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THE POST PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.

WEDNESDAY.....AUGUST 29, 1888.

An Ottawa despatch says Sir A. P. Caron is all for war. We have no doubt that, with his vast experience, he feels like Bismarck, and, with Gen. Middleton as a Molke, he thinks he could bring President Cleveland to a Sedan. But he had better restrain his war-like ardor. He might find the United States a somewhat tougher crowd to deal with than the halfbreeds of Batoche.

ABOUT the most sensible thing said by the Ontario press concerning the Jesuits estates settlement comes from the London Advertiser. The Orange Sentinel having declared that the consensus of Protestant opinion is in favor of the disallowance of the act, our London con. temporary observes that: "Outside the Orange lodges we do not know that there is any very active feeling in the matter up this way. We are quite content to let Quebec manage its own affairs in its own way, claiming the same privilege for Ontario."

SIR HECTOR LANGRISH having announced his intention of stamping Haldimand, Mr. Chapleau says he will go too. The Great Unclipped is not going to allow the Trifurcated hero to hector about the fields of Ontario with the mantle of Cartier, and will dispute its possession before the Haldimandites. It will be an inspiring spectacle—these two Dromios posing before a people who do not care a rap for the pretensions of either to the leadership of a faction in Quebec.

In their suits with the Times, Messrs. Parnell, Healy and O'Connor will need all the support that the friends of the cause can give them in the way of financial help. Law suits cost money in the Old country, and it is absolutely necessary that the champions of Ireland should be amply provided for carrying on the contest to a triumphant conclusion. A movement has been started in England among the friends of Home Rule to raise funds to assist Mr. Parnell, and we are sure his Canadian sympathizers will not be less prompt and generous.

THE Chicago Herald "dogmatically declares," in opposition to what high tariff preachers "declare dogmatically," that "wages will increase in the event of tariff reduction. Further than this, the Herald declares that a tariff for revenue only—in other words, a tariff laid without a particle of protection, for anybody or anything—would result in an additional rise in the wages of American labor. The man who asserts that a protective tariff ever put a dollar into the workingman's pocket is a densely ignorant or a viciously immoral person. In the absolute freedom of trade lies the hope of the poor man for living wages and a fair chance in the struggle for a competency."

THE Kazoot trying to get off a joke is like an elephant trying to climb a tree; the fun of the thing lies in its clumsiness. It says the rain spoiled Sir John Macdonald's picnic at Halifax and whisky defeated his candidate in Halton yesterday, and adds, "This is not the combination of whisky and water Sir John usually takes." The Kazoot is not aware, it seems, that gin, undiluted, straight De Kayper, is Sir John's favorite tipple. But when we remember the part played by "blister whisky" in the unseating of Mr. Henderson, we are surprised at the Kazoot venturing such an allusion. Whisky and water, indeed! "Here, waiter; bring me square gin—cut-glass tumbler—big one. Very good. Charge that to the Government."

As winter approaches the cost of living increases—meat, sugar, flour, fuel, everything that enters the household, is going up in price. The only thing that is not increasing is wages. The reason is that the "protective" tariffs of Canada and the United States have given unscrupulous engrossers control of the markets, and they have gone to work right and left to fleece the public. Is there no remedy? There is, only one. Abolish the system by which the coal, sugar, meat, flour and other combines are enabled to carry on their robberies. As the Chicago Herald puts

It: "Vote for no man who has a word of apology for scoundrels, coal scoundrels, sugar scoundrels, meat scoundrels, or flour scoundrels. The day has come that engrossers are all scoundrels. Vote steadfastly for freedom of trade and against the private power to tax. Protest against every ring. Reform must then come."

By a strict party vote the United States Senate has rejected the Fisheries treaty. The result will not effect the modus vivendi, but it will certainly tend to increase the friction between this country and the people of the neighboring republic. The fact that the governments are friendly to each other will do much to lessen, if not altogether overcome, the difficulties thus interposed in the way of the settlement. As everyone knows the object sought by the Republican senators was merely a party advantage, their action will not rise to the dignity of an international complication.

ENGLAND, the United States and Canada want men of good will at the head of affairs. Were Gladstone in power in England and Blake in Canada, we would have none of this trouble with the Americans. The tremendous mistake of sending Judas Iscariot Chamberlain to negotiate a treaty with the United States would never have been made. A stupid and dangerous policy of irritation by Canada towards the Americans would not have been persisted in, and we would be saved the ignominy and humiliation of having to back down, as we must and that very quickly, when the British Government finds that Canadian Tory bullpupism has brought it to the verge of war with the United States. That bullpupism excited the just wrath of the American people by its open, aggressive sympathy with the South during the war, and now the mass of our people, who entertain and always entertained none but the kindest feelings towards the United States, are to be made suffer for Tory folly and arrogance. Should the present trouble suit in the construction of that truculent spirit and the annexation of the Dominion to the United States, it would be a splendid instance of good coming from evil.

A DESPATCH from Washington furnishes a pointer which ought not to be lost upon Irish voters in the United States. Know-nothingism having been revived under the name of "the American Party," the usual convention was held at Washington. An invitation was sent from its managers to the National British American Association to send three delegates. This latter, of which the Boston Anti-Catholic Association forms part, was organized a year ago for the purpose of inducing Englishmen and Canadians settled in the United States to take out naturalization papers and engage actively in the politics of the country. The leaders of the movement put the British-American vote to be cast in the approaching election at a surprising number of thousands. The delegates of the N. B. A. association having examined the character and purpose of the American party, agreed upon a unanimous report that all voters of English, Scotch or Canadian birth, who are Protestants in religion, should support the platform and candidates of the American party. "Should the recommendation be adopted," says the correspondent, "by the managers and generally followed by those within the sphere of their influence, it will mean a considerable loss of anticipated votes to the Republican ticket in New York and New Jersey, where the greatest strength of the newly created British vote lies." When American Know-nothings, allied with expatriated Brits, unite on one side, we may be sure that side is not friendly to Irishmen or Catholics.

THE POLICY OF RUSSIA.
Europe is beginning to understand why the young Emperor William of Germany rushed off in such hot haste after he came to the throne to pay his respects to the Czar. He did not make that extraordinary exhibition of submission without the advice and consent of Bismarck. But since then it has been noted that the rumble of Russian arms towards the frontier of Germany has ceased. Austria, as if paralyzed, has suspended her preparations for war, and now comes the soothing information that Russia has no intention of disturbing the situation, but is intent on developing her internal resources, building roads, raising wheat, and the sky is clear.

The spirit of the Holy Alliance has triumphed once again and Russia has demonstrated that she wields no barren sceptre in European affairs. It is not the unmeaning bauble that decorates the feeble hands of other princes, but an iron mace of crushing weight, lifted by a giant arm, in a cause where aggression is the only defence, in a contest which cannot be declined, and where the existence of the combatants is staked on the result.

The whole field of European politics has changed. Without striking a blow Russia has humbled Germany, paralyzed Austria, frightened Italy, isolated France and made England conscious of insecurity. Content with this success Russia, we may well believe, is now inclined to peace. It is no part of the profound Philippe policy of autocratic Russia to rush into war. That policy will hazard no ruinous defeat, no discrediting failures. It will seek no rash and barely possible triumphs. Time is for it, and its haste is slow. But let no man mistake the object and purpose of that policy. Russia aims at the destruction of liberty everywhere, but most of all is she bent on the ruin of England. So long as the Pharaohs of British liberty flames on the confines of European despotism there will be no real peace. To extinguish that light is the end towards which all roads in Russia lead. So long as England exists resplendent in all the glories of

liberty, despotism can find no safe and quiet abode on the continent of Europe. The free ideas of the Democracy militant, its bold spirit of independence, its sturdy hatred of tyranny, its sympathy for the oppressed, speak in trumpet tones against the system which has made Europe a camp of armed men where industry is crushed and the sword hangs over every man's head by a single hair.

But the powers that have destroyed freedom on the continent feel and know that the busy hum of English liberty is ever exciting their oppressed subjects to rise, and that the plain spoken words of indignation at their dolours are holding them up to the hatred and contempt of their people. England with her boisterous and turbulent sons, fierce in tongue and resolute in act, tenacious of legal rights and defiant of official encroachments, irreverent towards foreign royalty and not very respectful of that at home, jealous of absolute freedom of speech, and proud to signalize it in Parliament by language that from no other quarter of Europe rings so loudly in the ears of princes, how can England be allowed to stand if she may be stricken down? She stands as the great propagandist of freedom. She is guilty of every liberal sin. She bristles with every danger that terrifies ambitious despotism. But she is too strong to be assuaged directly. The policy of Russia, therefore, is to strike vital points at the extremities, worry and weary by long, vexatious, distant contests, compel England to put forth her strength to maintain dependencies which are the necessary channels of English industry as veins are for the blood. If they be cut off, the ruin of the centre is slowly but surely consummated.

Looking at these things, the sincere lover of liberty must deeply regret the fatal policy which keeps the Irish people estranged from the British empire. The discontent of Ireland is an open door which the wisdom of Gladstone would close against foreign interference. But we can imagine how, under the distasteful of Russia wielding the power of Europe, or the North of the Rhine, the fall of England could be brought about.

Europe to-day, like Greece of old, awaits her Charon!

A ROYAL CONVERT.
THE Irish Catholic says:—"A report has reached us from a most reliable source which indicates as almost certain the conversion of a most respected female member of the Royal family of Great Britain. We should hesitate to give publicity to this intelligence were it not that its origin gives us every reason to rely on its authenticity; and it is now only necessary to say that should it happily prove well founded the near relationship which exists between the lady in question and the monarch in England will render her conversion one of the most memorable which has occurred within the last half century."

Referring to the above report it will save much useless, and perhaps painful, speculation, says the London correspondent of the Birmingham Post, if I state that the Royal lady referred to, and distinctly pointed at by Catholic rumour, is Princess Christian, the third daughter of the Queen. Her Royal Highness has not for some time enjoyed the best of health, and her recent lowness of spirits, whether consequent upon this or any other cause, has been remarked by those having the honour of her acquaintance. It is not averred that she has as yet been "recovered," but the impending open change in her religious opinions, though not affirmed, is not denied by those who may be presumed to be in a position to know.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

President Cleveland's message came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Nobody expected it, though there is reason to believe that he had it prepared in anticipation of the vote of rejection in the Senate.

Undoubtedly it is a party move to checkmate the anti-British cry of the Republicans, but even as such, it is fraught with most mischievous consequences. That, however, is a consideration which Canadians have nothing to do with. When the head of a great nation proclaims a desire and intention of proclaiming a policy that is tantamount to a declaration of war upon a weak and defenceless neighbor, the people whose interests are immediately affected must prepare to meet the threatened evil as best they may.

A policy of retaliation and non-intercourse would be ruinous to many interests, public and private, in Canada. It would certainly injure American interests, especially in the States bordering on Canada, and derange the whole railway business of the continent. American Atlantic seaboard cities would suffer a diminution of trade, while our own cities, Montreal, St. John, Halifax and Quebec, would benefit to some extent. On the whole, however, the effect must be infinitely destructive to general commerce. Canada, thrown upon her own resources, would endeavor to make the best of the new conditions, but the loss would be immense.

But a strict enforcement of the policy of retaliation would be sure to lead to other and graver complications. Unless the Government of Canada is prepared to submit to and endure all the exactions and encroachments of the United States without resentment, the policy of retaliation must, if logically pursued, end in war. Retaliation is, in fact, commercial war.

The question now arises of how far England will sustain Canada in a conflict of this kind? We are firmly convinced that, as it is of the very utmost importance to England to preserve friendly relations with the United States, the Government will advise, if it does not peremptorily insist on the abandonment by the Canadian Government of the policy of irritation it has so long pursued towards the United States. The animating spirit of Canadian Toryism

has always been of the same sort as that which prompts a vicious urchin to throw stones, then run hide behind his mother's skirts. Individually—and collectively that party has always assumed an insulting attitude towards the American people. But the Tory party is not Canada, and it is probably a good thing that the miserable policy of petty vexation pursued by it towards the great Republic should receive the crushing snub that is sure to come from over the water.

England will never go to war with the United States for the sake of Canada. Her settled policy, since the withdrawal of the troops and the dismantling of the fortifications, has been one which plainly intimated that Canada must in future take care of herself. That policy is a practical acquiescence in the Monroe doctrine. But while the tendency and the desire of the Canadian people has been towards a union of interests and a consolidation of friendship with the people of the United States, the policy of the Tory Government of Canada has been in the contrary direction. Sir John Macdonald, his imitators and organs have continually spoken and acted as if this country was the natural enemy and rival of the United States, instead of being, as it really is, a natural partner in the continental system of peace, freedom and independence.

Here we find the tap-root of the whole trouble. Were the Government of Canada animated by a wise and proper spirit, it would have adopted the British idea of freedom and fellowship with the United States, instead of striving against nature to build up, at boundless expense, a rickety Confederation, without one bond of union save the shadow of the British flag and a streak of rusty iron.

As regards the immediate cause of the trouble it may be safely asserted that the people of the Western provinces are very little about the fisheries question, and take the most languid interest in the matter of canal tolls. What they desire most of all is access to American markets, and they would willingly give the Yankees the run of the fisheries and the freedom of the canals for reciprocity in trade. Their very last idea is a war of retaliation, or retaliation of any kind.

In the complications that have arisen and are now approaching something in the nature of an international deadlock, Canadians will recognize, if Englishmen and Americans do not, the same trickiness and dishonesty which characterize all Sir John Macdonald's actions. But he and his party are in a fair way of discovering that it is one thing to humbug and play fast and loose with not very intelligent colonists scattered here and there on the edge of the arctic circle, and quite another thing to carry the same tactics into the dealings of nations with each other. But, however the present difficulty may affect existing relations for the time being, lovers of peace and good government see in it the promise of a final and natural solution of the great problem of the destiny of Canada.

THE VETO.

Reports from Ottawa, which say that the Privy Council of the Dominion has been considering the question of the disallowance of certain acts passed by the Quebec Legislature at its last session, are probably correct.

For some time we have observed that several organs of the Protestant sect, and those newspapers, such as the Toronto News, which represent the Orange wing of the party led by Sir John Macdonald, have been almost violent in their demand for the disallowance of the Jesuits' estates settlement act.

At the same time tremendous pressure has been brought to bear to obtain disallowance of the Debt Conversion Act. Concerning the Jesuits' Estates Act, the reports say that the Council has come to the decision that it is a matter purely within Provincial jurisdiction, therefore not ultra vires, and that the veto will not, for that reason, be applied.

This is a very wise conclusion. It is wise, because the question had to be settled some way, is, in fact, settled in a manner agreeable to all concerned, and it would be dangerous to re-open it.

Dangerous, we say, in the sense that it would be inimical to the interests of the Macdonaldite party in Quebec.

It will not be forgotten that the English-speaking Protestants in the Legislature to a man allowed the Bill to pass without a word of objection. Of course, everybody who knows anything about Canadian politics is quite aware that policy, not a sense of justice, has dictated this decision; for Sir John, who really controls his ministry autocratically, would not hesitate to disallow the Jesuits' Estates Bill, in spite of protests from Quebec, and in deference to Orange influence, which forms the backbone of his party, just as he hanged Riel, were it not that he fears the consequences to his party in this province.

The Debt Conversion Act is another matter. The question of disallowance regarding it, the reports say, has not yet been decided. From this we are led to the understanding that Sir John hesitates.

Why does he hesitate? He hesitates because the Act is not ultra vires.

The control and management of Provincial finances are matters so clearly placed within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures by the Act of Confederation that interference by Federal authority in them would, if attempted, or permitted, bring the whole question of Provincial Rights and Federal encroachments to a head.

When the act of Confederation was in process of incubation the disputed right of secession and the civil war in the United States induced the framers of the act to provide against like contingencies in the Canadian union; hence the placing of the veto in

the hands of the Governor General in Council. But it was never contemplated that matters clearly assigned to the jurisdiction of the provinces should be interfered with by the Central Government.

Sir John Macdonald has stretched the prerogative of disallowance to the utmost. In the recent case of conflict with Manitoba over railway charter, disallowance, he withdrew the veto under a threat of rebellion and secession. In this way we have obtained an idea of the full extent to which the Dominion Premier is prepared to go, and beyond which he dare not go, in the exercise of the veto.

Dr. Bourinot, in his manual of the Constitution of Canada, pages 113-114, says:—"The best authorities concur in the wisdom of interfering with provincial legislation only in cases where there is a clear invasion of Dominion jurisdiction, or where the vital interests of Canada as a whole imperatively call for such interference."

The same author quotes Chief Justice Sir William Richards and Judge Fournier, of the Supreme Court of Canada, with regard to the exercise of the veto, as follows:—"There can be no doubt of the prerogative right of the Crown to veto any provincial act, and to apply it even to a law over which the provincial legislature has complete jurisdiction. But it is precisely on account of its extraordinary and exceptional character that the exercise of this prerogative will always be a delicate matter. It will always be very difficult for the Federal Government to substitute its opinion instead of that of the Legislative Assemblies, in regard to matters within their jurisdiction, without exposing itself to be reproached with threatening the independence of the provinces." The injurious consequences that may result in case a province re-enacts a law are manifest:—"Probably grave complications would follow."

And in any case, "under our system of Government, the disallowing of statutes passed by a local legislature after due deliberation, asserting a right to exercise powers which they claim to possess under the British North America Act, will always be considered a harsh exercise of authority, unless in cases of great and manifest necessity, or where the Act is so clearly beyond the powers of the local legislature that the propriety of interfering would at once be recognized."

According to this view of the law, as expressed by the highest authority, the veto is a power which ought only to be exercised "in cases of great and manifest necessity," by reason of the "grave complications" likely to follow, should the province persist in exercising its rights under the Act of Confederation.

The Debt Conversion Act certainly does not come within the class of cases alluded to by Sir William Richards. The pretence that it injures the credit of the country is simple nonsense, a bugaboo created by a partisan Opposition for party purposes.

But the danger lies in the attempt that would be made, in case the veto should be applied, by the Federal Government to interfere in the financial affairs of the provinces. The local budget would no longer be secure. So dangerous a precedent would introduce uncertainty into all provincial monetary affairs and make the head man at Ottawa a power for producing confusion at will, which could not be tolerated for a day.

As a matter of self-preservation, the provincial government must resist the veto should it be applied to the Debt Conversion Act. To submit would be to abandon the last safeguard to provincial independence. Sir John Macdonald fully grasps the meaning and gravity of the course he is urged to take by those who are only anxious to embarrass Mr. Morier, without thinking of further consequences. But, considering the situation with reference to movements that do not call for mention at present, he will show his wisdom by interfering not at all in the provincial affairs of Quebec.

UNPROTECTED LABOR.

The cry raised by the Republicans in the Presidential election controversy, that to reduce the tariff would expose the workmen of the United States to competition with pauper foreign labor, is the vilest claptrap ever propounded. In the States, as in Canada, the product of foreign labor is excluded, but the laborer is admitted free. By this system the capitalist is given command of the domestic market and the workman exposed to the freest competition. How any man or party can have the audacity to argue that lowering the import duty on foreign manufactures will, under these conditions, lower wages, is astonishing.

Every man knows that security produces high prices, in labor as in all other things. Manufacturers combine to produce security in order to increase their profits. And to keep down wages they import laborers from Europe.

A Government which imposes a duty on the product of foreign labor, and permits the unlimited importation of foreign laborers, enslaves the native workman.

We have a striking illustration of the baneful effects of this sort of protection in the evidence given by Mr. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, before the Congressional Committee on Immigration abuses at New York last Monday. His description of what he saw in the mining regions of Pennsylvania and Maryland is perfectly sickening. American miners would not work for the miserable pay that was offered, so the Coal barons imported Hungarians to take their places. Mr. Powderly stated that in 1882 he visited the Eokert mines at Frostburg, Md. There he found these imported miners stowed in bunks five tiers high, they were filthy in their habits, ived mostly on salt pork and water, and worked for half the money paid to others.

Mr. Powderly related to the committee a statement made to him by a Hungarian woman two years ago in Cleveland, in which she admitted that she kept house for eight Hungarians and acted in a matrimonial capacity to all of them. When asked why she lived such a life she replied that if she married one of the men she would starve. Mr. Powderly said he was satisfied that there were hundreds of such cases in the country among Hungarian immigrants.

Such are the results of free competition in labor and protection for capital. And the men who produce these horrors in America are the same who have combined at the ap. proach of a long water to raise the price of coal three times its value!

But this is only a particularly glaring instance of the evils accumulating on this continent as a result of the protective system and the combinations of capital made possible under it. The general effect is to push the able, honest, intelligent workman out of the field and put in his place the ignorant, slavish foreigner, a woman or a child. Mr. Powderly stated in his evidence that there are now over a million men out of employment in the States as a consequence of this system. It has been pointed out that "in all trades the journeyman is paid more than the laborer, the skilled mechanic more than the unskilled laborer, and he is paid more because he earns more." Efficiency of labor results in a large product, and a large share of a large product goes to the wage earner.

But the immediate object of those who import foreign labor is to secure dividends. In their haste to get rich, to become multimillionaires, they sacrifice the sources of wealth. It is the old story repeated of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.

LANSDOWNE'S NIGHTMARE KNIGHT MAYORS.

WHAT'S the matter with Brother Clarke, Mayor of Toronto, that he should have been excluded from the knightly roll of gentlemen who distinguished themselves during the Lansdowne administration?

The Mayors of Montreal and Ottawa are included, why not the Mayor of Toronto? Judged by the standard of Lansdownian utility, the Mayor of Toronto has a better claim than the Mayor of Montreal.

Did not the members of the noble Order, of which Brother Clarke is so distinguished a member, show their zeal and loyalty by attempting to murder William O'Brien, and did they not muster in full force to welcome the Evictor of Luggacurran, when two hundred people could not be scared up to do him honor in Montreal?

Still more recently did not a mob of the same noble Order attack and attempt to wreck an Orphan's home, in which there were five ferocious Sisters of Charity and a lot of terrible infants under ten years of age?

These were by long odds greater services and more in the way of deserving Lansdowne's and the British Tory Government's recognition than were the services of Mr. Stewart and the Orange lambs of Ottawa.

They only ask that they would "Hang O'Brien on a sour apple tree," and, being aces, pulled the Evictor's carriage through the streets of the capital.

These were services, no doubt, that deserved recognition, but how insignificant when compared to those of the Toronto brethren!

Considering all things, we feel compelled to condescend with Brother Clarke on the invidious distinction of which he has been made the victim.

But it is just like Lansdowne, the ingrate, to forget his most devoted, if least intelligent friends.

Or can it be that the old fear of honoring by implication an association that gives religious incentive to the worst passions of human nature, prevented the bestowal of knighthood on the front ornament of Augurism at the capital of Ontario?

The question is pertinent, but we will leave the answer to the *Naves*, which represents the intellect (!), and the *Sentinel*, which represents the morals (!) of the Order.

At any rate, whatever may be the reason, a slight has been put upon Mayor Clarke of Toronto in excluding him from the number of mayors knighted for distinguished services during the Lansdowne regime.

But it agrees with the eternal fitness of things that a Governor General whose term was a nightmare should fix the fact in the public mind by making a lot of mayors-knights.

EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE ON THE UNITED STATES.

A new view is presented of the question of free trade, as such a policy would affect the United States in competition with England has been presented by Mr. George Medley, an English writer for the Cobden Club. We are indebted to the Mail for the quotation, which we presume is correct. Mr. Medley points out that for every square mile of coal and iron there is in the United Kingdom the United States possess a hundred, and says: "If the monstrous duties which now maintain their iron industries in localities where they would not exist but for the duties were repealed, and if those industries were transferred to other localities where production can be carried on so cheaply as with us, how long would our supremacy in ship-building and ship-owning and machinery-making and cotton-spinning last?" He thinks Alabama, with her rich deposits of coal and iron, lying alongside the cotton belt would soon shake England's supremacy in textiles; whilst the cheapening of American steel would result in the re-establishment of the American merchant marine, and probably sweep off the sea the iron vessels which carry so large a portion of British commerce.