

the first by want of authority over the country at the time in the employers of the surveyors; the second by the form of the surveys—a form universally acted upon in the United States, and borrowed by the Canadian Government on the recommendation of William Lyon Mackenzie. The Government was asked to admit a sovereign right of squatting in these Half-breeds, and to allow the squatters to set aside, for their convenience a system of surveys which, taken as a whole, is the best that has ever been devised. But it did not suit the Half-breeds, because they were not agriculturists, and as fishermen they required access to the river. Riel had plans of his own; he made a claim on the Government, on his own behalf, for a large sum of money; for the Half-breeds he claimed one-seventh of all the lands of the North-West, and for the Indians another seventh; the rest he proposed to offer to pilgrims from all parts of the world. Riel's plans were entirely incompatible with the North-West remaining a part of the territory of Canada, and he was bent on insurrection as the instrument of his ambition. He staked his life on the venture at Batoche, and lost.

In the morning of that memorable day, Captain Haig, R.E., of General Middleton's staff, told Major Boulton that Batoche was to be taken before night. Before setting out the General gave orders to Col. Van Straubenzie to advance his brigade to the position it had occupied the day before, and as much farther as he could get after the engagement began. On returning to camp at half-past eleven, the General was annoyed to find that the advance ordered had not been made. But the order had been given by Col. Van Straubenzie. After dinner, the General's instructions were repeated by Straubenzie to the commanders of the corps. When the whole line had been formed it stretched upwards of a mile from the river bank: it now, says Major Boulton, "advanced steadily, but rapidly, through the bush to the open space which lay between us and the village. Before getting through the bush we came to a gully, at the bottom of which lay a number of the enemy." The troops "rushed furiously down the gully, and drove the enemy before them. As they ran from us, five of them dropped under the fire of the now excited men, and pit after pit was cleared in front of our skirmishing line as we took them on the flank." Such was the "charge" of Batoche. "In fact," says Major Boulton, "it could not properly be called a charge, but a steady advance of four hundred and fifty men in skirmishing order, vying with each other in rapidity of movement, clearing the front of our skirmishing line as we took them on the flank." As a contribution to the history of the North-West, Major Boulton's book will be welcomed by a large number of readers. T. M.

THE RUMOURED SCHEME OF MR. GLADSTONE.

It would be idle to chase all the flying rumours about Mr. Gladstone's operations and intentions. In the same column we read one telegram announcing positively that he has framed a scheme of Home Rule, and another announcing as positively that he has not. His somewhat comic invitation to Irish thinkers, if it really had any object beyond effect, must be taken as indicating that at the time when it was put forth his mind was not made up; and in that case we are driven to the conclusion that he obtained the votes of the Parnellites by signifying his acquiescence in the demand for an Irish Parliament without having sufficiently informed himself to determine his own opinion on the question. It is now very confidently stated that he has framed his scheme, and that what he proposes is a Council for each of the four Provinces of Ireland. If, as must be presumed, these Councils are not to be so many Parliaments, but are to have only local powers, subject to the supreme legislation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, this is a total change of front, and Mr. Parnell will find himself jilted. His object, and the price for which he thought he was selling the Irish Vote to Mr. Gladstone, was not the extension of Local Self-government in any form or under any name, but the severance of "the last link." Extension of Local Self-government in subordination to the Imperial Parliament, and without any breach of the Legislative Union, is a measure to which nobody objects, and which Parliament was preparing to pass at the very time when the Irish Rebellion broke out. The writer of this article, though firmly convinced of the necessity of maintaining the Union, has always advocated the establishment of Provincial Councils, and has proposed to give them the right of electing representatives to the House of Lords in place of the rotten representative peerage of Ireland. It would only be necessary for the Supreme Government at present to keep a tight hand on the police, for with the police in local hands no Loyalist's life or property would be safe. That the Celtic and Catholic Provinces would at first be gainers by an extension of local government is unfortunately not likely. Popular education would certainly suffer for a time by falling under the influence of the priesthood, against which it is now protected by the Imperial

administration; but time and the general progress of European opinion would probably develop a resistance to priestly power, and, at all events, the largest concession to Home Rule feeling compatible with the integrity of the Empire would have been made. That Mr. Gladstone has decided on proposing Provincial Councils, and not an Irish Parliament, or a dissolution of the Legislative Union under any form, is, however, at present mere report; though it seems not unlikely that he may have been turned away from an intention the announcement of which filled his friends with consternation and all Disunionists with joy by the manifestations of public opinion in favour of the Union, the opposition of independent journals such as the *Times* and the *Spectator*, the uneasiness of his colleagues, and the Unionist attitude suddenly assumed by the Radical leader. That he is working at his scheme, whatever it is, "with great satisfaction" and "with a light heart" may be only too easily believed. Any exercise of his legislative ingenuity is sure to afford him the keenest satisfaction; though experience has unhappily shown that his power of forecasting the practical effect of his schemes is by no means equal to his ingenuity. His heart also is evidently light enough. Having brought the country into the last extremity of peril, he is sufficiently free from public care to disport himself in lucubrations on the cosmogony of Genesis. His moral tone as a statesman has always been high, and he has deserved lasting gratitude by redeeming the country from Jingoism and cynicism; but, paradoxical as the statement may seem, his sense of responsibility does not appear to be strong: at least he easily persuades himself, in face of the most disastrous results, that what he has done is right; and this, combined with his intense desire to have the credit of settling, as he fancies, the Irish question, is a most perilous feature of the situation.

On whatever Mr. Gladstone may now resolve, the mischief which he did by allowing the impression to prevail that he was ready to give Ireland a Parliament can never be undone: it will serve to nourish agitation for many a day. Still less have the full results been yet seen of his extraordinary policy in plunging the nation into a political revolution in face of an Irish rebellion, at the same time immensely increasing the strength of the rebel vote. He is sowing, if ever a statesman did, the seeds of civil war.

Lord Hartington, if the cable summary is correct, has been making a weak speech. The upshot of it is apparently that he is as much against Home Rule as ever, but thinks that, as Mr. Gladstone is in favour of it, it must come. This is a specimen of that miserable fatalism which seems, with other paralyzing influences, to have stolen over the minds of British statesmen, and to be making their conduct in this crisis a strange and melancholy contrast to that of their high-souled predecessors. The vocation of a statesman is not to run behind the car of political destiny, like a boy running behind a carriage, but to guide and modify its course. A strong heart makes its own fate. If Mr. Gladstone's word is fate the nation has come to a strange pass indeed, considering that Mr. Gladstone's word changes from day to day. Misfortunes, however, seem to crowd upon misfortunes, and the ship, by all appearances, will soon be on the rocks, unless the helm is unexpectedly grasped by some resolute and patriotic hand: an event about as much within the compass of practical possibility as the descent of an angel from heaven.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

A YEAR OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1886.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND marks the end of his first year of office by a mild *coup d'état*, which, characteristically enough, has relation to the everlasting subject of patronage. After his election and prior to his inauguration, in a letter to the chairman of the Civil Service Reform Association Mr. Cleveland expressed a purpose not to disturb, during the remainder of their terms, those territorial judges and governors, those collectors of customs and internal revenue, those marshals and attorneys of the Federal courts, and those postmasters at the larger offices, who (under the provisions of a mischievous law, passed in the heyday of what is known as the spoils system,) are commissioned for a term of four years, except in so far as he should find them to have been unfaithful, inefficient, or offensively partisan in the use of their places. This declared purpose the President has thus far executed in large part, and, in smaller part, has apparently violated. The Republican majority in the Senate, in the ordinary exercise of the game of politics, have resolved to take advantage of the nomination to that body of the intended successors of the displaced officials to force from the President, or from the heads of Departments, an admission that the pledge has not been kept as broadly as made, and, with this admission, to go before the country in the Congressional election next autumn, and