

Bills, River and Harbour Bills, and dishonest dealings with the Banks or with the Currency. It may guard both the Treasury and Commerce against the Demagogue. In determining whether the Civil Service Bill shall be honestly and effectively administered, the President must have great influence, and there is every reason to believe that with Mr. Cleveland as President that influence will be exerted on the right side. Let the new President only put the thought of restriction behind him and his way is open to pure and lasting fame. The contest however has been dangerously close; even now mutterings of an intention to contest the result are heard from the side of the vanquished, and it is easy to understand the eagerness with which commerce, represented by Mr. Vanderbilt, strives to clinch the decision, and prevent the occurrence of another national agony, such as was produced by the dispute between Tilden and Hayes. When the fury of the battle shall have subsided, and the dust shall have been laid, patriotic and sober-minded Americans will perhaps begin to consider what must be the effects on national character and political security of a system which exposes the Republic to the perils of a monarchy with a disputed succession, besides stirring up the worst passions from their depths, bringing every issue to a dangerous head, dividing society, disturbing commerce, leading to a vast waste of money on demoralizing objects, and turning the minds of the people from the calm and wholesome discussion of public questions to a carnival of violence, calumny, and corruption.

THE Presidential election has been watched in England with an interest inferior only to that which it has excited in the United States and hardly less practical in character. American Republicanism has never been propagandist; in fact the Americans are rather disposed to rejoice in their monopoly of the institutions which they think place them above all the old and benighted nations. But everything which seems to betoken the success or failure of the Democratic experiment tells on politics in Europe, especially in England; and with greatly increased force since communication has become so much closer. There can be little doubt that the spectacle of this election with all its evils, all its perils, and all its exposures of the character of Democratic statesmen, will be a weight cast into the scale of the Conservative Party in England at a critical moment. Critical in the highest degree the moment is; for it is evident that the struggle about the Franchise Bill is becoming merged in a struggle for the reform or abolition of the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone, we may be sure, unfeignedly desires to avoid an issue from which he recoils, not less on social than on political grounds, as well as from the weariness of contention natural to a man of seventy-four. His reluctance is more than shared by the Whig section of his Cabinet. But the ambition of Mr. Chamberlain is now thoroughly kindled, and its highest prize is glittering in his view. He is completely accepted by the Radicals as their leader; their loud acclamations everywhere greet his name, and he may well feel that he has a great popular force behind him. Evidently he is determined to force the fighting on the grand and perilous issue. He does not even hesitate to break through the most sacred traditions of English public life by taking up a position apart from the Cabinet of which he is a member and in almost avowed opposition to the majority of his colleagues. Whether the prince of wire-pullers will also prove the foremost of statesmen, as he is certainly among the foremost of party speakers, and whether he will be able not only to grasp but hold supreme power, will presently be seen. Jacobinism is a perilous game for a commercial millionaire with a hothouse flower in his button-hole. But be the issue of Mr. Chamberlain's personal enterprise what it may, it seems hardly possible that the House of Lords should come out of the battle without receiving a wound which sooner or later must prove mortal. The principle of hereditary government on which it rests is too hopelessly dead, its own record is too fatally bad, its uselessness, and worse than uselessness, even as a conservative institution, is too flagrantly apparent. Moreover its material foundation, the immense rent roll of the landed aristocracy, is now, owing to the depression of agriculture, rapidly slipping away. Slow as the march of English progress is, numerous as are the sources against Democracy in a land of ancient wealth and fixed tradition, the days of the House of Lords are now numbered. The attempt to find for hereditary monarchy and aristocracy a new basis in demagogism, under the name of Tory Democracy, having failed in the hands of Disraeli, who was its projector, is not likely to succeed in those of Lord Randolph Churchill.

WHATEVER the effects of protection may be in the case of a self-contained and self-sufficing continent like the United States, no man of sense, unbiassed by special interest, can doubt that to such a country as Canada it would be ruin. Wisdom enjoins us therefore to watch the

movements of Protectionist Propagandism, and to resist betimes the imposition of a yoke which when once imposed and riveted by the force of vested interests, it is desperately difficult to shake off. Appalling pictures are drawn of the depression and distress prevailing in certain English industries, and we are bidden to behold the fatal consequences of Free Trade. In so vast an aggregation of manufactures of all kinds the fluctuations of commerce are sure to be specially felt, and one trade or another is sure always to be depressed. Moreover England, having had a monopoly of manufactures and commerce after the Napoleonic wars, is now losing it, and presents in some measure the aspect of decline. But will any one venture to say that the condition of the working classes in England, or that of the people generally, has been worse since the adoption of Free Trade? Whoever does must be strangely ignorant of the facts. The state of industry and trade in England when the Free Trade movement commenced was wretched: it was in truth quite as much English misery as Irish famine that forced open the ports and repealed the Corn Laws. There was at the same time a large and chronic deficit in the revenue; and this, as Cobden's biographer truly says, "was not merely the result of an absence of fiscal skill, but a sign, confirmed by the obstinate depression of trade and the sufferings of the population, of an industrial and commercial stagnation which could only be dealt with by an economic revolution." The growth of wealth after the change was almost fabulous; the volume of commerce increased four-fold; prosperity advanced, as Mr. Gladstone said, by leaps and bounds; and the national finances shared the general improvement. The repeal of the Navigation Laws, which was to ruin the mercantile marine, was followed by a large increase of tonnage, while the mercantile marine of the United States has been protected out of existence. That the lot of the American workman is better than that of the English workman is far from certain, when prices as well as wages are taken into consideration. Mr. Burt reports that it is not; the correspondent of the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, cited at length by Sir Lepel Griffin, reports that it is not; and British artisans not a few, having tried America, have gone back to England. The correspondent of the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* says, that "where one expects to find in England pauper labour by comparison with America, there is a condition of comfort in habitation, clothing and food, which cannot be excelled in any American manufacturing locality." The Pittsburgh riots, and the Molly Maguire outrages in Pennsylvania, are not signs of happiness and contentment; nor have they had any parallel of late years in England. But the comparison between America and England is not fair. In America the working classes have the immense advantages of a new country. Let the wages and the general condition of the people in England be compared with those of the people in France, or in any other old country under the Protective system and the result will not be doubtful. We should have had a sharper experience by this time ourselves were it not that our artisans when thrown out of employment by the shutting down of mills, can find a refuge in the United States.

WITH the general question of Municipal Government comes up the special question of Exemptions in Toronto. No fair title to exemption can be pleaded on behalf of any property to which services are rendered by the Municipal Government. A church, a monastery, or a Government office benefits by the paving, watching, lighting, draining, and securities against fire just as much as any other building, and its owners, like those of any other building, ought to pay for that which they receive. The notion that religious buildings ought not to be taxed is a survival from the days of Established Churches. It has been truly said that, though the Church is a spiritual society, its foundations, like those of man, who is a spiritual being, are in the dust. She has material interests and concerns which belong to this world, are protected by this world's laws and must pay this world's rates. The builders of sacred edifices do not charge lower prices for the materials, nor does the mortgagee charge a lower rate of interest on his mortgage. The plea that, as every citizen belongs to a church, it comes practically to the same thing whether church buildings are taxed or not, in the first place requires qualification to make it true: to say nothing about the Agnostics, who have no church at all, the more Ritualistic religions have larger and more expensive churches, while no denomination has monasteries except the Roman Catholic. In the second place, even if true, the argument would hold just as good on the side of taxation as on that of exemption, and the fiscal system might as well be made uniform. But while everything ought to be taxed to which the municipality renders service, and taxed in proportion to the service rendered, there can be no claim to tax anything to which service is not rendered. A national Government by its army and navy, its police and its law courts, protects property of every description and wherever situated, as well as all personal rights and liberties; and whatever it