grace the banquet with their oratory when the chieftain had had his say. The most notable of these speakers, in some respects, was M. Chapleau; by him the greatest effort was made at both the Toronto and Montreal banquets. On both occasions the impression he made was favourable to his ability as a speaker. At Toronto, he ventured on the experiment of throwing a few drops of cold water on Imperial Federation; at Montreal, while fealty to the chief was the refrain to which he attuned his voice, he treated Imperial Federation as absolute colonial independence, which he was not prepared to welcome. Whether the change implies intermediate admonition no one has told. Sir Leonard Tilley, as in duty bound, defended the National Policy, without explaining why, contrary to promise, the National Policy had bloomed into fully developed protectionism. Sir David Macpherson asked for the Senate immunity from reform; and he gave a reason for making the request: that because the small Provinces have an equal representation in the Senate he thought they would not agree to a change. But if, for the doubtful and uncertain representation they now get, they got a real representation selected by their own Legislatures, they would have good reason to prefer the change.

It is to be hoped that we are now at the end of party demonstrations, whether in honour of the Conquering Hero or of the Beloved Chief. The warriors on both sides must by this time have quaffed to the full the mead of self-glorification out of the skulls of their political enemies. It is fortunate that still more savage practises do not prevail, or Sir Richard Cartwright might smoke upon the hostile board. An onlooker is chiefly struck by the childishness of these exhibitions. Not even the speakers themselves can imagine that their hyperbolic tirades bear any relation to the facts, or that their presentations of political history will ever be deemed worthy of notice by the historian. As to answering the statements or the arguments, a man of sense would as soon think of answering a bagpipe. Yet all is not laughable in these orgies of partisanship. The banqueters go away drunk with a wine even more deadly than the sherry. They are more than ever inflamed with party passion. They have learned more than ever to set party above their country, to regard half their fellow-citizens as their enemies, and to believe that everything is moral in politics which can put power and patronage into the hands of the Conquering Hero or the Beloved Chief.

In his address to the Young Men's Liberal Club, Mr. Blake assumed the existence of a centralizing tendency in the Ottawa Government. This tendency cannot be denied; but measured by the number of local acts brought under the operation of the Federal veto, it has not increased but rather diminished since Mr. Blake was in power. But the veto is not the only measure of a tendency to centralization; there is besides the aggression of the Federal Legislature on the domain of the Provincial Legislatures. The decision of the Supreme Court on the Federal License Act shows that the legislative power is divisible; that the Federal Legislature exceeded

its authority when it assumed to control retail licenses, and that the Local Legislatures exceeded their authority when they undertook to control wholesale and steamboat licenses. To each the decision of the Supreme Court is a partial defeat, to each a partial victory; and neither is in a position to blame the other for what it has done in the premises. When Mr. Blake talks of "enforcing the Federal view of the Constitution" he uses the words in a sense directly opposite to that given to them by Hamilton, Jay and Marshall. The object of the founders of the Federal Party was to increase the power of the general Government; and in this they succeeded when they supplanted the old Confederation by the present Federal constitution. Still, apart from this conventional meaning of Federalist, there is a true meaning which receives no violence at the hands of Mr. Blake. Pisa closing the gateway of the ocean to Florence is the extreme of localism; the United States Congress clothed with power to do anything necessary to the fulfilment of the duties specifically imposed upon it, may, under a recent decision of the Supreme Court, approach the opposite extreme. But the Federal Government of Canada started with odds in its favour. The absence of Provincial Courts places the Provinces at a disadvantage as compared with the separate States of the American Union. In spite of the tariff, Mr. Blake finds that the imports have not decreased since 1878, while the revenue has increased along with the duties. The tariff is protective to the extent that it prevents an increase in the imports; it is a revenue tariff if its productiveness only is considered. In other countries an increase of duties has often caused a diminution of revenue, and a decrease of duties has led to an increase of revenue. Pitt, by lopping off nine-tenths of the tea duty, increased the revenue by one-third; when, in 1807, the taxes of Ireland amounted to three millions four hundred thousand pounds, war taxes were added in the expectation that they would produce three millions four hundred thousand pounds more, with the result that, some years after, the whole product of the taxes, old and new, was one-fifth less than before. When a tariff rises above the revenue limit, increased taxes diminish revenue. Towards this danger, which we have not yet reached, we are tending. Specific duties, to which Mr. Blake objects, are theoretically unequal; but if another form of duty causes frauds on the revenue, the result is a still greater inequality. Average earnings and average expenditure, Mr. Blake should know, prove the scale of living in the country; the earnings make the scale and the scale eats up the earnings.

It has been several times repeated that when Parliament met the Pacific Railway Company would be applicants for a further advance of public money; but the report has always been met with a positive contradiction by the representatives of the company. It came from a hostile source and was in itself most improbable; for the Government, however large and docile its majority, would hardly dare to commit itself to such a proposal. It is now said that instead of a further advance of money, the company intends to seek a relaxation of the Government lien which at present covers the whole of its property, and must interfere seriously with the sale of its stock, and consequently with the raising of the funds necessary for the completion of the road. This is at all events a more credible version of the report; nor would there be anything to surprise or shock us in such an application. The country has undertaken for political objects, which were deemed worthy of the sacrifice, and which include the multiplication of Knighthoods and Imperial decorations, to build and run a railway connecting this disjointed line of Provinces and terminating in British Columbia, where at present there is hardly any trade. This enterprise may be wise and patriotic, but it is costly; the country must pay, and will pay with a vengeance before it has done. If financial embarrassment ensues, not on the Company, which has in every way done its best, but on the politicians will rest the blame.

The attempt of the Prohibitionists in the United States to run a candidate of their own for the Presidency has resulted in a reaction against their cause. The Republican Party, from which most of their votes were subtracted, and which ascribes its defeat largely to the loss, has turned on them in a mood of high displeasure. Their movement itself is now criticized with a freedom seldom exhibited while their political action hung in suspense and both parties feared the vengeance of their vote. The *Utica Daily Press*, for example, calls attention to the apparently adverse verdict of experience on the effects of prohibitory legislation. The criminal record of the States in which the sale of liquor is prohibited is, according to this journal, as bad as those of the States in which it is permitted under restrictive licenses. Statistics collected in Maine show that the greatest amount of pauperism prevails in cities and towns in which no liquor is sold. And now the Directors and Wardens of the Kansas Penitentiary report that in that State crime instead of dying out reached its highest mark while Pro-