

taxation. It may succeed for a time in satisfying the public without touching any duties that are really protective; but the unprotected classes cannot be always blinded by that trick. Ere long it must become evident that the high tariff is not a legitimate burden on the nation as the cost of the great struggle by which it maintained its national existence, but an illegitimate artifice to swell the profits of a few by reducing the profits of the many.

The last act in the tragedy of the assassination of President Garfield is over, and the civilized world has the satisfaction of knowing that social justice has not been defeated in its effort to reach one of the most monstrous crimes of modern history. The character of the foolish knave who perpetrated the crime forms, and will always form, a curious psychological puzzle, but any doubt of his legal responsibility could arise only in a mind that has been betrayed into perplexities of special pleading, that are incompatible with accurate mental and legal science. The definition of insanity is still, indeed, a problem for psychologist and physiologist, for moralist and jurist alike; and, consequently, there is no department of medical jurisprudence more perplexing than that which seeks to settle the limits of responsibility in cases of mental disease. But the murderer of Mr. Garfield could be classed among the insane only in the sense in which every criminal is the victim of insanity, inasmuch as he is dominated for the time by some irrational passion or whim. If, however, men were absolved from punishment on this ground, society might abandon its punitive function altogether; and all law, as necessarily implying a penalty attached to its violation, would be abolished. Under any theory of punishment, one of its chief purposes must be to protect society against the madness of passions and whims that destroy social order.

In the settlement of the vexed questions between Labour and Capital, the principle of co-operation is destined to play an increasingly important part. Although hitherto efforts to reduce the theory to practice, especially in co-operative production have not fulfilled all the hopes of its advocates, in other respects it has been attended with remarkable success. At the recent annual Co-operative Congress, held in England, Lord Reay expressed his satisfaction with the principles and progress of the movement, as an attempt to solve certain social and economical difficulties. The charm of the co-operative movement, he said, was its benevolent character; but its strength, he justly added, resided in the fact of its being a pure economic institution, in which all the great principles of political economy were not only adhered to, but seen in actual operation. Unlike certain irrepressible would-be economists nearer home, he did not claim for the new movement that it set all sound economical principles at defiance as belonging to a set of theoretic dreamers. He took the only position compatible with common sense. Orthodox political economy, he said, had no greater ally than co-operation, and he significantly added that no social reform could be permanently successful which attempted to run counter to those economical truths which were not the result of vain imaginings, but of the experience of centuries.

The reports submitted at the Congress shewed a considerable progress in the co-operative movement during the year. There are now in Great Britain 1189 retail distributive societies, with 573,000 members, a share capital of £5,747,907 stg., and a loan capital of £1,496,143. The last year's sales amounted in the aggregate to £20,365,602, and the profits to £1,949,514. The English Wholesale Society, with which societies representing upwards of half a million members are associated, has, since its establishment, nineteen years ago, done a total trade of £28,670,878, with a profit of £349,120. Its annual trade now amounts to nearly £4,000,000 stg., and its expenses to about 3½d. in the £1 on the business done. In the last four quarters the Society made a net profit of £47,101. It gives employment to 1100 persons, and pays nearly £60,000 a year in wages. The Society has share capital amounting to £1,731,276, part of which is not paid up, and nearly £390,000 of loan capital also, an insurance fund of close upon £18,000, a reserve fund of over £20,000, property which has cost £212,295, and which the board of management have depreciated to the extent of £52,169, and it had a banking sum over of nearly £13,000,000 a year. It is evident that the co-operative movement in England is growing rapidly in importance and influence.

On the motion for the third reading of the Prevention of Crimes Bill in the House of Commons, the Government were unexpectedly defeated by a small majority. Mr. Gladstone had accepted an amendment of the Irish party, the effect of which was to lessen the severity of the Bill, by limiting the right of search to the day-time, except in the case of secret societies. The amendment was strenuously resisted by the whole force of the Tories, and, as it soon appeared, was regarded by many Liberals with displeasure. With a characteristic want of earnestness and candour, the Irish party joined the opposition; and though the amendment had been accepted by the Government to meet their express wishes, they refused to give it their support. They preferred to place the Government in a difficulty, rather than help to secure what, on their own shewing, was a valuable concession. It was a miserable attempt to add to the difficulties of Mr. Gladstone, the only statesman who, in the face of almost insuperable obstacles, has attempted to discharge conscientiously the duty of the Imperial Parliament to Ireland. To suppose, however, that it can in any way weaken the position of the Government, is to attach far too much importance to it and its authors, Mr. Gladstone being still enthusiastically supported by the public opinion of the country. But it affords additional evidence, if that were needed, that the Irish party whose voice is lifted up the loudest, is animated by no truly patriotic sentiment, but only by the basest motives of political charlatany. Such conduct can only help to deepen the feelings of contempt its authors have already aroused in the minds of thoughtful men. Even with those who have hitherto openly sympathised with their professed aims, such petty action can only issue in alienation, and despair of the cause of Ireland ever being advanced by those who so blatantly profess to be its sons.