

THE TRUE WITNESS

IS PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
The Post Printing & Publishing Co.,
 AT THEIR OFFICES:
761 CRAIG ST., Montreal, Canada.
 Subscription, per annum, \$1.50
 paid strictly in advance.

THE POST PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.,
 761 Craig Street, Montreal.

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WEDNESDAY...SEPTEMBER 19, 1888.

At present there are four vacancies in the Ontario Legislature—East Elgin, East Northumberland, Frontenac and North Lanark. Elections to fill these seats all take place on the one day, October 11th.

Mr. MERCIER is the only Premier of this Province who has ever showed a disposition to give the Irish minority fair play in the distribution of patronage. For this reason, among others, he deserves the confidence and support of the Irish electors.

THE K. K. Z. Z. Z. says, "no effort will be spared to befool and conceal the real questions" in Montreal East, and forthwith it proves its declaration by befooling and concealing all it can. This is the only bit of truth the organ has ventured to utter for a long time, and we hasten to give it credit for it.

THE idea of English statesmen drafting a constitution for Canada, giving her representation in the British parliament, as proposed by Mr. Morton Freeman, is one which will not take in Canada. The union of Ireland and England is too glaring an example of national destruction to be copied by half a continent two thousand miles from London. Besides the recollection of Downing street rule has not been wholly obliterated. We want none off it.

TORY SHEETS are crowing over Mr. Dawdney's election by acclamation in East Assiniboia. It strikes us that there is little to crow over. The protection of the ballot was refused by the Government to the Northwest with the evident purpose of bulldozing the electors, who are nearly all at the mercy of the department of which Dawdney is the head.

MR. DAVITT's speech, about which so much has been said, was truly an echo from the Irish heart. No man alive has so close a touch to his people as Michael Davitt, and he feels with them that English sentiment, which took fire at the recital by Mr. Gladstone of Neapolitan and Bulgarian outrages, and long and fiercely glowed with the white heat of indignation, kindles slowly at the more ghastly horrors of Balfourian tyranny in Ireland.

ANNOUCTION of the Legislative Council is a true Reform measure which we hope will be carried out in this Province. Experience has proved the Upper Chamber is not only expensive, but dangerous, when it is not useless. Ontario gets along admirably with one chamber, why not Quebec? As for dual representation, it is a palpable fraud when the representatives are appointed by the same party to hold seats in both the Legislative Council of the Province and the Senate of the Dominion.

ALL over the world, wherever his wonderful stories of the stars have been read, the news of the death of Prof. R. A. Proctor will be received with genuine sorrow. In his day he did a great deal to popularize the mysteries of science and in his special field of astronomy he had no rival as a writer. There is a charm, an elevation, a beauty, in his writings, which will give them vitality for many generations. He wrote to educate, to elevate the common people, and his renditions of scientific truth are so embedded in the language and thought of the age, that they may be said to be immortal.

BALFOUR has laid his murderous clutches on another Irish member of parliament. William Redmond has been sentenced to three months imprisonment for an alleged offence under the Crimes Act. Mr. Redmond is one of the most popular members of the National party and a young man of rare endowments. Both he and his brother, who is also held for trial, are well known in America, where the news of their suffering will cause both regret and indignation.

PROFESSOR FOSTER, the ten dollar a night advocate of Prohibition, has become a sad backslider since he became the Hon. W. E.

Foster in the Macdonaldite caboose. He was billed to speak at Beaverton, North Ontario, a Scott Act county, the other day, and in order to give the affair a true Tory character, the managers of the demonstration laid in a big stock of whiskey and other liquors. The temperance people got wind of the grog and the officers of the law pounced down and seized several hundred dollars worth of liquid enthusiasm. The plan was a very dry affair in consequence and far from being an enthusiasm as the managers had calculated.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE has given another proof of his public spirit. With that consideration for the interests of his Province which has always characterized him, he has handed over to the Minister of Education \$2,500 to be applied to scholarships in the Political Science Department of the Provincial University. The money was earned by Mr. Blake in pleading the case of the Province against the Dominion Government and the St. Catharines Milling Company. Mr. Blake's unselfish act will no doubt be highly appreciated by the friends of progress who have for some time been earnestly working to make the much needed new branch of higher education a success.

An article from our city contemporary, the Herald, which we reproduce, contains a fair exposition of both sides of the disallowance question in relation to the Magistrates' Court. Among anecdotes of the Bar it is related that a certain Prime Minister, having appointed a political follower to the Bench, told him to give his judgments as he thought right, but never to give his reasons or he would be lost. Sir Sparrow Thompson forgot the wisdom of this admonition when he gave his reasons for the veto of the Magistrates' Court Act. As a consequence he has put himself in a hole, from which he will find it hard to extricate himself.

DRUNKENNESS having increased alarmingly in France of late years, the Government appointed an official commission, with Léon Say as president, to investigate the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, with a view to suggesting any changes in existing laws that may seem advisable. Alarm is felt because of the mental and physical degeneration resulting from excessive use of stimulants. The commission find that resort has been made to impure substances for the manufacture of alcohol, owing to the disease which affects the vines, and recommend that all alcohol containing more than two thousandths of impurities, be rejected. High license is also advocated as a means of reducing the number of saloons. This whole action indicates a grave sense of danger and a desire for reform.

A New scheme for organizing the Radical party in England has been suggested by Mr. Labouchere in Truth. The idea is to enroll all Radicals in a sort of army with regiments of voters and officers from colonels down. The qualifications, or tests for admission into the army are also set forth. "These might be," he remarks, "the disendowment and disestablishment of the Established Church; the abolition of all hereditary rights to legislative; a strict policy of non-intervention abroad; economy in all departments of government; one man, one vote; and the payment of members." And he adds that when these reforms are carried, the army might tackle others.

AT LAST the Government appears to have succeeded in reconciling the differences among the faithful of Cardwell and induced them to adopt Mr. R. S. White as their candidate. The constituency is almost a close borough and has always been used by Sir John Macdonald as a refuge for candidates who could not be elected anywhere else. On Mr. White, personally, nothing can be said one way or another. He has never come before the public and has yet to win his spurs. Nevertheless, his nomination is an admission by the Tories of Cardwell that there are none among them fit for a seat in Parliament. This may be quite true, and if it is, the Liberals should make an effort to prove that the imputation does not also apply to them. An Ontario constituency which has to seek a candidate in Montreal must be a place where popular self-respect is stagnant if it has not ceased to exist. The Liberals should take immediate steps to contest the election with Mr. White.

It would seem by the utterances of the Conservative press that there is a strong movement on foot to induce the Federal Government to veto the debt conversion Act passed last session of the Provincial Legislature. The organ of the Dominion Government at London, the Canadian Gazette, is quoted as an authority against the local Government. As well might the Montreal Gazette be thus quoted. Both get their inspiration from the same source. It is evident, however, that Mr. Mercier has to fight an active, unscrupulous enemy, but we are quite convinced that the people of Quebec, when they understand that he is striving to lessen their burdens, while the Conservatives would keep them enlaved to foreign bondholders, will rally to his support and in defence of the right of the province to manage its own affairs in its own way.

As the Presidential contest warms, the increase of Republican strength becomes more marked. More than ever it is also seen that the result hinges on the Irish vote. The President's "Retaliation" message was, in reality, a bid for that vote, but it now appears to be pretty well discounted as a party move unworthy of the chief magistrate of a great nation. An English general is credited with having said: "Find out what

your enemy would like you to do, and do the exact contrary." This is a sound sentiment, and should not be lost on Irish Americans. If they will observe the situation they will see that every Tory and enemy of Ireland and America is deeply, clamorously anxious for the re-election of Mr. Cleveland and the perpetuation of Democratic power. The London Times, Joseph Chamberlain, Arthur Balfour, the Montreal Gazette, in fact every Tory on both sides of the water are Cleveland men. That ought to be enough. The Irish voters see what their enemies want them to do; therefore, let them take the advice of the English general and do the exact contrary.

THE Quebec Telegraph draws a comparison between the harbor of that city and the harbor of Montreal. "In Quebec," says our lively contemporary, "the warships anchor off the harbor in clear, deep water, but in Montreal the 'Pylades' was placed in a berth at the wharf opposite the Bonsecours market. This beautiful little vessel is almost hurled beneath the huge pile of carts, lumber and vegetable crates, before the stands of hucksters and apple women. Montreal harbor cannot show to advantage and it would almost be as well for our sister city people to come down to Quebec in future to see a warship riding with ease and grace in the stream." Perhaps, it would be as well that we should have to go to Quebec when we want to see a warship. For, taking one thing with another, we confess to a vulgar prejudice in favor of the huge pile of carts, lumber and vegetable crates, with hucksters and apple women thrown in, rather than an empty harbor of clear, deep water with a warship in all its beauty showing to advantage. A warship is very fine and grand, we admit, but the market boat, dirty, noisy, unpicturesque though it be, is infinitely more pleasing to us. But the Telegraph is right. Quebec is military and naval in its nature, history and surroundings. A man-of-war there is quite in its element. Montreal, on the contrary, is mercantile. Here a warship is out of place, and nowhere more so than at Bonsecours market.

THE GREAT QUESTION.

There can be no blinking the issue in Montreal East. The great question at issue, apart from the generally bad and unfortunate policy of the Dominion Government, is the preservation of Provincial rights.

By the application of the veto to an act of the local Legislature, perfectly within its constitutional capacity, the Federal Cabinet has brought the central authority of the Confederation into direct conflict with the people of this Province, and actually asks them to send a man to Parliament from Montreal East to vote away those rights by which alone they can hope to preserve their standing as free citizens. The cool audacity of the demand indicates how little the Tories value the intelligence, independence and patriotism of the people.

Mr. Mercier and his party cannot and will not recede from their position, because it is perfectly constitutional, and involves a principle by which not only the Local Government, but the Province itself must stand or fall.

The question the electors of Montreal East are called upon to decide is therefore simply this:—Shall the Tory combination at Ottawa override the constitution and grant or withhold as they please, the right inherent in the people of Quebec to legislate for themselves? But let us examine what the legislation is which the Federal authority seeks to set aside.

On the advice of the Minister of Justice, who, by the way, is a lawyer from Nova Scotia who knows very little, if anything, about Quebec law, the Ottawa Cabinet has disallowed the Act to amend the law relating to District Magistrates. It is not necessary to repeat here the facts cited by Mr. Mercier showing this piece of legislation was not *ultra vires*. What we desire to point out is that should the electors of Montreal East vote for the return of a supporter of the Federal Government, they will virtually declare their willingness to surrender and abandon to the Federal ministry that control over the provincial courts guaranteed to them by the Act of Confederation.

Mark, then, what follows. Other persons, having influence at Ottawa as great, if not greater, than those who insisted on the veto in this case, will demand, in fact, they have already demanded, the disallowance of the Debt Conversion Act. In this act Mr. Mercier seeks to relieve the tax payers of the Province of a heavy charge created by his predecessors. By the proposed conversion and consolidation of the debt, a very large sum of money, which is now drained annually from the earnings of the people to pay interest to foreign bondholders, will be diverted, among other much needed improvements, to the cause of education, the opening of roads, the building of bridges, and generally to the development of Provincial resources. The Dominion Ministry are only staying their hands to see how the people will act under the Magistrates' Court act vote, before venturing on the more delicate ground of interfering with the management of Provincial finances.

Should they find sufficient encouragement in the pending contest to take this step, they will hasten to strike another and more fatal blow at Provincial autonomy. In no particular of government are the people more jealous of interference by the Crown or the power acting in its name, than in the management of the public revenues, and, if it be once admitted that the Federal authority can thus interfere, every vestige of the right of the people of Quebec to direct the disposal of their taxes will disappear. Men, chosen as Messrs. Thompson, Dawdney, Bowell and Haggart were chosen, will exercise the functions heretofore belonging to the

Provincial government and say how and in what way the local revenues shall be applied.

Are the electors of Montreal East, are the people of Quebec province, prepared to make this surrender of their liberty and independence?

If they are, Federal ministers will feel justified, and we are sure they will not hesitate to complete the conquest of Quebec by vetoing the Jesuits Estates Settlement Act. The Francophobe and Orange Tory press of Ontario has demanded this exercise of Federal authority, and threats have been indulged in at certain quarters of what may happen, should Sir John Macdonald fail to meet the wishes of his western supporters in this connection.

It will thus be seen that a very grave crisis has been created by the unconstitutional exercise of the veto. The most cherished rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this province have been invaded with dangerous insouciance, and unless they meet the enemy with a united and determined front now, they will find it impossible hereafter to recover the rights they will have lost through their own apathy and blindness.

MONTREAL EAST ELECTION.

Last Friday's meeting to select a candidate for the House of Commons in the eastern division was a large and thoroughly representative gathering. Great enthusiasm and the utmost harmony prevailed. The political situation is one which demands the most active and determined efforts for the preservation of our constitutional rights, and we see a good augury of success in the numbers present, and the spirit manifested at last night's meeting. Mr. Laurier, who recently scored a signal victory in Halton, one of the most thoroughly English constituencies of Ontario, ought certainly to count on no less a proof of confidence from his own countrymen in Montreal. The questions to be decided are the same, but deepened and intensified by the recent unjustifiable invasion of Provincial rights by the Federal Government. Sir John Macdonald and his supporters will leave no art untried to secure the return of their candidate. A result so unfortunate would be hailed and heralded as a condemnation of Mr. Mercier and the Nationalists, as well as of Mr. Laurier and the Dominion Opposition. It is therefore the duty of every man who would preserve Provincial autonomy and confine the centralizing tyranny of Ottawa within constitutional bounds to turn out and work his best till the last vote is cast.

Mr. Polier, the candidate, unanimously chosen as the Liberal standard bearer, is a young man of great ability and one of the best speakers in the Province. His selection is a direct challenge to Mr. Chapleau, who last session wreaked his vengeance on him by securing his dismissal from the translators' office, House of Commons. Mr. Polier's offence was that he had too freely criticized the Secretary of State, especially in connection with affairs in the Northwest.

Mr. Polier will now have an opportunity of meeting Mr. Chapleau on an equal footing, and of returning the compliments that gentleman paid him in a place where he had no right of reply.

We hope the Liberals will get their organization completed at once, as there is only about a week to do everything. Polling takes place on Wednesday, the 26th inst.

The Tories have not yet named a candidate, but whoever will take the field as a supporter of Macdonaldism deserves to be beaten out of sight and it seems pretty certain that he will.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION—NECK AND NECK.

Democratic newspapers in the States, which were lately quiet certain that Mr. Cleveland's re-election was a foregone conclusion, are showing signs of uneasiness and, in some instances, of fear that things are not so sure after all. The New York Telegram, impressed with the gravity of the situation and alarmed at the possibility of defeat, endeavors to awaken the Democrats from their dream of complacent security by telling them this is not a promising nor a wise time to go about waiting with their hands in their pockets and their eyes on the skies while they complacently whisper:—"This isn't going to be much of a show." Then, reading the political barometer, it warns the Democrats that everything up to date indicates that it isn't only a slower, but a regular full grown storm, and it will take a Democratic cyclone to meet it and beat it. And the sooner the Democrats arrange the political conditions for the proper sort of an atmospheric disturbance the better.

Oregon, Vermont and Maine have been heard from, states which never went Democratic in a presidential year and which no one expected would break the record, but it was shown that in Oregon the drift was Republican; that in Vermont the majority rolled up was quite abreast of the old-time figures; and Maine declares that her brigades are solid and frantic efforts to break her lines have proved a dismal failure.

These are not pivotal States, the Telegram points out, for their places in the electoral college were discounted long ago. But the elections just held in them indicate a degree of fixidity which serves notice on the attacking columns that the Republicans are solidly formed all along the great front of battle, extending from Oregon to Maine. The defections and changes hoped for have not materialized; the discipline of the great army remains fully up to the regulations of political warfare.

The Republican forces are thus shown to be welded together by excellent tactics, well generalised and strong in numbers—not mutinous, apathetic and undisciplined. Accepting this as a fair view of the situation, it would be folly to suppose there will be less solidity among Republicans in doubtful States. There

may be differences here and there, but the tendency is towards healing them as the conflict intensifies.

In order to let the people understand the mathematics of the situation the Telegram gives the electoral figures. The Electoral College has 401 votes, making 201 necessary to a choice. Of this number the Republicans may reasonably be allowed 182, which includes California and several close North-western States. The solid Democratic column, over which no one will dispute, foots up 153. The doubtful States, so called, represent 66 votes, viz., New York, 36; New Jersey, 9; Indiana, 16; and Connecticut, 6. Nineteen votes added to the Republican column of 182 will elect, but it takes forty-eight additional votes for a Democratic victory. New York and New Jersey combined, which may safely be classed as Democratic, yield forty-five of this number, three short of victory. The balance must come from either Connecticut or Indiana. One of those States will be enough. Should Harrison carry his own State (15) his party would be within four votes of the promised land, and Connecticut could more than supply them.

Basing its estimate on these figures, the Telegram declares the race to be "neck and neck," with the casting vote in Connecticut, thus making the result extremely problematical.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD ON RETALIATION.

At the opening of the Agricultural Exhibition at Kingston recently, Sir John Macdonald made a passing allusion to retaliation:—"Canadians," he said, "are to be excluded for no act of theirs. Well, if they will not allow us to trade with them, we can trade with ourselves. We are not afraid or dismayed at any threatened attempt to hamper our commerce or cripple our resources. The effect will be the same, as was shown after the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty of 1854. It showed that we could rely upon our own resources. While we should like to continue to trade with our neighbors in the freest manner, we can afford to do without it, and can afford to wait with calm self-respect the outcome of the matter."

Whilst the banuomies and hypocrisy of this deliverance are manifest, it will be admitted that it is about the wisest attitude Sir John could assume at the present moment. Of course Canadians are to be excluded for no act of theirs, but are they not excluded because of the action of their Government? Was it not because of the irritation and indignation roused in the United States against Canada by the conduct of the Canadian Tories that the Reciprocity treaty was abrogated in 1854? Undoubtedly! The effect, Sir John says, will be the same now as then.

Let those who remember the effects of abrogation and the culmination thereof in the commercial disasters of 1857, say if they are delighted at the prospect presented by the Premier. The loss and suffering was enormous and widespread. Of course an intelligent, industrious people made the best of a bad case, but how much more prosperous this country would have been had Reciprocity continued and the Tories of Canada refrained from that open sympathy with the South which excited the just wrath of the American people! The spirit which encouraged and abetted the St. Albans raiders is the same that to-day imposes the contemptible tax on peach baskets. Nothing is too wicked or too mean for it to suggest or perpetrate.

If the United States to-day talk of non-intercourse with Canada it is because of the unfriendly conduct of our Tory government and party. Sir John talks of "calm self-respect." In reality he is delighted that he has again succeeded in raising another cause of estrangement between Canadians and Americans. Retaliation is the very thing he most desires, and the Americans are very short-sighted to play into his hands. They can kill Macdonaldite Toryism as dead as Cheops by adopting a directly contrary course and, if they are wise they will do so.

ENGLAND AND THE DOMINION.

A correspondent of the St. John Globe reviews the conduct of Great Britain towards the colonies of North America in a very candid manner. The loyalty of the colonists down to a very recent date was ever self-sacrificing, as he justly observes while the statesmen of the Empire never took them or their interests into consideration when entering into trade arrangements with foreign countries, neither were their trade and commercial interests taken into consideration at the time of the drawing up of the Navigation Laws of the Empire. At that time both their trade and commerce were sacrificed for the benefit of the British ship owner, merchant and manufacturer. When the British government repealed the Navigation Laws which prohibited foreign vessels from entering our ports to compete with its own in carrying our lumber to the British markets, it was done for her own and not our interests. When the British Parliament took off the duty on Baltic timber and allowed it to enter her ports duty free, to the great injury of our lumber trade, we were not taken into consideration, as the English government was simply legislating for and in the interests of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

When the British government made the Ashburton Treaty with the government of the United States and handed to the State of Maine a large portion of this Province, it sacrificed both our rights and our interests for the advantage of the British people. At the time England was engaged in making the Washington Treaty with the United States, she sacrificed our rights and interests by refusing us permission to present our bill to the American government for the damage done us at the time of the Fenian raid. In every instance in which British statesmen have been called upon to protect colonial rights and interests, they have been sacrificed for those of the mother country, and this policy will be

pursued towards us as long as we remain appendages to the British Crown.

The leading statesmen of England during the last sixty years have again and again advocated not only in their places in parliament but through the columns of the public press, the separation of these colonies from the mother country. Among those statesmen who entertained and gave expression to these views while living were Earl Russell, Lord Ellenborough, Brougham, Gray, Monck, Ashburton and St. Vincent. Among the prominent public men of England in the present day who entertain and give expression to the same views are Lords Dufferin and Derby, and Messrs. Bright, Gladstone, Foster, Lowe, and Chamberlain. In addition to this, the London Times and other journals throughout England have plainly and bluntly informed us that in place of adding strength to the Empire, we are simply a source of weakness to it, and the sooner we sever the tie that connects us to it the better it will be for the United Kingdom, both politically and commercially. There is not the least doubt that English statesmen had this end in view when they encouraged and forced upon us the scheme of Confederation.

For these and other similar considerations, the writer quoted thinks that the question soon to be decided is Independence or Annexation.

VETO!

As might have been anticipated, there was a great gathering at St. James' Market Thursday night to hear the leaders of the Liberal Nationalist party discuss the question of disallowance. We surrender all our available space to a verbatim report of Mr. Mercier's speech, in order that our readers may have a thorough knowledge of the ground on which he stands. It will be seen that he does not mince matters, but takes issue directly with the people in power at Ottawa. Certainly it is an extraordinary thing to see one party to a constitutional dispute exercising a veto on the acts of the other. Is Sir John Macdonald like the castaway sailor, able to sing:

"O, I'm the cook and the captain, too,
 And the mate of the Nancy brig,
 And the boatswain tight, and the midshipmite,
 And the crew of the captain's gig."

We think not. We have, the Lord help us, a written constitution on which the great centralizer puts his own construction. "As you are probably aware," he said at Newmarket, "I am a constitutional lawyer, and I will teach the little tyrant that he cannot infringe on the Dominion." It was the boast of a man who had infinite confidence in himself. But how did his boasting pan out? The "Little Tyrant" yanked him to the foot of the throne and proved in four special cases in which he had exercised the veto that he was wrong.

Now let us consider the nature and source of the veto. In its origin it is the prerogative of the Crown. Queen Victoria can exercise the veto by refusing to put her signature to a bill passed by both houses of parliament. But dare she refuse. King George III. was the last monarch who tried that game, and it cost England half a continent. Is Sir Sparrow Thompson, who says he acted on the demand of Mr. Chapleau, greater, from a constitutional point of view, than the kings and queens of England?

As Mr. Blake pointed out and compelled the British Government to acknowledge when he insisted on the revision of the Governor-General's commission, Her Majesty cannot delegate to her subordinate a power which she does not herself possess.

Curious to state, there have been a number of acts passed by the Legislature of Quebec and vetoed by the Federal Government. In one of these instances was the veto published in the Quebec Official Gazette, which alone could give the Federal authority legal standing in the Province. The veto, therefore, in every case failed, and every act passed by the Provincial Legislature is binding in law in spite of the veto.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec cannot of his own motion publish anything in the Quebec Gazette. He can do nothing without the advice of his ministers, and until Mr. Mercier advises him to publish Sir Sparrow Thompson's ridiculous proclamation Sir John Macdonald's veto, or Mr. Chapleau's veto, or Bill Smith's veto, like the Queen's writ in the county of Ottawa of old, don't carry.

The Bleu party has been so indoctrinated with the idea that they have a right divine to govern wrong in the Province of Quebec, and so accustomed to run to Sir John and force him to carry out their behests, that they can not conceive it possible for anyone to be legitimate because they have been baptized. But the fun of the thing is that in forcing Sir John to dismiss Letellier de St. Just, they led their own hands. They cannot keep within the constitution and dismiss a Lieutenant-Governor for refusing to do what they dismissed a Lieutenant-Governor for doing.

The whole thing from a legal and journalistic point of view is intensely amusing. And now what are they going to do about it?

LITERARY REVIEW.

A MEMOIR OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE of the very Rev. Edward Sorin, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame College, Indiana.

This is a sermon by the most Rev. John Ireland, D.D., Archbishop of St. Paul, delivered at the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Father Sorin, the venerable Superior-General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. The preacher is one of the ablest on our Continent, and finds sufficient inspiration for his eloquent discourse in the memories connected with the life of the founder of the Notre Dame University, Indiana. Under his guidance and leadership the Congregation has grown with surprising rapidity and succeeded in widening and confirming its influence.

JEANNE LA FLEUR, par H. Beaupré, deuxième édition, Montreal, des presses de la Paix, 1888.
 The first edition of this work appeared in