

sources they cannot control, other self-inflicted troubles, by laying fresh burdens upon themselves in the shape of taxes upon their own food and industries. Their statesmen will leave that folly for American and colonial politicians.

HOWEVER satisfactory the explanations offered—and they seem to be plausible enough—the fact that Gladstone has lost a supporter and his opponents gained one by the result of the Cirencester election, added to the fact that the majority of the Gladstonian candidate in a previous contest was materially reduced, is an ill omen for the new Government, so near the beginning of its term of office. Of course, a single swallow does not make a summer. It is quite possible that the circumstances in both these cases were exceptional, and that any inference drawn from them may be invalidated by the results of the next trial of strength. It is also possible that a feeling of timidity has been caused by the vigour with which the terrors of "Rome Rule" have been held up to view since the overthrow of the Conservative Government, and that this will gradually wear off as the new Government goes on with its work and no signs of a coming cataclysm become visible. It is even conceivable that out of the seeming evil good may be educed for Home Rule in the shape of a conviction forced upon the minds of the recalcitrant Parnellites and other intemperate Irishmen, that upon the spirit of conciliation and sweet reasonableness they display during the next few months may depend the possibility of a Parliament in the College Green within a decade. Nevertheless the simple fact is that the loss of two votes on a division, which would be a trifle scarcely worth notice in the case of a Government with a majority reaching into three figures, is a very serious matter for one with a majority under forty at the most, while several of those counted on its side are known to be very uncertain allies. Probably the success or failure of the Gladstonian administration depends quite as much upon its courage and promptness in bringing into view a good batch of radical reforms, ready to tread upon the heels of the Home-Rule Bill, as upon the character of that very difficult bit of legislation itself.

LATE English papers throw a clearer light upon the causes and the necessity of the withdrawal of the East African Company from Uganda. The policy of retirement was, it appears, declared inevitable by the Company and approved by Lord Salisbury before the change of Government. The strongest remonstrances which have been made against the policy determined on by Lord Roseberry have been made by representatives of the Church Missionary Society and others like-minded, on the ground of the danger which would result to the missionaries, or the necessity it would involve for their withdrawal. It is answered that the Government declines to recognize it as any part of its duty to maintain missionary stations by the sword. To this it might be added that it is no part of the duty of Christian missionaries to call or rely upon military force for protection in the prosecution of their work. Their commission seems distinctly to forbid such reliance. Moreover, both history and knowledge of human nature teach that such reliance is about the worst hindrance which could exist to the spread of the Gospel as a purely spiritual influence. Reliance upon military support is pretty sure to lead to an arrogance in the treatment of inferior races, which is very far from the spirit in which the first missionaries went about their world-conquest. If the missionaries, depending upon the protection of the Company, have taken up unsafe positions, there is nothing for them to do but either withdraw with the Company and recommence the work in the true apostolic fashion, or show their zeal and faith by facing the dangers to which they may be exposed. As to the hope which we expressed in a previous paragraph that the change would not leave this important region outside the sphere of British influence, or abandon the poor natives as a prey to the slave-catchers, the answer may probably be found in the following from the *Christian World*:—

The withdrawal of armed forces and political agents does not by any means necessarily involve an abandonment of the "British sphere of influence." Neither German vendors of potato spirit, nor men-stealers, nor purveyors of deadly weapons have any right in that region if we can prevent their entering. We do not suggest an invasion or military rule. All we say is that, so far as our command of the coast and of Zanzibar enables us to do so, we should hinder in every possible way the entrance into the Uganda region of the

poisons, and the explosives, and the cruelties that too often follow the advance of so-called Christian civilization. Meantime, from the borders of the district, friendly overtures should be made by missionaries, and all opportunities taken of showing kindness to the tribes within reach. The white men should be known as healers of disease, as speakers of truth, as heralds of a Divine message. They should be slow to resent injuries, willing rather to suffer wrong than to inflict it. They should, in fact, try by experiment whether the Sermon on the Mount is after all so impracticable a rule of life as certain bishops of the apostolic succession assure us it is.

PERHAPS the most remarkable feature of the pending Presidential election in the United States is the comparative absence of excitement. Recalling the manner in which the masses have thrown themselves into former contests and the whole business of the Republic been affected, the seemingly even flow of the political currents now, within three or four weeks of the decisive struggle, is a phenomenon. The change is too sudden and marked to be accounted for by saying that the nation is growing older and wiser, and hence learning to take things more coolly. The explanation can hardly be found in the supposition that the party spirit is dying out, though we have no doubt that the strength of faction is on the wane among certain classes, and this may be a contributory cause. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the country, that the comparative quiet is not due mainly to the changed methods of the political bosses, and that the old and noisy methods of canvassing are being superseded by the still more debasing system of "still-hunting." The absence of commotion cannot be for want of a great principle, for the tariff issue, which is clearly involved, is one of the most important in its nature and the most far-reaching in its consequences which could be brought into the political arena. Probably we should not be far astray if we were to attribute the unwonted lack of excitement to the fact that the chief issue is ethical and economical, and not political (in the party sense) or personal. This opinion may seem ill-natured and cynical, yet it is unquestionable that the classes who make the most noise are those who are most likely to throw themselves into a personal contest, while the interest in such a question as that between protection and free trade or tariff for revenue, is naturally confined largely to the more thoughtful and less boisterous citizens. Be that as it may, it can hardly be doubted that the fact that both candidates are men of high character, whose public and private lives are free from material for the scandal-monger, has done much to add dignity to the contest. As to the result, we venture no prophecy, for there is an almost complete lack of material for making even a good guess. The probability is that either Mr. Harrison or Mr. Cleveland will have a majority of votes in the electoral college, though we are not sure of this, for it is quite possible that there may be a tie.

NO country wishing to maintain the supremacy of law could afford to allow such events as those of which Homestead, Penn., was the scene a few months ago to pass without the arraignment and punishment of the chief offenders. It is, therefore, but meet that the leaders of the riotous strikers, on the one hand, and the Company responsible for the Pinkerton affair, on the other, should be brought before the courts to answer for their respective shares in the disturbance. The legal proceedings against the former have, however, taken on a peculiar aspect by reason of the prosecution of the Advisory Committee of the strikers, not for rioting or murder, or even resistance to the constituted authorities in the discharge of their duties, but for treason against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The acts relied on to convict the prisoners under this indictment are the assumption of powers of government by the Committee, as shown in various ways, such as exercising surveillance over citizens, granting permits, etc. Apparently the only available line of defence must be justification on the ground of temporary necessity. The progress and result of this novel trial will be watched with deep interest not only all over the United States but in other countries. The Chief Justice of the State, in addressing the Grand Jury, said: "We have reached the point in the history of the State where there are but two roads to pursue; the one leads to order and good government, the other leads to anarchy." The idea of elevating the movements of an organized band of workmen in a small town into treason against the State strikes one as bordering on the absurd. Still, those who are prosecuting the case may be assumed to know the best form in which to put the prosecution, and there can be no doubt that

public opinion will sanction the use of severe measures to prevent the repetition of such disorders, though it seems pretty clear to onlookers that decided action on the part of the State authorities, such as has since that affair been taken in another State, would have prevented much of the loss of life and other evil and damage, and have greatly simplified the work of the courts. Whether the same vigour will be displayed in the proceedings against the officers of the Company remains to be seen, and is a question of great importance, especially to workingmen.

THUS far all is plain sailing. That the supremacy of law and its administration by the constituted authorities are at the very foundation of all order in the state is one of the first axioms of organized society. But when the Chief Justice goes further and enters upon what we may call the question of political economy involved, he touches more doubtful ground. He is reported to have combatted the view that the workmen had a species of beneficiary interest in the property of the Company. He repeated the well-worn platitudes that the men had a right to work or quit working according as they were or were not satisfied with the wages given, and that the employers, on the other hand, had a right to say how much they would pay, and, if the men refused to work for that amount, had a right to hire other men who were willing to do so. Those leaving the employment had no right to interfere either with those who took their places or with the buildings and property of the Company. This is all very familiar. It is just what has been iterated and reiterated in the press and on the platform ever since the disturbance, and, in fact, in thousands of cases before. If the Chief Justice was simply explaining the state of the law to the Grand Jury, he no doubt correctly represented its bearing upon the matter in hand. If his remarks were intended to be in any sense a discussion of the ethical aspect of the general problem, they throw no light whatever upon it. The same may be said of the great majority of the articles, some of them by learned professors in the universities, which we have seen upon the subject. Some of these articles go laboriously about to show that the working classes were never so well off on the whole; that their wages were never so high or their circumstances so comfortable as now. Others demonstrate with equal acumen that any departure from the old methods would affect the workingmen more injuriously than any other class. All admit, of course, the right of the men to form unions, but they condemn in the most unequivocal terms the right of these unions to employ any other means than the power of argument, or moral suasion, in order to effect the changes for which they exist.

THE common defect of all these dissertations is, as it appears to us, that they fail to look upon the subject from the workman's point of view. That the average workingman is on the whole better off than ever before is an assertion which many of them would, we believe, emphatically deny. Even if they admit that the rates of wages are higher in proportion to the cost of living in the old style, they remind us that workingmen were never before at the mercy of a few capitalists and combines as now, when one man, and he perhaps a mere subordinate manager, without much heart or conscience, may at his own will or whim throw hundreds or thousands of men out of employment. They say, too, that the prizes or chances of rising are vastly fewer under present conditions than in the former times, when every workman might hope by dint of industry and economy to have one day a little establishment of his own, thus becoming his own master, instead of working all his life at the bidding of another. Still further, we are assured that under the new conditions employment is more precarious than ever before, and that nowadays the lucky few who are sure of employment the whole year round are the exception rather than the rule. In fact, this lack of sufficient and sure employment for all who must live by the labour of their hands furnishes the strongest argument of those who are agitating for a legal eight-hour day. But, the workman who is a bit of a thinker and agitator will be pretty sure to add, it does not matter whether our condition compares favourably or unfavourably with that of the workmen of a century or half-a-century ago. Times have changed and the workman has changed with them. He is no longer going to be content with the condition in life of his predecessors. Why should he? Is he alone, whose daily toil is one of the chief factors in the production of the new conditions, under which every other class in the community lives in the enjoyment of comforts and lux-