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WEDNESDAY.....MARCH 7, 1888.

At the 20th of this month Mr. Mercer is expected to return to Canada and assume the direction of provincial affairs.

More than two hundred Irish martyrs, dating from 1510 to 1738, has been compiled, and a large quantity of documentary evidence collected for submission to the Holy Father with a view to their beatification.

SIR WILFRED BLUNT was defeated at Deptford yesterday. This result is no more than was expected, the borough being a Tory stronghold. But the fact that the Liberals increased their vote by 1,015 is a good proof of the rise of the popular tide in England in favor of Home Rule.

CARDINAL GIBBONS, in his article on "Christianity and Modern Science," in the American Catholic Quarterly, asks, "Is it not a remarkable fact, which shows the special supervision of God over His Church, that, in her long history, she has never formally interpreted a single text of Scripture which was afterwards contradicted by an authenticated discovery of science?"

The petition now before the executive at Ottawa praying that legal action may be taken to dissolve the Grocers' Guild of this city is the first move to clip the claws of the combines. If it should not be successful the people will have another convincing proof that they need not look to Sir John Macdonald's government for justice. Meantime the robbery proceeds, and the cup of Tory iniquity is filling up.

HOME RULE advanced. The memorial of two hundred and fifty Church of England clergymen to Mr. Gladstone in favor of Home Rule is a proof that the educated class is beginning to recognize that this is a matter of national justice which must be settled, and the nation relieved of a menace always present and never without danger while it remains open.

RUSIA has over half a million of men and nearly three thousand guns threatening Austria. This great army is merely, be it said, a feint to divert attention from the real point of attack. The Russian plan is evidently to sweep down on Constantinople, and her concentration of troops on the frontiers of Austria and Germany is simply to keep those powers engaged at home, and thus prevent their interfering in her designs on the Black Sea.

As might have been expected, general condemnation is expressed all over the country at the announcement that the Government will not amend the "iniquities" of the tariff this session. After the exposures that have been made of the rascalities of the combines in crushing competition and raising the price of the necessities of life, it was expected that the Government would take action to check so monstrous a system of economical injustice. But the Government is in with the combines. They play into each other's hands, and there seems to be but one hope of relief, the defeat of the Government.

The Nation, of the 18th inst., contains an editorial on the reception tendered to Sir Thomas Esmonde in this city. After giving a sketch of the meeting at Queen's Hall, and of those who were present and spoke on that occasion, it quotes the resolutions adopted, and concludes in these words:—"No time seems to have been lost in carrying into effect the last resolution, as at the close of the meeting no less than \$1,100, for the Evicted Tenants' Fund, were handed in by those present. Ireland is grateful to the Dominion or those splendid proofs of sympathy and support in the hour of trial."

ARRANGEMENTS are already being made for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the day on which in the little Cove-street school-house, Cork, Father Matthew pronounced the decisive words, "Here goes in the name of God," and signed his name to the total abstinence pledge. A jubilee commemoration is to be held in the United States, and it promises to be a memorable event in the annals of the Republic. The air will resound with the melody of total abstinence

anthems, the triumphant shouts of prosperous societies, and the eloquent voices of temperance orators. By moral suasion alone can the temperance cause succeed, fill such time as public opinion is educated to the extent of prohibiting the manufacture and importation and sale of ardent spirits.

MANITOBA politics have taken a turn and Premier Greenway and his Attorney-General, Mr. Martin, are on their way to Ottawa, by invitation of the Federal Government, to obtain a settlement of the disallowance question. The saying of a Manitoban, in 1885, that the next rebellion in the North-West would be a rising of the white people, has come so near being fulfilled, that Sir John has been forced to descend from his high horse and submit to reason.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S speech at the Canadian Club banquet was a very good specimen of what Sam Slick would call "soft-sawder," or what is known in those days as "tally." He reminds us irresistibly of

"Simple Simon who went fishing For to catch a whale; All the water that he had Was in his mother's pail."

Of course he caught the whale and, in displaying his magnificent capture to an admiring world, he is pardonably proud of his achievement. But it may be only a cod after all.

HON. JOHN O'DONAHOE has placed the following notice on the Senate paper:—

That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that His Excellency will cause to be laid before this House, a Return showing, 1. The amount it has cost Canada to maintain the Governor General's office, from Confederation to the end of the term of His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, for salaries, residence, travelling and all other incidental expenses. 2d. The said sum so divided and arranged as to show the amount for salary, residence, travelling and all other incidental expenses annually paid to or for the maintenance of each and every of the Governors General during the time aforesaid.

This is a commendable inquiry, for it is really time the people should know what these figureheads cost the country.

In the estimates laid before Parliament there is no mention of the St. Peter's channel debt. How is this? Perhaps if Montreal were less slavishly disposed towards the Government, another story would be told. At any rate the fact stands out that the Ministry have no intention of doing anything this year to improve our great national water highway. It is therefore not improbable that a very considerable portion of the trade by the Sault route will, for lack of proper harbor approaches and accommodation at this city, pass our doors. At the same time hundreds of thousands are being sunk in the worthless Trent Valley ditch. But then there are counties to be won on that route. Montreal is safely Conservative and may be safely neglected.

For the hundredth time these Tory organs kill the commercial union movement to-day. But strange to say, after all these repeated killings it won't stay killed. No sooner is it slain under the name of Commercial Union than it bobs up serenely as Unrestricted Reciprocity. Then the Kazzoo comes along with its tommyknife and scalpinghwa, slays the monster, and while yet dancing on the mutilated remains, it rises up as vigorous as ever with the name of Continental Free Trade. At it again goes the champion of isolation and restriction, but this time the valiant fighter of names discovers that it has been wasting its efforts upon the shadow, while the substance of the movement waxes in strength and beauty as time progresses, and its enemies grow faint with the folly of misapplied exertions. Well may the Kazzoo apply to itself the lines:—

"With I reflect on what I is, And what I used to be, I think I throw myself away Without sufficient cause."

In a leading article entitled "The Parliamentary Situation in England," the Monitor de Rome makes some comments on the coercion policy of the Salisbury-Balfour Government which it would be well if those gentlemen and their supporters would take to heart. "One thing certain," says the Monitor, "is that the coercion laws have in no way disarmed the Irish National party. On the contrary, the Nationalists are more ardent than ever in the assertion of their claims." The opinion of this journal is that "the correct and durable solution of the Irish question is not to be found in these rigorous measures," and that "coercion is merely a hazardous expedient which cannot but result in failure." This, of course, means the downfall of the actual Ministry—a possibility which the Monitor does not look upon as highly improbable. In conclusion, the article, which throughout manifests full sympathy with the Home Rule cause, urges the Irish people to follow the advice given by his Holiness in the recent pilgrimage, and to keep their agitation within the law. "Ireland will be the first to gain from this attitude—she will win the sympathy of English opinion, and the Balfour policy will correspondingly become more and more odious and impracticable."

FREE TRADE SHIPPING VICTORIOUS.

The Civil war and a protective tariff killed the mercantile marine of the United States. But while the American Shipping League are willing to admit the truth of the first mentioned cause, they will not acknowledge the force of the second, because of their selfish desire to control a trade which, by their own admission, has passed out of their hands. The question is purely economic and mathe-

matical. Will an annual appropriation of some \$3,000,000 or so to resurrect and rebuild the American merchant marine be worth more than it costs? Will the investment prove profitable? The American Shipping League think it will, and call upon Congress to test the matter. The United States are paying \$150,000,000 a year to foreign countries, mainly to England, to carry their products. Not only this, but the transportation business being in the hands of the British, they possess great commercial advantages over the Americans. Having virtually no American vessels running to South America, England, with its regular lines to that continent, virtually monopolizes its trade, and ships it even articles manufactured in the United States. It is safe to say, therefore, that the absence of a merchant marine costs the United States \$150,000,000 a year in freights paid British vessels and \$350,000,000 in trade which it ought to have, and which it would enjoy if it had free trade vessels to compete with the English.

NO CHEERS FOR LANSDOWNE.

"Britisher," in the Ottawa Free Press of last Tuesday, expresses his surprise at the cool manner in which the people of the Capital allowed the Governor-General to pass through the streets on his way to and from the Parliament Buildings on the 23rd inst. He says:—

"But I must say that the way the public acted on the day the Parliament opened was an eye-opener to me. The great crowd gathered around the beautiful building on that day received the general representative of our Queen in utter silence, not even an attempt to raise a cheer. Nothing but silence and seeming gloom."

We knew that Lord Lansdowne could not, after the exposure of his conduct towards his Irish tenants made by Mr. O'Brien and others, remain as esteemed by the Canadian public as he was when he first arrived in Canada. "Britisher," just out from England, wonders that there should be such silence and gloom, but why should he? Is it not natural for people to turn their backs on a man whose Irish tenants, through his leechy conduct, are having their little earnings snatched away from them?

And would it not be unnatural to see the public cheering and praising a man who refused to give assistance to a starving community when he could have easily done so to the advantage of that community, with honor, and without injury to himself? If Lord Lansdowne had an opportunity to do to some of Canada's people what he is doing to those who unfortunately are tenants of his in Ireland, would he hesitate in doing so? We think not. Why then give honor to one who would, if he had a chance, continually despoil us, make our homes poor, and cause our families to weep and shed tears of sorrow over their desolated hearthstones?

LORD SALISBURY AND SCIENTIFIC GOVERNMENT.

When the Premier of England said that Ireland is governed on scientific principles he invited an investigation which could only result in a more thorough condemnation of his methods of Irish government than it has yet received.

What is government on scientific principles? Is the first question. How does the method adopted by the Tories in Ireland fulfil its requirements? is the second.

A survey of the efforts made by mankind from the earliest ages to solve the problem of government will show that the various systems adopted by different nations and peoples bore relation to their character and environment. The Jewish system being a pure theocracy was very different from the idolatrous despotism of Egypt. The Greek democracies flourished under various forms, but that they were all imperfect we know from Plato's "Republic." Rome alone among the ancient nations appears to have succeeded in establishing an almost perfect form of government, which was only destroyed through the loss of Roman virtue. Feudalism and the free cities, each working on different lines, produced the civilization which we enjoy to-day but did not solve the problem of government. But in every age there have been lawgivers and philosophers who sought to impose their systems upon the nations of the world. Machiavelli taught how a despotic prince might obtain and retain power regardless of all abstract or ethical considerations. James VI, of England, following in his wake, wrote a book which only proved his majesty to have been a cunning scoundrel. Hobbes arrived at the conclusion that absolutism was the best form of government. Hume, a Radical in thought and a Tory in practice, argued that the English system as it existed in his day was the best suited to human nature. Frederick the Great believed the strongest man had the best right to govern, and his Scotch admiral Carlyle adopted his view, and preached it in the teeth of the French Revolution. The founders of the United States of America erected their system of government on the principle that all men are born free and equal, and all, therefore, have an equal right to share in the government of their country. More recently Emanuel Comte made an attempt to create a system of government on a religious-philosophical basis projected on atheism and the worship of humanity. A study of these various systems only excites our pity for mankind, for they show how utterly incapable man is to govern himself and his fellows on ideally perfect principles when the one great principle is rejected. In none of them, however, do we find a pretence of government on scientific principles. That is something which was left to the latest school of philosophy to construct from the evolutionary hypothesis. Herbert Spencer, an Englishman of our own day, has given us the idea of science, as he understands it, applied to the business of government. He

alone has developed a purely human, utilitarian, politico-economic system. He does not expel God from the world, like some of his predecessors, but he classes him among the unknowable, and by deductions from evolutionary premises arrives at a very concise and simple idea of government.

He holds that government has only one duty to perform, and that in attempting anything else, it exceeds its functions and only produces mischief. What is this duty? The administration of justice—nothing more!

This is the conclusion of science as laid down by Spencer and accepted by Huxley, Tyndall and the whole school of agnostics, of which Balfour and a large section of educated Englishmen are adherents. How then does Lord Salisbury square his government of Ireland on "scientific principles" of which we have any knowledge? He refuses justice to Ireland, then prates like a poll parrot who has caught a phrase which it does not understand, but uses as something very grand and high-sounding. Is it government on scientific principles which refuses to fulfil the only function which science declares government ought to undertake?

What a mockery is this! How are these English scientists, in the attitude they have assumed towards Ireland, and the Tories who have adopted their phraseology become objects of contempt in the eyes of all sensible men who believe in right conduct and who see the scientists abandon their "principles" on the first occasion they are put to a practical test? Government on scientific principles!

Bosh!

THE TRUE VIEW.

Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, voiced the opinion of all sensible Irishmen when he said in a recent interview that no sensible American approved of Ireland's separation from England. Whatever may have been the aims and aspirations of Irish Nationalists in the past, those of the present day recognize that the British islands must continue integral parts of one nation. Holding this conviction, they seek to bring about a true union, based upon mutual good will and confidence, to replace the paper union which has been productive of misery and trouble only. Irishmen have done as much as Englishmen to build up the empire, and if that greater empire of peace and good will, founded on the mutual friendship of the nations that have sprung from those islands, is ever to take form which will be a guarantee of civilization and good government to the world, the righteous demands of the Irish people must be satisfied. Mr. Gladstone recognizes this central fact in British politics. The American people recognize it as a great fact of international politics, and we in Canada feel that not until the Irish question is settled agreeable to the reasonable aspirations of the Irish people can we hope to see those differences disappear which have so long been a disturbing element in colonial affairs. All men must, therefore, see the impracticability of the Tory policy of coercion. So long as that policy is continued, the agitation must continue throughout the English-speaking world. When it is abandoned and a policy of just concession adopted the agitation will cease, and Irishmen everywhere will unite heart and hand with Englishmen in upholding and defending those principles of constitutional liberty which are the birthright of both and which cannot be denied in practice to one kingdom without endangering the prosperity and happiness of the other. This is the true view of the Irish problem and points to its only solution.

THE PARALYSIS OF PARLIAMENT.

Nothing better illustrates the character of the ringsters, under whose wretched rule this Dominion is now groaning, than their failure to meet the demands of the working classes with a comprehensive Factory Act.

Is it because the companies were large subscribers to the Tory election fund, and more recently helped munificently to establish the Empire, that the Government dare not legislate for the protection of women and children employed in factories?

Has the power of class become so crystallized in this free Canada of ours that it can paralyze parliament and use the people's government as an instrumental ally of injustice and oppression?

Has popular government ceased to exist in fact while surviving in form, and has oligarchy taken the place of parliament?

Has the Ministry, which ought to be the most select committee of the freely chosen representatives of the people, become a mere machine in the hands of a remorseless money power?

Have the potentialities of the Federal Legislature passed into the hands of an irresponsible board of directors?

Greatly we fear that an affirmative answer must be given to all these questions.

It is well known that factory legislation has been staved off for years by Sir John Macdonald on the flimsy pretence that there was a conflict of jurisdiction in the matter between the Federal and Provincial authorities.

The proof that this was only a pretence is shown in the fact that when, for party purposes, Sir John wanted to get control of the retail liquor trade, he did not hesitate to pass an act arrogating the right to issue licenses, although no question of the right of the provinces in the premises had been raised save by himself and his partizans.

But that was to secure a party advantage. It was not a mere paltry question of justice to women and children who have no votes! Therefore, so far as our precious Premier is concerned, employers and their foremen may, as was shown before the Labor Commission, insult, degrade, cheat and debauch factory girls, and the great popular machine at Ottawa for redressing grievances refuses to move,

The tears of women, the cries of children do not make a stream with sufficient head to turn the ponderous mill of Dominion legislation.

The provincial legislatures have passed factory acts, but everybody knows that should they be enforced the companies can, and probably will, raise the question of jurisdiction and resist them as ultra vires. The fact that they have not been vetoed does not set aside the law of the constitution, and these acts may be rendered nugatory while the lawyers are squabbling over the question in the courts.

Were Sir John Macdonald actuated with a sincere desire to protect the working classes and perform impartially the functions he has usurped by frauds on the electorate, he would have passed a Dominion Factory Act and thus prevent the continuance of a system of shameful injustice and immorality.

But what can we expect from a minister who, in return for money wherewith to debauch the electorate, endows the contributors with power to rob the people at large and hold in practical slavery their unhappy laborers?

It is hard to fight corruption reduced to a science and backed with unlimited capital. But it must be fought, and, though the fight may be long and bitter, it must be overthrown.

SHAKING OFF THE SHACKLES.

Sir Richard Cartwright has given notice that he will move in the House of Commons, on Friday next, that it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States; that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of, either of the said countries should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other—articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted; that it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps at an early day to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith.

In making this motion Sir Richard carries out the unanimous wish of the Liberal Opposition, and the debate will exceed all others in popular interest. Those who have watched the movement in favor of unrestricted reciprocity are quite aware that it is not a party movement so far as the people outside Parliament are concerned. The Liberals by adopting it as the leading plank in their platform have wisely placed themselves in union with a great popular idea. The Ministry had the first opportunity of adopting reciprocity as a part of their policy. That they had a shrewd notion of the extent and strength of the demand for greater commercial freedom is shown in their refusal to give further protection; but that they have failed to grasp the full meaning of the situation is now evident. Either they must have underestimated the strength of the new force in the politics of the country or they have fully prepared themselves to resist it with all their power. The latter is the more probable view. In any case Sir Richard Cartwright's resolution is the signal for a revolution in the attitude of the two great political parties in the country. The result agrees with the views of this paper, expressed at the beginning of the movement, for we plainly saw that the government, committed to a policy of protection which had failed to protect the great farming and laboring classes, would not abandon those on whom its existence depended.

Again, when the combines showed how a system of public plundering could be safely carried on by private concerns, we saw that a revolt of intelligence and honesty must ensue. Then we waited, with little hope of redress we must admit, for the Government to disclose their policy at the opening of the present session. Being now in possession of the definite declaration that no action is to be taken for the relief of the people, and the Fisheries treaty having resulted in a surrender without recompense, or even the suggestion of a hope of reciprocity, there is nothing further to be looked for from the Government. Such being the situation, the people naturally looked to the Opposition to take up the championship of their cause, and force the question to an issue. Nor have they looked in vain. The prompt action of the Liberals in formulating their policy on the trade question is in accord with the traditions of the party, which, we venture to assert, has in one day achieved a power and a popularity throughout the country which it has not enjoyed for years.

In Parliament there are many members supporting the Government who cannot oppose reciprocity without taking their political lives in their hands. In the constituencies they represent are many of their strongest friends, who will refuse to sustain them in opposition to reciprocity. A break-up of the Conservative party is, therefore, inevitable, if not in parliament outside of it. New party lines have, in fact, already formed. Conservatives who have stood faithful to Sir John Macdonald for a lifetime fail to see that Conservative principles include submission to a false, ruinous fiscal system, or that among those principles is the sacrosanctity of monopoly. Besides, when the farmers of the country find that they are year by year going from bad to worse, while the manufacturers combine to fleece them at will, and the Government in which they put their faith says it can do nothing for them, they justly come to the conclusion that in a change of government with a change of policy lies their only hope of redress. Therefore it appears that a number of Conservative members of Parliament must support Sir Richard Cartwright's resolution or place themselves in antagonism to their constituents. On other grounds it is more than prob-

able that the resolution will lead to a ministerial defeat. The Ministry is weak. Every province in the Dominion has a grievance against it, while all the local governments are deeply interested in bringing about the downfall of a Ministry which is out of harmony with every true Canadian idea, and only held in office by the cohesive power of a plunger.

THE COMBINES TRIUMPHANT.

The Gazette announces this morning another victory for the combines, in a double-headed article, as follows:—

We are authorized to make the announcement that the Government will make no change in the tariff at the present session of Parliament, and upon the government we most heartily congratulate ministers. The announcement will be greeted with satisfaction by the mercantile and manufacturing community. It had come to be the case that for a month or more before the delivery of the budget speech and the publication of the tariff changes, business operations were disturbed in a measure by the uncertainty as to alterations in duties, which might render unprofitable contracts entered into by importers for forward delivery, and in this way the steady and natural current of trade was for a season troubled. A finality to the tariff revisions has been hoped for the last year or two, and, even though some incongruities may still exist here and there, it has been felt that the general interests of trade would be better promoted by permitting duties to continue for a time than to open the door to numerous changes in duties, the apprehension of which is a hindrance and hurtful to business. The Government has acted wisely in deciding not to touch the tariff this year and in letting its decision be thus early made public. Deputations to Ottawa in contemplation for the purpose of urging an increase or a reduction of duties can be abandoned, and merchants will be able to press the sale of their goods to arrive without the fear that when delivery comes to be made a different and probably higher rate of duty will be collected than anticipated. The decision of the Government is certain to be popular. It is a lightening of the burden of the Ministry considerably, and will remove an element of disturbance to the business of the country while Parliament is sitting.

We have here a confession that the constant tinkering of the tariff in the interest of the combines, of which complaint was made every session since the present ministry assumed office, was a business as well as a political mistake. It is also an intimation that protection in this country has reached high water mark.

The storm of popular discontent with the workings of a system which has placed the producing and laboring classes at the mercy of capitalist middlemen, has had its effect, and compelled the ministry to say in effect that they have gone as far as they dare go in the direction of class legislation. But if they imagine they have reached "a finality to tariff revisions," as the organ puts it, they are profoundly mistaken. To maintain things as they are may content the combines, but the popular demand is for reform of the tariff, not the continuation of a system whose oppressions have led to the movement for commercial union.

Viewed in another light it is probably judicious for the Government to wait till it is seen how the movement for tariff reform in the United States will eventuate. The policy of this country in relation to customs duties must assimilate to that of the neighboring country. High duties here can not be maintained if low duties or freedom of trade be adopted there. Meantime the combines are to have another year wherein to rob the people. Redress for a great wrong is refused, and we are asked to be grateful that we have not to endure another turn of the tariff screw.

AMERICAN OBJECTIONS TO THE TREATY.

It is well to have a fair understanding of the views held by the opponents to the Fisheries treaty in the United States. These opponents are all Republicans opposed to the Cleveland Administration, and determined, it would seem, to exercise their majority in the Senate to reject the treaty. As the Liberal party in Canada declares that the treaty is a complete give away of Canadian rights, the Republican party in the States claim that it is a surrender of American rights. Both contentions cannot be correct. One thing, however, stands out clearly—American fishermen are admitted to the enjoyment of rights and privileges which they did not possess before the treaty was formulated and practically adopted under the two years' agreement. Senator Frye declares that it will be rejected by the United States Senate by an overwhelming vote. Criticising its provisions, that Senator mentions as the three things which it would be convenient for the American fishermen to have, not now conceded to them, the right to purchase bait and provisions in Canadian ports; the right to ship crews if short of hands; and the right to land a cargo in Canada, in case of disaster or damage to a schooner. Of these things he says:

No man can name anything else that would be convenient to our fishermen or that our fishermen want except those three things, and those three things are not given in this treaty. By article XXV we are graciously permitted to purchase these three things by putting whale oil, seal oil and fish on the free list. In other words, the only things in this whole treaty from beginning to end that we want we are permitted to purchase by paying at least \$1,000,000 a year for them. The duties remitted on fish in the last year during which the Washington Treaty was in force amounted to \$250,000 on Canadian fish. They would amount to \$1,000,000 a year now.

We have bonded their roads all the way from San Francisco, where they have a steamship line, into every state bordering on Canada, the whole length of their line, and are permitting them to build a road across Maine in order to get a port at Halifax. We have made them the favored competitors of every one of our transatlantic railroads. They are doing a business of millions of dollars every year at the expense of those roads; and yet in this wonderful treaty, which has been considered three months and a half, we actually got the right to land in a Canadian port some of our fish and send them to Halifax. We have made them the favored competitors of every one of our transatlantic railroads. They are doing a business of millions of dollars every year at the expense of those roads; and yet in this wonderful treaty, which has been considered three months and a half, we actually got the right to land in a Canadian port some of our fish and send them to Halifax. 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