

break-up is to be averted. Things will not hold together of themselves. In what sense Quebec is attached to the Confederation we have just seen? Nor is it much otherwise in the Maritime Provinces. Give us Government railways is the cry in New Brunswick, or solid advantages of some kind. What has Confederation been to us? A delusion. Fifteen years have been lost to us. We have not retained even the natural growth of our population. We expected larger markets and we have gained only more formidable competition. The Intercolonial Railway was to have done great things for us; it has done nothing. Our last hope is to be made the winter port, but for this privilege others are competing. We have given our energies and paid our taxes to build up the North-West. What is the North-West to us? It was not for the sake of the Prairies or of British Columbia that we entered Confederation, but to advance the interests of our own Province. We were better off as we were with our old Provincial spirit and our energies directed to the improvement of our own land. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick they still speak of Canada as a different country, and only in an official sense call themselves Canadians. Quebec remains utterly unassimilated, more French in fact than ever, and a complete non-conductor of national feeling between the Maritime Provinces and Ontario. When the shears of fate cut the thread of Sir John Macdonald's public life, what bond of union will be left? To raise the question whether a system which is kept in existence only by one man's statecraft is really worth preserving would be to enter on a field of enquiry at once wide and perilous.

EXCEPTION has been taken in several quarters to the statement that the chief burden of a wasteful policy was borne by Ontario. The phrase may not have been precisely accurate, but nobody could take the writer to mean that the import duties were higher for Ontario than for the other Provinces. Ontario is the largest taxpayer because she is the largest consumer, not only in the aggregate, but in proportion to her population. Moreover she does not receive back a part of her taxes in the form of better terms. What will she gain by the Pacific Railway? Merely, as it would seem, the gratification of staring like a cow at the passing train. The traffic will be carried past her to the seaboard. That her manufacturers will long be able to retain exclusive possession of the North-West market, nobody who has marked the rising spirit of the North-West will be inclined to believe. She has lost and is losing not a few of her best farmers, while the value of her lands has declined. In England the Pacific Railway Company does, and cannot be blamed for doing, all in its power to divert the best class of emigrants—those who are prepared to purchase farms—from all other parts of Canada to the North-West. Its endeavour is seconded by a hundred agencies, while for Ontario scarcely a voice is raised or a finger moved. All the leading representatives of Canada from the ex-Governor-General and the Prime Minister downwards, with one accord cry up the North-West; naturally enough, since it is the prominent topic in their minds, and their reputation is bound up with its success. Yet anyone who knows the English farmer, his Conservative habits and his dependence on the neighbourhood of the mechanic and on all the appliances of English civilization, can well doubt that he is more likely to be successful and happy as the purchaser of a farm in a cultivated and peopled district than as a pioneer, even on the fertile prairie. Ontario and her Government must bestir themselves if the Province is not to pay for her own depopulation, which she is in imminent danger of doing.

IN the division on Sir Stafford Northcote's motion of censure, the majority of the Gladstone Government was evidently pared down to the quick. The Irish, as usual, condemned the policy of conciliation by voting with their old oppressors the Tories against the author of Disestablishment and the framer of the Land Act and the Arrears Act. But extreme Radicals and Free Lances, such as Mr. Cowen, also voted against the Government. From a hundred to forty-nine is a fall; still forty-nine is a fully sufficient majority; the Whigs dragged on for years with less than half of it, and Palmerston's majority of seventy in its day was thought prodigious. The majority will be held together, as was said before, by the unwillingness of the Radicals, who are the doubtful wing, to bring on a general election before the Franchise Bill has been passed. The Government has also the advantage of an Opposition weaker in men than a great party has ever been in English history. Of that, the prominence of Lord Randolph Churchill is proof enough. The two best men, Mr. Edward Gibson, and Mr. Plunkett have not the social position which, saving in case of extraordinary genius, Conservative caste requires in its leaders, and the lack of which was always the source of some weakness even to Peel. Mr. Gladstone on the other hand, is supported by some administrators of the highest quality. He will in all probability remain master of the country so long

as his strength lasts, and in this parliamentary struggle he has evidently shown no sign of decay; as a speaker he appears even more powerful than ever. Yet the end must come and the minds of all men in England are occupied with speculations about the future. The principle forces seem clearly to be working towards the formation of a Liberal-Conservative party in which the section of Conservatives which now follows Sir Stafford Northcote will find itself allied with the Liberals whose types are Lord Derby and Lord Hartington, while the extreme wing will be thrown off on either side. Landowners and property owners of all kinds must begin to see that it is not a question of special institutions or of policies domestic or foreign, much less of personal pretensions, but of property and order; and that it would be suicide to withhold support from any government by which those fundamental interests could be sustained against the advancing tide of socialism and revolution. A Tory Government pledged to the defence of an unreformed House of Lords, a State Church on the present footing and a Jingo foreign policy, if in the chapter of Parliamentary accidents it should be called for a moment into existence, would be the last as well as the most short-lived of its kind. But a Franchise Bill impends, and it must call to the exercise of power some classes at least whose political tendencies are unknown and will probably not for some time be disclosed. Zadkiel alone can pretend to cast the horoscope of a nation which is about to take another great leap in the dark.

THE *Globe* suit, among many things which concern only the suitors or the lovers of personal gossip, has brought to light one thing which is interesting to the public at large. It has been clearly proved that to convert a journal from a public intelligencer and instructor into the iron flail of a personal despotism and to use it in destroying all independent opinion, is a policy which, whatever may be its moral merits, commercially does not pay. The *Globe*, which, in the position which it had attained by skilful management in its early days, ought to have been a splendid property, had actually been reduced to a state of complete financial rottenness, from which it has been with difficulty rescued by the present management. Its master would not be content to live and let live; he must needs crush everything which was not under his sway; he lost sight of the proper objects of commercial enterprise, launched into reckless outlay and at the same time provoked dangerous rivalries. In this way he seems to have brought himself to desperate straits; for it now becomes manifest that the dividend at the rate of sixteen per cent. declared on *Globe* stock a few years ago, which sent the stock, as appeared from the quotations published with transactions, up to 140 and more, was not earned, but was declared probably for the purpose of selling the stock, the bulk of which must have been then in the manager's hands, and obtaining advances from a bank. The numberless reputations, from that of Sir Edmund Head downwards, against which the *Globe* appears as a witness before the tribunal of Canadian history, are entitled to the benefit of the fact.

MR. GEORGE went to England to receive a shower of roses. A shower he has received, but not of roses. The Tories of course pelt him as a revolutionist; the Radicals pelt him still harder to clear their own characters of any connection with "a Californian mail robber;" the Irish, melancholy to say, pelt him hardest of all, as they were sure to do as soon as they understood what it was that he really proposed. For comfort he turns to the Skye crofters, among whom it appears he is trying to get up an agitation. It will soon be necessary to have a new chapter of International Law written for the special benefit of our friends in the United States, defining the limits within which citizens of one country are to be at liberty to gratify their malice or vanity by kindling sedition in another. But the object of the Skye crofters is the same with that of the Irish land-leaguers, and they are just as little likely to welcome the glad tidings that their farms belong not to the occupants but to the nation; or as Mr. George if he were consistent would say, to humanity at large. Mr. George has brought out a new volume of essays under the title of "Social Problems," but he does not meet the objections, moral and economical, which have been advanced against his theory. Above all, he does not attempt to show that under his system the land would produce more bread for the people. His book is one long Jeremiad. Nor does the New World escape his denunciations any more than the Old. Government in the United States is utterly corrupt, and has passed out of the hands of the people into those of unscrupulous rings. Yet it is to this Government that Mr. George proposes to transfer all the landed property of the country after taking it away from its present owners. If political scoundrelism were the universal proprietor, no doubt the race would be blest. A vast generalization always takes the world by storm. One theorist accounts for every thing in heaven and earth by a mechanical formula, and he at once