

shall be deemed of value chiefly for its own sake, as a training of the mental and moral powers necessary alike to the performance of the highest duties and the enjoyment of the highest pleasures of life, a development of the true manhood and womanhood, and so a boon to be brought as far as possible within the reach of all? May the gradual shortening of the hours of toil, and the upward extension of those educational facilities which are now within the reach of all, be regarded as tending towards a state of society in which the best culture may be had by every one, whatever his occupation, whose mental faculties are sufficiently aroused to make it an object of desire? These questions are not so impractical or visionary as they may seem, since, so far as we are able to see, the whole duty and relation of the public to the universities and colleges turn upon the answer. They are old questions, but still unsettled. They have just now been suggested afresh by the following passage in the current number of the *Bystander* :—

"A University education is a very good thing for such as can really turn it to account. Of these there are two classes; men who intend to devote their lives to science or learning, and men who, though they do not intend to devote their lives to science or learning, are capable of making good use of the fruits of high intellectual training in other walks of life. Both of these classes are limited, and the second, perhaps, is fully as limited as the first. To send an ordinary boy to college is not only to incur great expense on his account, but to expose his character, and especially his habits of industry, to no small peril."

If this be the true view of the matter, it should dampen the mischievous ardour of educational enthusiasts. A most serious responsibility is devolved upon those who are obliged to decide whether they or their children and wards belong to either of the two exceptional classes indicated, since to make a mistake, and thus expose a character to peril, is a very serious matter. The obvious inference is, since the most sanguine can hardly venture to hope that the great majority of our ordinary college students belong to one or the other of the two limited classes, that it becomes ordinarily a duty to discourage, rather than encourage, scholarly ambition. We cannot pursue the subject, but we cannot dismiss it without suggesting the query, whether, if the case be as described, it does not argue a serious fault in the character of the University education itself, and whether it is not both possible and natural to conceive of a true higher education which should stimulate and strengthen every good mental and moral quality, the habits of industry included, and so fit the man or the woman for the better discharge of duty in every sphere of life, however humble.

NOTWITHSTANDING the national fickleness and the fondness of the Deputies for embarrassing and overturning Ministries, the Republic of France seems to be, on the whole, progressing in the direction of stability. With the downfall of Boulangism there is some reason to hope that the country has entered upon a new era of internal peace and progression. The unexpected length of time during which the late weak Government was able to hold the reins, and the comparative quietness with which the transfer is being made to a new and probably stronger Ministry under M. de Freycinet, seem to argue that constitutional methods are becoming better understood and more firmly rooted among the populace. Outside observers will wait with some curiosity to see what course the new Cabinet will adopt with reference to the International Council now sitting in Berlin. It would be a cause of regret, and possibly of danger, should the wise and conciliatory action of the defunct Cabinet in accepting Emperor William's invitation to the Conference be reversed, especially should the delegates be unceremoniously withdrawn. It is to be hoped that better counsels will prevail, and that both Government and people may be able to see that they have nothing to lose, even of national dignity, in taking part in a Conference which ostensibly seeks to promote the well-being of the working classes in both countries, and that they may have something to gain from a relaxation of the severity of international industrial competition, and the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes, which such relaxation would render possible.

THE International Council which is this week commencing its sessions in Berlin is, we suppose, in the nature of the subjects it is to discuss and the ends for which it is assembled, unique in history. Whatever may be the results of its deliberations, whether these end in apparent success or apparent failure, the summoning of the Convention by the autocratic Emperor of Germany, and the acceptance of his invitations by the other nations,

mark an epoch in the development of the labour element as a distinct political force. This force has now become so formidable that it must henceforth be reckoned with in all national arrangements. The questions to be specially considered relate to the regulation of labour in the mines, labour on Sundays, and labour as performed by women and children. It is the fashion just now to sneer at the idea that the abuses connected with each of these phases of industry can in any degree be corrected by international action. That there are very serious difficulties in the way of concerted and uniform action is obvious. The broad differences in national circumstances, customs, temperaments, and so forth, make it very unlikely and, perhaps, undesirable that any good degree of uniformity can be obtained. Be that as it may, it is pretty safe to say that nothing but good can come from the study and comparison that the international consideration of such questions must bring about. It is no small matter to have the thoughts of some of the best minds in the public life of each of the great nations seriously directed for a time to the investigation of such questions. The practical admission that they are questions in regard to which the interests of the different nations represented are in harmony, and not in conflict, is in itself no small matter. Much of course, almost everything, depends upon the manner and spirit in which the delegates go about their deliberations. If the aim is simply to throw a sop to the Socialistic Cerberus, to agree upon the minimum of concession to the demands of labour which can be relied on to checkmate the labour agitators; if the inquiry and discussion are restricted within strictly official bounds, to the exclusion of the opinions and wishes of those who alone have practical knowledge of the views and feelings of the classes affected, there can be little hope of any very beneficial result. The labour representatives and agitators will be likely to look askance at the proposals that may be formulated, and go on with their own movement in their own way. If, on the other hand, the delegates take counsel freely with the real representatives of the classes whose interests are under consideration, and frankly recognize their right to a voice, and a very influential voice, in any proposed legislation, there is no foretelling what mutual benefits may be the outcome of the movement. The origin and constitution of the Convention do not, we confess, afford much ground for hoping for the best. The holding the Conference with closed doors and under obligations to secrecy makes, too, an unpromising beginning. But we shall see.

SIR CHARLES DILKE'S NEW BOOK.*

SIR CHARLES DILKE'S retirement from public life has not been devoted to idleness or retirement or mere literary pastimes. He has worked with the energy and thoroughness that characterized him in Parliament and in office; and the results of his labours are perhaps more valuable than anything he could have accomplished in the more public and prominent career he formerly pursued. In 1888 he published "The British Army." In "The Problems of Greater Britain" he has given us "a treatise on the present position of Greater Britain, in which special attention has been given to the relations of the English-speaking countries with one another, and to the comparative politics of the countries under British government." In this survey of the English-speaking countries he includes the United States, and in some of his speculations he puts out of sight, as he put out of sight in his earlier work, "Greater Britain," the political separation between England and the United States, because "the peoples themselves are—not only in race and language, but in laws and religion, and in many matters of feeling—essentially one." Indeed it would be almost impossible to consider the development of colonial democracy without reference to the American Republic; and the comparisons that are constantly made throughout the book do not appear to be to the disadvantage of the colonial type. The enormous labour involved in accumulating material for and preparing such a work will be in some degree appreciated when we consider the vastness of the British Empire, the number of its colonies and dependencies, their wide distribution in every portion of the globe, and the almost infinite variety in their forms of government. Every page indicates the thoroughness of the author's study and his complete mastery of the mass of details he had to deal with. But while details are never permitted to become burdensome, occurrences to us apparently unimportant, and newspaper comments apparently

* "Problems of Greater Britain." By the Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart. With Maps. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. Toronto: Williamson and Co. 1890.

trivial, are sometimes cited to strengthen an inference or confirm a conclusion; and in glancing through the book one is struck with the recentness of some of the facts and incidents that are cited, many of them being occurrences of but a few weeks ago. In a work covering so vast a field, and dealing with such a number and variety of questions, the material for which "has been chiefly amassed by some industry in reading many things that issue from colonial presses, and discussing the matters to which they relate with colonists of all pursuits," it would be strange if there were no mistakes, no hasty inferences, no questionable conclusions. No doubt there are such, but we are not greatly concerned to discover them at present. We wish, however, to point out the danger of taking newspaper utterances as the voice of public opinion, and isolated incidents as proofs of popular feeling or indications of popular tendencies. We take, for example, the following account of the disgraceful disturbances in Toronto on the arrival of Archbishop Walsh cited to illustrate the feeling existing between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Province of Ontario, which, we are told, "runs high and leads to violence." "The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto, Dr. Walsh, was attacked on his 'welcome to his diocese,' in the latter part of 1889. His carriage windows were broken by stones, and he appeared in his cathedral with his arm in a sling." Disgraceful and deplorable as the tumult on that occasion undoubtedly was, and although perhaps not a single circumstance mentioned in the account of it is inaccurately reported, yet we venture to say that the passage is very likely to give an entirely wrong impression, or at least a greatly exaggerated conception, of the prevailing feeling in Ontario—notwithstanding the Equal Rights agitation—between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and possibly, also, of the general character of the Toronto populace. We mention this because the incident which gives point to the general statement happened in our midst, and so recently that it must be still fresh in the minds of our readers. That "feeling" does sometimes "run high" cannot be denied, but we think it has been caused to a great extent by the necessities of the politicians, and has been intensified from interested motives by some, and from sincere, if mistaken, zeal by others. We feel satisfied that the two great religious bodies desire, if they were only permitted to do so, to live together in harmony, or at least in a spirit of mutual forbearance. But, as we have said, it is not our concern at present to discover mistakes or challenge inferences or conclusions. We wish rather to call attention to the merits of this work, which takes rank at once with Prof. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," and the two together are contributions to the literature of political science of almost inestimable value. Sir Charles Dilke is a political thinker of acknowledged reputation, and among English statesmen he has been long distinguished for the interest he has taken in, and his knowledge of, colonial affairs. In this volume, in which he has given us the fruits of his ripest knowledge and most mature reflection, he has done a signal service, not only to the colonies but to the mother country. He has removed every excuse for the ignorance that has so long prevailed in the old country with respect to the colonies, and he has enabled the colonies to become familiar with the institutions and excellencies and deficiencies of each other. If he has pointed out our weaknesses and defects, he has described our successes and achievements in terms of almost flattering appreciation, and his views as to the future of the great colonies are confidently hopeful.

In the following extract the general well-being of people in the colonies is pointed out, and that contemptuous tone, too often assumed by people in Great Britain in speaking of the colonies, is illustrated and fittingly rebuked:

"The whole of the colonial governments, from the best to the least good, give the advantages of civilized government in a high form. The law is almost universally respected and obeyed. The average comfort and security of the people are at a consequently high level. There is order and there is justice, and the people are happy. There is complete toleration of opinion, and the weak and the little have been raised in the social scale, as compared with those of Europe, without any wrong being inflicted upon the rich, and the many have been benefited without driving out the few. While many of the so-called Great Powers of the Old World are suffering from many of the worst evils that can oppress peoples, the young countries of Greater Britain are those of all mankind in which the order of society seems to be the most secure and the condition of the people the best. These facts are not sufficiently recognized in the old country. A lecture was delivered at Toynbee Hall, last November, by a distinguished publisher, a man remarkable for his knowledge of men and things; but the only reference in it to the British Empire, outside of England, and to the wider public to which the works