

tions. A more reasonable as well as hopeful position would be that the adjustment of these questions must be contemporaneous with, if not part and parcel of, any new commercial agreement. But what will be the attitude of the present Canadian Government, and the supporters of the National Policy generally, in case an opportunity should offer for extending our business relations with our neighbours? Sir John A. Macdonald is represented as saying that it will be time enough to speak of reciprocity when it is offered by the United States Senate. That is equivalent to saying that the advances must be made wholly by the other side—a position which would effectually put a stop to any overtures which might be contemplated. But do Canadians—meaning, of course, the majority who uphold the Government and the National Policy—want reciprocity? Mr. Blaine strives to satisfy his Protectionist friends by maintaining that a system of reciprocity is supplementary to, and not in conflict with, a protective tariff. There is at least plausibility in that view in the case of the United States, with which reciprocity with other American nations means exchange of manufactures for natural products. With Canada, as with the South American nations, it means, of course, just the opposite. Nothing is more certain that if any new reciprocity treaty is made, beyond, possibly, the exchange of a few specific natural products, such as coal, it must provide for the admission of manufactured goods. It is, to say the least, very unlikely that our neighbours would consider for a moment any other. It is clear, then, that preliminary to any such extension of Canadian commercial freedom must be a new settlement of the old issue, Protection or Free Trade. Are Canadian manufacturers prepared to meet American manufacturers on their own ground, or are the mass of the Canadian people prepared to sacrifice such manufactures as cannot survive in an even-handed contest in return for the other advantages to be reaped by commercial freedom on a continental scale? Then comes the question of discrimination against the Mother Country, and the further question of raising a revenue, to complicate the issue. Evidently an American offer of reciprocity would bring to the front some hard questions on this side of the line.

WE referred some months ago to the proposal of some "advanced thinkers" in England to establish a new Toynbee Hall in London for expounding and propagating the religious views developed in "Robert Elsmere." The scheme is making progress, and practical work in the new "University Hall," as it is to be called, is to be commenced in October next. The committee, with Mrs. Humphrey Ward as Secretary, embraces, consistently enough, the representatives of a pretty wide range of ecclesiastical thought and belief. It includes the Earl of Carlisle, the Dowager Countess Russell, Dr. Martineau, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and Miss Beatrice Potter. The institution is to be modelled largely after the Toynbee Hall pattern. A course of lectures on the Synoptic Gospels has been arranged by the Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, Vice-Principal of Manchester New College. The Fourth Gospel is not, however, to be omitted, but will form the subject of a later discourse. In the Lent term, addresses are to be delivered in French by M. Chavannes on "The Religion of the Old Testament." It is stated that some eminent foreign scholars and theologians have interested themselves greatly in the experiment. The progress of this novel religious enterprise, especially in its effects on the faith and morals of the common people who may come within the sphere of its influence, will be followed with interested attention by many of all shades of religious belief. It will probably be the first serious attempt in history to make a philosophical (?) system do the work of a religious creed among the masses. Whether it will not be found that with the "supernatural" element the only power which can touch the heart and mould life and conduct has been eliminated remains to be seen.

PROBLEMS OF GREATER BRITAIN—III.

OUR Australasian brothers started in life later than we and the initial point of their departure was more advanced than ours. This has led to some striking contrasts well worth attention. They settled in Australia on absolutely vacant territory, for the Australian savages were too insignificant a factor to be considered. In Quebec the English found a civilization and a history of a type equal to, but diverse from their own, and, in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, the initial point of departure was made by the victims of a lost cause. Minimize this as we may the confiscations and the succeeding exile of an important element in the revolting colonies worked a political

change both in those who were exiled and those who remained. The southern colonists started on a clear field and their progress is full of instruction for us. In some respects they will appear to have reached, in advance, points to which Anglo-Saxon civilization elsewhere is tending more or less swiftly.

As has previously been stated political power in the southern colonies is in the hands of the artisans of the cities and their influence is on the side of social order. They are as a class intelligent, prosperous and well-housed, the owners of property and of stocks, fathers of families and members of churches. To a community of artisans a protective policy is as natural as to breathe and, therefore, they are consistent. They ask: "What have protectionists to do with export trade? We desire to keep our local markets, that is all." What have protectionists to do with exports? They are logical and clear-headed men who ask that. They are thorough and they see that the State socialism which regulates the tariff so well is able to do much more. They have not that dread of Government interference which is so marked among English people elsewhere. But this socialism is not revolutionary as in England and the United States. It is the State socialism of Bismarck and the Emperor—the socialism of the chair as it was once called from the number of college professors who led the movement. In Queensland and New Zealand Sir Samuel Griffith and Sir Robert Stout, both ex-Premiers, go farther and incline to the land-nationalization theories of Henry George; but the artisans for the most part are proprietors and will not listen to them. In New Zealand the Government, annoyed by the failure of some English life insurance companies, started a life insurance department which is in a flourishing condition and does more business than all the other companies united. In all the southern colonies the railways were built and are managed by the Government. The extravagance of competing lines side by side is not seen there. These national railways are now, in consequence of the settlement of the country, paying dividends upon their cost and might (excepting in the case of New Zealand) be sold for sums sufficient to pay the debts of the respective colonies; but the object is not so much to increase dividends as to accommodate the public, so that in some colonies children attend school, students at college, and all persons on public business receive free passes while general fares are kept as low as possible. To prevent official mismanagement and Government corruption the railways are managed by commissioners, capable and highly paid men, who are absolutely independent of the changing ministers—as independent as judges or as our auditor-general. In Victoria the city tramways are compelled to keep the streets in order. They are all paying large dividends, but the concessions are for thirty years, at the end of which period they all fall into the municipalities without purchase and without payment, also in the case of Melbourne together with forty miles of excellent wood-paved streets. So large is the traffic in Melbourne that the secretary of one of the companies receives \$15,000 a year. These Australians are not niggards in the matter of salaries. The chief justices of Victoria and New South Wales receive salaries of \$17,500 a year; the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States gets \$10,500 only.

The Australasian system of avoiding Government corruption by appointing permanent and independent commissioners is well worthy of earnest attention. The tramways of the cities of New South Wales are under the Railway Commission. In New Zealand they are trying the experiment of deputing to a Board the demarcation of electoral districts; probably they also have suffered from "gerrymandering." The plan is not definitely settled yet, but the idea is good and the movement will likely succeed. In Victoria the Civil Service Commission makes all the appointments and promotions, quite independently of the Government. At its inauguration it seems to have worked a good deal of hardship to individuals, for, in one gazette, known as *The Black Wednesday Gazette*, it dismissed several hundreds of unnecessary employes—a thing which no Government would have dared to do; concerning the justice of which at this distance one cannot form an opinion.

These independent Boards would seem to be a necessary adjunct to the State socialism whither we all are inevitably tending. Their defects will in time appear; but the system is an immense advance at least upon the United States Civil Service System. These Australasian experiments in State socialism, as portrayed in Sir Charles Dilke's book, should be carefully studied by every statesman. America has recently been startled by the growth of the Astor estate, founded by John Jacob Astor, who died as recently as 1848. It consisted of real estate which, chiefly by "unearned increment" in the course of two lives, attained the enormous sum of two hundred millions, and passed unbroken last year into the hands of a grandson. Our Australasian sociologists have been looking forward to such cases, and in all the southern colonies taxation is aimed at large estates by graduated succession duties ranging from one to ten per cent. An estate of two hundred millions would under their laws return into the public treasury twenty millions at each succession. Absentee taxes are now in process of ex-cogitation and will, no doubt, be enacted, for they seem popular in theory and will check the tendency to hold land in large blocks for a rise. New South Wales is in some respects more backward, for it is as much opposed to direct taxation as the Province of Quebec, and is using as revenue the capital from its sales of land.

The colony of South Australia has a population of only 320,000, but to it we are indebted for the best system of land transfer ever devised—the Torrens System. Woman Suffrage in municipal matters is general in Australia; but, in South Australia, women vote for the members of road Boards and narrowly missed obtaining the political suffrage. To the same colony also is due the credit of inventing the "closure" for stopping parliamentary obstruction. They have not required it themselves, but other legislative bodies have been glad to adopt it. Their "Upper House" is of interest to us in view of the gradual suffocation of our Senate. As is the fact in Victoria, also, it is elective, and one-third of the members go out every three years, but, in the case of an absolute dead-lock, the Governor in South Australia may dissolve both Houses and thus settle the dispute by an appeal to the people.

It is worthy of remark that attachment to the Mother Country is strongest in Victoria, the most protectionist colony. In New South Wales the "Australian Natives' Association" is indifferent, and in Queensland "national" has come to mean independent. This last is the colony which started the idea of sending back unacceptable Governors. Oddly enough the Conservative party—the national party in Queensland—is disunionist, opposed to any scheme of Imperial Federation and presses for independence. It was a Conservative Premier who quarrelled with the Colonial Office about Sir Harry Blake's appointment. It is a revelation to a Canadian to find one of the leading papers in New South Wales urging separation in view of a probable war between England and Russia on account of India, "because Russia might prove the best friend to Australia as she is now to the United States." Sir Charles calls attention to the sudden popularity of the United States in Australasia, resulting from the stand they made against Germany at Samoa. The Australians look upon the Germans in New Guinea and the French, whose escaped convicts from New Caledonia infest their shores, as intruders in the Southern Ocean. One of their leading men in an address before the Federal Council suggested that the Pacific Ocean should become an English lake under the protection of the United States of America and the United States of Australasia. In Canada we see the rough side of the United States. Sir Charles, in referring to the Behring Sea question, thinks that probably the United States are putting forth their extreme pretensions as a sort of object lesson to demonstrate how wrong the Nova Scotians were in their "headland" theory, prior to 1854. This is far fetched. That old question was settled long ago in the Atlantic, according to the United States contentions; but, as soon as we arrive at the Pacific, it must be settled the other way; the law must be reversed in each ocean, because United States' interests are reversed; and then, as regards that special piece of water in Behring Sea, the very claims which the United States denied when made by Russia they now assert against Canada. Canadians cannot help observing that no matter which way the water runs the lamb always troubles it when he drinks. The Australasians are not drinking at the same stream.

The future of Canada, Sir Charles points out, lies in the fertile plains of the North-West. There, he thinks, will be the wealth centre of the Dominion, and from thence will emanate a new prosperity. Every Canadian will assent to that; but when he says that there the European immigrant lives, but does not grow rich, and that those only make money who move on from Ontario, one feels disposed to think that Sir Charles has been listening to pessimists. No doubt the settler from Ontario will do better, for his whole training has been fitting him for such a life, but it is too much to say the European will barely live. We have incurred a great debt for the North-West, and we are a little disappointed that settlement has not been more rapid; but as the wheat area of the United States has reached its utmost development population must flow over from the South. This, those people who are pressing their drastic remedies upon us clearly foresee, but if our Governments, Conservative or Liberal, will be content to develop the resources of the Dominion throughout its whole extent, without startling the people by sensational politics, the movement of population from the South into our yet untouched wheat-growing area must soon grow into a steady stream. If the population in Australia centres in a few sea-board cities it is because the interior of that continent is a vast waterless desert. The true National Policy of Canada is to diffuse population, and create many centres. The steadiness of prosperity in Montreal and Toronto depends upon the speedy settlement of the North-West. As for disadvantages arising from our Colonial position they are felt by a few only in the cities. They are more sentimental than real, and do not disturb the mass of the people. We should not improve a whit upon our Governors by being compelled to an option between two men chosen by party caucuses.

It is difficult to lay down Sir Charles Dilke's book, so many are the thoughts suggested by its teeming pages. One dare not ever so lightly touch the chapters on Education or Religion, for just now in Canada these subjects are explosive. A Quebecer is sorely tempted by the Cape Colony with its parallel problems of the Dutch language, law, and nationality; but space is wanting. Then there are Fiji and Mauritius and endless other colonies, and the West Indies whither we are sending a commissioner—who is really going. All these have "problems" attractive by their variety and intricacy, but the southern colonies most excite the imagination by the strong contrasts to everything we are familiar with in our Northern land. How