

Lieske, or any other Socialistic conspirator, as in the case of Riel. The fact is, that in hardly any case, except that of personal revenge, is the destruction of life the object of the murderer: his object is plunder, the suppression of evidence, or some advantage to the attainment of which the destruction of the life is necessary. Ravallac, Balthazar Gerard, Guy Fawkes, the Cato Street Conspirators, and the French contrivers of the Infernal Machine would all have been sheltered from justice by the defence which Riel's advocates set up; for every one of them was perfectly disinterested, and had, no doubt, thoroughly persuaded himself that he was removing an obstacle to public happiness. Ravallac, Balthazar Gerard and Guy Fawkes unquestionably believed that they were promoting not only the temporal welfare but the eternal salvation of mankind. Riel himself, by his mock indictment of Scott, has stopped the mouths of his own advocates on this occasion. If he escapes justice it will be not because anyone doubts that treason is a capital offence, or because anyone believes that a man sane enough to plan and conduct an arduous enterprise is not sane enough to be accountable for his actions, but because the Government is afraid of the French; and it would be much better frankly to take that ground than to make a way for the escape of a particular criminal by violating and falsifying the general principles of criminal law.

It was announced the other day that negotiations were going on between Germany and Austria with a view to a Customs Union, the occasion being the adoption by France of a protective policy with regard to cereals. Whatever the result of the negotiations may be, it is pretty clear that neither Germany nor Austria supposes its separate nationality to be dependent on the Customs Line. A nationality which depended on a Customs Line would be frail and precarious indeed. Yet this argument either openly or in disguise meets every proposal to remove a fiscal barrier which cuts off Canada from the commercial life of her own continent, shackles Canadian industry, starves Canadian enterprise, and prevents the Canadian people from enjoying the full measure of prosperity which in a fair field their industrial qualities would command. Our immense apparatus of government, with its multitude of places, legislative or administrative, the salaries attached to them, and the Imperial titles which they often bring, forms such a paradise of politicians that the slightest apprehension of losing its exclusive enjoyment is enough to send a nervous tremor through the whole of the class. But if practical Reciprocity did not weaken the political division between Canada and the States, why should the abolition of the Customs Line, which is simply a full measure of Reciprocity, destroy it? This question has often been asked; but, so far as we have seen, never answered. Not many years ago Mr. George Brown was denouncing all who talked of commercial independence as traitors. Commercial independence, he said, would manifestly sever the tie which bound us to the Mother Country. Commercial independence has come; it has been proclaimed by a Conservative Minister; yet the mutual attachment of the Mother Country and the Colony remains just what it was before. The removal of the Customs Line, while commercially it would be an immense benefit to both countries, would leave the political destiny of Canada as fully in her own hands as it is now. The citizen of a free state can ask no more.

It is singular that the world should be looking with a thrill of anxious expectation for the latest news, not of Mr. Gladstone's intellectual vigour or general health but of his voice. If Mr. Gladstone were the master of a pack of hounds, a strong voice would certainly be indispensable to him; but it seems strange that it should be indispensable to a leader of a political party or the chief of the national councils. Such, however, is the fact, and it marks the fatal transition from the statesman to the platform orator and the demagogue. The question whether Mr. Gladstone shall remain the head of the Liberals is assumed to depend on his ability to address large audiences in the Mid-Lothian Campaign. Of this point the most perplexing doubt, by the latest accounts, prevails. We may be sure that assiduous appeals are being addressed both to the strong and to the weak part of Mr. Gladstone's character by those who wish him to keep the leadership, believing that his abdication would be the signal for a schism between the Liberals and the Radicals, and sound the death-knell of the party. That the dreaded result would follow and have a disastrous effect on the elections is, to say the least, extremely probable. Yet, it may be doubted whether the artificial union maintained by Mr. Gladstone's personal ascendancy is really a good thing for the country, and whether it would not be better that the division, which in the end is sure to come, should at once take place and leave both Liberals and Radicals at liberty to act on their own convictions. One thing, however, is certain: if there is a doubt in the minds of Mr. Gladstone's medical advisers as to his retention or resignation of the leadership, Mr. Gladstone will decide in favour of retention.

### RIEL'S SECOND REBELLION.

WINNIPEG, August 20th.

RIEL'S second rebellion—a more formidable one by far than his first—is now a matter of history, and, as such, can be viewed with a calmness impossible when the din of war was resounding throughout the land. No student of Canadian history who is familiar with the causes which led to the Red River Rebellion in 1869, and who has witnessed the results which followed that rebellion, will deny that so far as the North-West is concerned the outbreak of '69 secured to this country and its inhabitants what could probably not have been attained by a decade of constitutional agitation. It required such an event as an appeal to arms to draw the attention of foreign powers, as well as the attention even of Canadians, to a country the area of which was but dimly comprehended by most Canadians, and the resources of which were purposely concealed by the Hudson Bay Company, for reasons which I deem it superfluous to explain. The Company did its utmost to perpetuate the impression that, somehow, had gone abroad in the earlier portion of the century, and in fact long anterior to that, and which was doubtless started by the corporation named, that this "land of promise," as it has justly been called, consisted of a vast region unfit for agricultural purposes, productive only of fur, and useful but as a hunting ground for the aboriginal tribes of North America, who roamed its ice-bound prairies.

In the manner thus indicated public attention was drawn to the country, its resources were made known, and while the disabilities under which the Half-breed settlers laboured, and for the removal of which they were finally obliged to resort to arms, were removed, a degree of prominence was secured to this country, which has been followed by immigration, settlement, colonization, investment, and all the other great forces of development and civilization. He must indeed be a dull student who cannot divine that a rebellion of the proportions of that just closed will exert an influence upon the destiny of our country relative, in proportion to its magnitude, to that of 1869. While many will view the rebellion merely as a disaster, in so far as it entailed the sacrifice of much treasure and scores of precious lives, and while some will regard "the affair" merely as the outcome of an agitation begun and carried on by the recreant Riel, with the sole object of obtaining the notoriety he is known to covet so eagerly, the majority, especially of the thoughtful, cannot fail to consider the causes which led to the outbreak, and reckon upon the consequences which are sure to follow. With the causes which led to the rebellion Canadians generally must be familiar; if they are not, their ignorance is to be deplored. Canadians must be conversant with the history of the Métis who have attained so large a degree of prominence recently, and who always occupied a prominent part, especially in connection with the North-West. The redress by the Dominion Government of the grievances for which the Half-breeds took up arms in 1869 was an acknowledgment that their claims were just; and, therefore, the more strange in the light of their experience of 1869 that the Dominion Government suffered the grievances of the Saskatchewan Half-breeds, so persistently urged, to go unredressed. It will be of interest to know that a very large proportion of the Saskatchewan Half-breeds who participated in the rebellion just ended were located along the Red River in 1869, and took part with Riel in his first rising of that date. They view with alarm advancing civilization; they abhor municipal organization, statute labour and taxes: and so it was that they readily disposed of the land or scrip which they secured after their appeal to arms, and betook themselves to the distant valley of the Saskatchewan, where they could live in primeval peace, tilling sufficient land to supply the daily bread they required, hunting the buffalo which then abounded on the Western prairies, and pursuing any vocation they chose, untrammelled by the enactments of legal and municipal institutions. But the buffalo, their greatest source of food and revenue, disappeared. Civilization in its onward march again overtook them; and once more, when the land which belonged to them as original owners was being cut up by Government surveyors, when the concessions accorded to other settlers were withheld from them, and when to their mind their landed rights were being interfered with, they rebelled. But they did not rebel before resorting to constitutional means to secure a redress of the grievances complained. They sent delegates to Ottawa; they made representations by letter; they passed resolutions; they held meetings, and at last, with heart-sickness begotten of hope deferred, they resorted to arms. That such action was precipitated by Louis Riel, who had been sent for to Montana by the Half-breeds to aid them in securing the rights demanded, will scarcely be denied; but, before urging the resort to arms, Riel, as is well known, spent months in constitutional agitation, and a perusal of the Bill of Rights which he framed cannot fail to convince one of the genuineness of their grievances and the justice of their claims. That Riel himself had nothing at stake seems to me beside the question. Even admitting that he was a mere adventurer trading upon the grievances of his brethren to secure a money bribe from the Government to leave the country, it does not lessen the magnitude of those grievances, but goes far to establish their genuineness, as—admitting that the leader was an impostor—the grievances themselves must have been substantial to induce men of integrity and known honesty to sacrifice their lives, their freedom, their all, to secure redress. If additional proof of the existence of grievances and neglect of redress is wanted, it should only be necessary to call attention to the last appointment of the Dominion Government: of a commission to investigate the claims of the Half-breeds, and the further fact that about \$200,000 worth of scrip, besides a very large amount of land, was distributed amongst them by that commission. The testimony of the commissioners in regard to the character of the Half-breeds is such that were the integrity of the commissioners not known, their expressions touching the Half-breeds might be