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A QUARTERLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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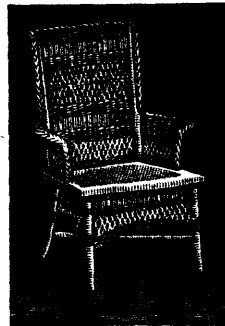
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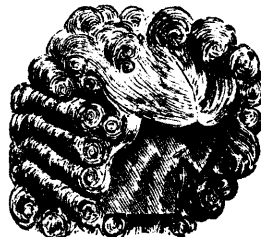
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THE BYSTANDER.

JANUARY, 1883.

A MONTHLY issue was found too constant a tie, and too frequent an interruption of other work: but THE BYSTANDER has reason to believe that there are some among his old readers to whom, in default of a monthly, a quarterly issue will not be unacceptable, and however few they may be, he writes for them with pleasure.

In beginning a new series, he has no new professions to make. He still is, or desires to be, loyal to that policy, and to that policy alone, which may promise to bring wealth, happiness, and the virtues which follow in their train to the homes of the Canadian people. To Party government he is more than ever opposed, and more than ever wishes to see it superseded by a government of the nation. But he takes things as they are, and judges the character and conduct of public men, as equity requires, by the standard of the established system. Few Canadian writers, as he believes, love the Mother Country better, or have more reason for loving her, than he. It is in her interest, and for her honour as well as in the interest of the Colonies, that he deprecates the perpetuation of dependency, and wishes to see it replaced by mutual citizenship, and England made the Mother of free nations. In this case, again, however, he takes things as they are, and only protests against the waste of the people's earnings in a hopeless conflict with the ordinances of nature.

The strength of the Macdonald Government appears to be unimpaired, though its motley host of followers, in which the Orangeman marches by the side of the Ultramontane, could hardly be held together by any other chief. Its finance prospers, its outlook generally is bright, except that a cloud has risen on the horizon in the North-West. Its victory at the last election could surprise no one: it had the wind of reviving prosperity full in its sails: the harvest had been good: a new market had been opened in the North-West: commercial interests had been created which looked to the Government as their author and protector: boundless hopes had been excited, and speculation as well as manufactures fought on the Ministerial side. In the three hundred Colonization Companies, it may be surmised, were not a few Grits who cast a vote in favour of Colonization under the friendly cover of the Ballot. Gerrymandering was a blunder as well as a crime: it was a blunder such as tacticians who do not rightly estimate the strength of the moral forces are apt often to commit. But the moment for the Dissolution was wisely chosen; and though there are the strongest objections to a practice which makes the duration of Parliament depend not on the law, but on the conning of the weathercock by a party leader, such is now the game; and cutting short the life of a Parliament for a party purpose by an exercise of the prerogative is not so bad as lengthening it for a similar purpose by a quibble. The majority was unexpectedly large; but as the people grow more educated and quicker witted, as the influence of a metropolitan press increases, as local ties become weaker, and opinion more capable of shifting, large majorities are likely to be the rule, and great effects may be expected from anything which, like National Policy, impresses the mind of the people strongly at the time of an election. The Opposition fought not only under an adverse star, but in imperfect array. They had changed their leader, they had not changed their editor; and the editor crossed the policy of the leader on the main question in the decisive hour. Nor was the policy of the leader well defined. It is not in commercial questions that

he is most at home. Had he felt himself strong on the main issue, he would scarcely have sought adventitious strength by a convulsive clutch at the Home Rule vote. Moreover, the party still suffers in some degree from the effects of the late management. In England the Liberal party owes its long ascendancy to the wisdom of its great leaders in making room within its pale for all the shades of opinion which, so long as it corresponds to its name, it will be certain to contain. Here, before the change of leadership, exclusion instead of comprehension was the rule; and uniformity was enforced by coercion exercised in a way which no man of spirit ever forgives. Whipping independent minds into the traces is an operation which, when the horses are of British blood, is more likely to end in the upsetting of the coach than in the submission of the team.

Meanwhile, in the fiscal sphere, a serious change has come over the scene. In 1878, Adjustment was the word. To Adjustment Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues carefully confined their manifestoes. Now carried away by financial success, partly mistaking its sources, and urged forwards by their manufacturing supporters, they have openly declared for Protection; and the Finance Minister has apparently surrendered himself to the fond belief that he can create prosperity by taxation. A momentous question is thus brought before the country, and the people will have to make up their minds upon it without delay, for if a Protectionist Ring forms and gets possession of the Government, the power of deliberation will be lost. The BYSTANDER'S conviction on this subject has been avowed before; it is that not of a purist in Free Trade, but of one who takes the rule of political economy to be expediency, in the broadest sense of the term, embracing the future as well as the present, sanctioning the special fostering of infant industries, if it can be profitably done, and anything else that will sooner or later and through one channel or another bring wealth to the nation as a whole. But it is necessary to hold fast the distinction between that which brings wealth to the nation as a whole and that which suits the interest of a class. The advantage of internal free trade no one is insane enough to deny: no one proposes to run a Customs line across any terri-

tory, however large, which is under a single government: Napoleon, reactionary in economy as he was, established free trade between the countries included in his vast empire, and in that way made up to them, in a great degree, for the oppressiveness of his Continental system. Enlarge the area from the territory of a single government to the whole world, and the economical principle remains the same. Free Trade among all nations, if it were possible, would be the greatest of blessings to them all. But in the present state of the world it is not possible: every nation is practically compelled to raise revenue by customs; each must have its own tariff, and each will adjust its tariff to its own circumstances, giving its own industries all the advantage in its power. England has her tariff and adjusts it to her own circumstances like the rest. To adapt the Canadian tariff to the requirements of Canada was right; it was right to raise the sum required by increased taxation instead of continuing the fatally seductive policy of loans; it was right, supposing the system of Commercial Separation from the rest of the Continent to be retained, to put the Canadian producer on an equal footing with his competitor over the Line; while the increase of the receipts, combined as it was with an increase of the trade, vindicated the revenue character of the measure. Now it is time to halt and review the situation. Protection, in the ancient sense of the term, that is the imposition of taxes not for the purpose of revenue, but for the purpose of excluding foreign goods and enabling the home manufacturer to sell dear, has been proved by calamitous experience, and is pronounced by every independent authority, to be the most costly and the most objectionable of all ways of enriching a few at the expense of the people; the most costly because it not only takes money out of the pockets of the people but misdirects the investment of capital and perverts the course of industry; the most objectionable because it fills the country with Rings, with smuggling, and with corruption of all kinds. To the argument that internal competition will keep prices down, the answer is that possibly it might in the absence of Rings, and provided the country were not too small. The United States are a Continent producing almost everything except tea and coffee in itself, yet

there can be no doubt that they pay heavily for Protection, in a commercial point of view, whatever political or social advantages they may have reaped from it or may fancy that they have reaped. Prosperous they are, as it is, for their resources are immense and so are the energies of their people: yet they would be much more prosperous with Free Trade. Their mercantile marine has been annihilated, and with all their skill and inventiveness their exportation of manufactures is small, their chief exports being grain and cotton, which Protection cannot assist, which it must injure by making machinery dear. But in the case of a country such as Canada, the consequence of a Protective system would be an exodus of the people, especially if living should become cheaper on the other side of the Line. Were our Finance Minister to mount the platform with a table of prices, showing the increased cost of living, round his neck, his prosperity orations would lose force. Not that the increased cost of living is to be ascribed entirely, or even mainly, to increased taxation: it is to be ascribed mainly to the exportation of our farm produce and the new facilities of distribution which are equalizing prices all over the civilized world, greatly to the inconvenience of fixed incomes in this country; but the increase of taxation plays its part. Some of our manufacturers are making money fast. Wisdom surely bids them be content. To base their prosperity on a Protective system would be to build their house upon the sand. If Free Trade should prevail in the United States, Canadian Protection would at once fall.

The ultimate result of this controversy, unless the economical forces lose their power, may be pretty certainly foretold. That free access to the great markets of this Continent, with full partnership in the circulation of its capital and in its commercial life, would greatly add to the wealth of the people of Canada, no one can seriously doubt. Distant markets in Australia or Brazil, to open which spasmodic efforts have been made, will never indemnify us for exclusion from those which are close at hand. But the commercial interests of the people at large are overridden by those of a political class which has a special interest in the present system, and fancies that commercial union would bring

political union in its train, though, curiously enough, some of these very men have done their best to weaken, by partial Reciprocity, the bulwark the removal of which by complete Reciprocity they cannot contemplate without transports of alarm. This may go on for some time, because the political class holds the power, controls the initiative, and commands the most powerful organs of opinion, while its position is strengthened by the lingering memory of an ancient feud between the two portions of the English-speaking race; but it will not go on forever; and if the commercial barrier, instead of being seasonably removed, is allowed to stand till it is burst by discontent, control over the political situation also may, in the course of the struggle, be lost.

—For the present, criticism of the fiscal policy and of the conduct of Government generally is almost suspended by “the Boom”: the name, suggestive of unreasoning excitement, answers too well to the thing. The general revival of trade in which Canada has shared, the good harvests coming simultaneously with bad harvests in England, the opening of a new and lucrative market in the North-West, constitute a genuine increase of the wealth of the country. They form a sound basis, as far as they go, for a development of commerce on the same scale. But on this limited foundation an Aladdin’s palace of speculation has suddenly soared to the skies. Within three years, as the Toronto *Monetary Times* in a warning article has shown us, the Banks have added to their store of gold and silver half a million; they have added to their indebtedness fifty-one millions and a half, including their bills, which Greenbackers call money, but which the rest of us call promissory notes. What is there to sustain all this? Nothing, apparently, but the resources, which fancy paints as boundless, of a visionary future. We are the dupes of our own rhetoric. Canada, apart from the North-West, is an agricultural country, almost all the good land of which has been already taken up, while, as the Agricultural Report for Ontario showed, some has been partly worked out. That is the fund; and the income at any time is to be measured by the harvest here, taken together with the price of grain in England. This is enough for well-being;

but it is not a basis upon which a vast edifice of speculative commerce and banking can be permanently reared.

It would have been strange indeed if Inflation had not in some degree affected the integrity of our commercial institutions. Two of the Toronto Banks have been the subjects of public criticism. In one case large sums had been advanced to Directors, with perfect safety no doubt in the particular instances, yet in contravention of a general principle, the value of which was fatally proved by the catastrophe of the Bank of Glasgow; in the other case there appears to have been machinery for doing indirectly that which could not be directly done. The thanks of the community are due to journals which have watched closely for us interests so vital. Of gambling in stocks there has been a wild burst, by no means confined, it is to be feared, to professional speculators. The passionate desire of making money without work, whether at the card table, in the betting ring, or on the Stock Exchange, is always strong, always makes those who yield to it rogues, and very often makes them fools, as the history of South Sea Bubbles and Colonization Companies shows.

It is assumed that the growth of cities, notably of Toronto, is a proof of increasing prosperity, and of the soundness of our fiscal policy. To some extent it undoubtedly is, but perhaps not to the full extent supposed. Whether the cause be popular education or mere love of society and pleasure, there is everywhere a set of population from the country into the cities. Alarm has been excited by this tendency in the United States, where they apprehend the desertion of the farms. Enthusiastic advocates of peasant proprietorship should note the fact, which indicates that the taste of the people is becoming opposed, rather than favourable, to their scheme. As economy also is unquestionably on the side of large farms, it would not be strange if the next generation should see a decided movement in that direction, and a great growth of city life, fed by scientific agriculture carrying on cultivation upon a large scale.

—Manitoba disallows Disallowance. This was sure to come as soon as she began to grow, and to feel the sap of life in her veins.

It has come even sooner than might have been expected, and perhaps before there is force enough in the youthful Province to assert its freedom against the power of the Ottawa Government. The local leader of the Government party, however, seems to feel that for the present it is useless to contend against the storm, and that his only course is to put himself before the wind. The heads of the Syndicate are men of sense as well as honour; they cannot fail to see that enactments restraining the free development of a new country, by whatever authority framed, can never be enrolled in the statute book of nature. The Pope's grant of Monopoly Clauses to Spain after the discovery of the New World was very likely legal, as the public law of Europe then stood, but was treated by enterprise as null. That the Province would permanently allow its commercial interests to be sacrificed to those of a line laid out with a political object, could not seriously be supposed. On the other hand, the public faith must be kept; the contract has been solemnly made; and if the Company gives up its restrictions in compliance with the protest of Manitoba it will have a right to a full indemnity at the hands of the Dominion. More money Canada will hardly be induced to give. From first to last she has already paid, or bound herself to pay in different ways, some sixty millions besides land grants. Her people must begin to see that great as is the acquisition of this new country to the world at large, the gain is not likely to be great to them. For the present she has the command of the North-Western market; but as soon as the fiscal restrictions are severely felt, the Province will rebel against them as it has rebelled against those of the Railway Charter, and insist on buying what it pleases in the most convenient markets, wherever those markets may be. In the meantime, Ontario loses her best farmers and the value of her farms is reduced. It is scarcely possible to touch the political question without setting passion in a flame. But does any one seriously believe that a great country like the North-West will remain under the political dominion of a small country like Canada, from which it is separated by an inland sea, or by a wilderness which, even when a road is made through it, will be as estranging as any sea? At present the bulk of the population are

Canadians, and Canadian Parties have been imported, though they have, as it were, gone through in bond, and some of the goods consigned to the Grits appear to have been delivered to the Tories. But Americans and people from other countries are coming in, and the motley multitude will care little for Ottawa or for the authority of its party chiefs. The distance is too great for administration, while unfortunately it is not too great for intrigue and jobbery. The Land Regulations, though conceived in no illiberal spirit, have done some mischief and driven away some settlers because they have been tinkered by the officials of a remote Capital. By one edict, we are told, all Southern Manitoba was, in effect, suddenly withdrawn from settlement, and some hundreds of settlers were thereby sent over the Line. An appendage of Eastern Canada the North-West cannot long remain. Every one who thought at all must have seen from the beginning that if Canada bound herself by a political chain to this vast mass, instead of controlling it, she would in all likelihood be drawn by it in the direction in which it might itself gravitate, and which would probably be one little contemplated by the framers of our policy. Enough has already been paid for a dream. But Canada may ask the Company, if Manitoba cannot be otherwise appeased, to relax the monopoly clauses, while she on her part, relieves the Company of the obligation to build through the impracticable wilderness to the north of Lake Superior a road which can have no branches, no large passenger traffic, no trade along the line, nor be of real use to anybody but those who wish to be made knights. The Syndicate is a Land Company as well as a Railway Company, and will gain by everything that promotes settlement and prosperity.

The line taken by the Local Premier, who must be presumed to be acting in concert with the head of his party at Ottawa, seems to indicate that the Dominion Government is not inflexible, but will at least, before repeating its veto, hold itself open to negotiations. However that may be, and whatever may be the issue on the present occasion, the conflict between the laws of nature and those of an artificial policy can only have one end. Without the free construction of railways the development of the

country is impossible, and soon, if not at once, the fetters will surely be burst. As soon as the Grand Trunk, through its Western connections, or any other line demanded by commerce, comes in sight on the Southern frontier, where the boundary is merely conventional, a rail will be run out to it, and the attempt to cut off Manitoba economically from the region with which she is by nature identified, in deference to a political theory, will end as everybody who studies, not the balance of parties, but the action of the great forces, must from the outset have been sure that it would end.

Does not the whole of this history show how difficult it is even for the best and most liberal of Mother Countries to manage wisely the affairs of people three or four thousand miles off? Had Nature been allowed to take her own course, the North-West would have been settled quietly, and in a healthy way; the land would have gone to the settler, the price, which would have been measured by the expense of organization, to the State; the railroads would have been laid out on the lines which commerce required; there would have been no monopoly clauses or monopoly of any kind; no harpy organizations, under Ducal or any other auspices, to exact toll of the settler; no vexatious and shifting regulations; no picking out of the eyes of the country by an abuse of opportunities on the part of officials; no such spectacle as Members of Parliament scouring, the summer long, on buck-boards, plains which present little to interest either the legislator or the tourist; no shoal of landsharks blackmailing or driving back the settler; no setting out of a vast gambling table of speculation to taint with roguery the life of a young community at its source. Instead of this, the gates of Nature's bounty were long barred against mankind by the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company: then a colossal land grab was thrown suddenly into the hands of the politicians. The Pacific Railway Scandal was the first result, and it was followed in due course by all the rest, including the facts disclosed in the report of the recent Commission. We all thought that the terms of the Syndicate were high; but the country, with a groan, assented to the bargain, as the only mode of escape from a bottomless gulf of political

corruption. Two or three knighthoods are the sole fruit of the business, and form our only consolation.

The collapse of two hundred and eighty out of three hundred Colonization Companies, and the sickly condition of some of those which remain, may be taken as a welcome indication that the worst of the gambling fit is over. Still land-sharking goes on to the detriment of the honest settler. It is interesting to know the land shark's game, the more so as the knowledge throws light on some regulations of the Government which have been undeservedly taxed with injustice. The great shark, we are told, hires a number of half-breeds or other wanderers by the month, and sends them out to squat on promising town sites, and on spots where it is likely that the Pacific Railway will cross rivers. An Order in Council was passed, in the May of 1880, warning squatters on town sites that their claims would not thereafter be respected; but that Order seems not to be enforced with inflexible rigour. The small shark goes out himself and takes up his position on the best section or half-section that he can find; pitches his tent; makes a pretence of ploughing by scraping up a few yards of sod; and sits down to await his victim, the genuine settler whom he blackmails; then he goes on to another lot and repeats the operation. Not a few genuine settlers, we are assured, were driven back in the spring and summer of this year from the Qu'Appelle valley by disgust at these impositions. The great shark robs the Government, the small shark robs the settler: vigorous efforts are being made to extirpate the small shark: the great shark, like the great of every species, has his friends.

Other grievances the settlers have besides the buying up of lands and the want of railways to bring their crops to market. We are told they already wince under the Tariff, which adds the cost of transportation to the price of goods, taxes the canned eatables which are an important part of their dietary, and forces them to import much of their lumber from far distant mills in Canada, instead of buying it freely at those of St. Paul and Minneapolis. For want of lumber to build houses the settler has to pass the winter under canvas; for want of lumber to build

barns he has to stack his wheat in the field ; and by the addition to the expense of building, house rent is raised against him. This cannot last ; no power of the Ottawa Government will long be able, in a perfectly open frontier, to keep up a Customs barrier between the North-West and its natural markets. On the other hand, it does not appear that the Syndicate, apart from the jealousy sure to be excited by overweening power, has done anything to provoke the resentment of the people. It has gone about its work in thorough earnest and with extraordinary energy ; its workmen must have been great purchasers of food, and it has kept entirely clear of politics. The rates, which are the chief ground of complaint, are, in the opinion of competent and impartial judges, not excessive, considering the absence of return freights, and the paucity of centres of distribution, which makes the distances over which goods have to be carried great and the charges inevitably high. It is true, that the existence of any commercial company, with powers so great, is itself an evil : for this the members of the Syndicate are not responsible : they merely took what, had they not presented themselves, others would have taken, and they have done their work in a way entirely creditable to themselves and to the country. With them there is no ground of quarrel ; the ground of quarrel is with the legislative restrictions alone.

Amidst these disturbing influences, which after all are partial and temporary, the North-West is working out the great problem of its destiny, the elements of which are on one side a boundless expanse of the best wheat land in the world ; on the other, a very cold, though dry and healthy climate, the difficulty of keeping stock, the danger of late and early frosts, and the scarcity of fuel, with some minor drawbacks such as the alkaline character of the water, and the contingency of grasshoppers, which, however, does not seem to be much feared. The question of fuel is the most serious of all : on November 3rd, a snow storm having set in, coal was \$15 per ton in the yard, and \$16 50 including delivery. If good coal has been found in the Territory, as some geologists aver, it has not yet been brought to market. On the whole it may safely be said that the balance between the grounds

for hope and the grounds for fear inclines decidedly to the favourable side. Winnipeg, if it is to remain the chief centre of this vast grain region, stands no bad chance of becoming a Northern Chicago. Already she illustrates by her improvements that union of all the appliances of civilized invention with the virgin fertility of the wilderness which has been reserved for the railway age, and her Press shows that her intellectual development is not likely to lag behind her material prosperity. Nearly fifty thousand immigrants went into the North-West last year. The prospect in the main is unquestionably fair: this seems to be the real fact, to go beyond which is worse than useless. Mere mischief is done by word-painters, with their overcoloured delineations. If the settler is told beforehand that he is going to a land of perfect happiness, where there is no difficulty to be encountered, he is sure to be disappointed, and his disappointment will find a voice. Even the British rustic has sense enough to trust the genuine utterance of a single man of his own class more than the rodomontades of any number of touters. In a speech appended to our "Annual Register," the Governor-General draws what may be called an after-dinner picture of the North-West, pouring scorn on the spiritless and skulking few who have turned away unsuccessful from a land which, according to His Excellency, presents not a single disadvantage, being covered with a network of wood, containing plenty of coal, having by nature admirable drainage, with perfectly wholesome water, and combining all the accommodation which a good settler can desire, with a rate of wages for builders equal to the pay of a colonel in the British army. The unhappy objects of His Excellency's denunciation, if they dared to lift their eyes to angry Jove, might plead that the hardships bravely borne by the denizens of the drawing-room at Rideau, or even by a tourist of quality travelling over the summer prairie in a Railway President's Palace Car, were an imperfect measure of those encountered by a poor settler with his family under canvas in a bracing and invigorating temperature of forty below zero.

Of the immigration, the bulk, as from the first seemed probable, is Canadian or American, much the larger portion, so far,

being Canadian. From these quarters were sure to come the best pioneers. The young British farmer may also do well; the middle-aged farmer, fixed in his Conservatism, is likely to find himself more suitably placed on a farm in Ontario, where he has everything prepared to his hand, the roads made, and the mechanic always near. British, German, and Scandinavian peasants or farm-labourers are excellent, if you can get them. But in England they have now hardly any good farm hands to spare, though there is a refuse of which they are willing to be rid: the Germans follow in the track of their kinsmen to the United States, and the Scandinavians are few. Of destitute Irish, thousands seem to be offered: but these hapless people are not farmers; they would come utterly unprovided, and would hardly be able to face the hardships of the climate. As navvies on the railroads they might do well, and they might afterwards take to the farm, though such is not their tendency on this Continent, however keen their land hunger may be in their native country. The Canadian Commissioner in England has sent out a consignment of Russian Jews. He must have been moved more by compassion than by expediency, for he had before him the Consular Reports, plainly telling him what the habits of these unfortunates were, and what was to be expected of them in any land which might receive them as colonists. Everywhere they refuse to work, and prefer to feed upon the workers. They have sucked the blood of the peasantry in Russia, in Germany, in Poland, in the Danubian Principalities; and the Anti-Jewish movement in those countries, with its deplorable excesses, is the inevitable result. There is in that movement, as all who have carefully examined it now admit, hardly a particle of religious intolerance: it is simply the uprising of the maddened people against insufferable extortion. No man is more free from the tendency to religious persecution, or, in spite of his coarseness and ignorance, has a kinder heart, than the Russian peasant. Unfortunately, Jews of the worst class do not confine their operations to usury; they corrupt that they may afterwards devour. In the United States the result of the experiment has been precisely the same that it has been in Manitoba. The Commissioner had better hold his hand,

unless he wishes to import the worst of moral and commercial plagues into the country.*

* "It might not be devoid of interest to mention the views expressed to me on the subject of the Jewish disturbances during last year by a Lutheran clergyman, who has for many years resided in the Provinces of Volhynia and Kieff, and whose district contains sixteen colonies, or about 3,000 persons. 'My experience of the Jews,' said the clergyman, 'extends over a period of many years, and, without entering into the subject of their relations with the indigenous Russian population, I have always found that they are highly prejudicial to the welfare and interests of the colonists. I can cite instances of colonies which were happy and prosperous a few years ago, and which are now quite the reverse, and this change I attribute to the Jews. They resort to all manner of devices to obtain the right of residence in a colony, and when once they have succeeded in their object, you will find that nearly all members of the colony are in debt to the Jew, and gradually get so tightly involved in his meshes that they give up all idea of ever getting free. Small loans, artfully pressed at first, gradually mount to considerable sums, the payment of which is generously deferred, in consideration of which the debtor is made to agree to easy bargains in the sale of crops and produce of all kinds, besides tilling the ground, and performing other services for his creditor, whose position daily becomes more powerful, and the man himself more overbearing and exacting. If the victims, driven to desperation, attempt to free themselves, the screw is put on, not on the offender alone, but on others, which process generally results in victory for the Jew. Moreover,' continued my companion, 'the Jews are notorious horse-stealers, and the depredations committed by them, in the Province of Volhynia especially, would seem incredible to a person unacquainted with the facts. There have been several cases of lynching Jewish horse-stealers by the colonists within the last year or two, and the number of offences has much decreased in consequence. If,' concluded the clergyman, 'the Jews prove more than a match for my poor colonists, whose enemies will not refuse to give them credit for industry and temperance, what must be the condition of the Russian peasant, idle, intemperate, and weak in character? The Jews' two great factors in dealing with the Russian peasant are *vodka* (native gin) and a few roubles at a pinch, and with these powers he enslaves and uses him for his own ends. Look at all the large properties in this province belonging to influential and hereditary Russian noblemen. They are, with few exceptions, rented out to Jews, because the proprietors find that they pay higher rents than the Russian tenants. But why are they able to pay higher rents? Firstly, because their system is to draw as much profit out of the estate as possible within a certain space of time without regard to its future impoverishment; and secondly, because they make the Russian peasant work for them almost for nothing. He tills their ground, and carts their produce and material, all in payment of interest on loans generally contracted in a state of intoxication, and for the purpose of obtaining more liquor. This is all very deplorable; but, whatever may be the faults of the Jews—and I confess they are not few—they cannot be remedied by violence and plunder such as occurred in this city, and no Christian man can for a moment justify such outrages. The real source of the evil lies in the mental and moral condition of the masses, and it is there where the remedy must be applied.' Such are the views expressed by a person who enjoys the respect and confidence of both the Christian and Jewish communities of the place where he resides."—*Russian Correspondent of the London Daily News.*

The Emigration question is one which interests not only Manitoba but the whole Dominion. Ontario, there is reason to believe, has employment for a large number of good farm labourers, if England could only spare them, which, as has just been said, is more than doubtful. But there is no employment and there are no means of subsistence here for castaways taken from the purlieus of the cities, or for any of those of whom the parish in England usually wishes to get rid. In old Canada there is, so far as can be ascertained, no demand at present for additional mechanics in any of the trades, and the Canadian artisan, though he has not a right to exclude from the labour market any who come there of their own accord, may fairly protest, as the members of the legal or medical profession would protest, against an artificial importation which deprives him of the fruits of his thrift and prevents him from improving his condition.

—It is a very small matter, yet we cannot help repeating the wish that some taste may be shown by those who name the places in the North-West. Why brand the new born with vulgarity? Indian names are often musical; old English names are pleasant; pleasant too are names pregnant with historical associations, whether political or religious, such as the Puritan names of New England. Names taken from local features are good, and good in their way are names such as Hope and Enterprise which speak of the pioneer. If the first settler wishes to give his own name to the place let him affix an English termination such as *ham*, *by*, *ton*, *borough*, *bury*, and eschew *ville*, unless he wishes to embalm his memory as that of a snob for ever. Classical names are utterly detestable: a district in the State of New York has been peppered with them by an admirer of the ancient republics, who apparently did not know that Cicero and Tully were the same man. “Regina” might just as well have been Queensborough, unless the object was to veil loyalty under the decent obscurity of a learned language. There is not much to be done in that line of propagandism. Society, as it goes west, always becomes more thoroughly democratic; and in the land of which Regina is to be the capital, to dissipate sentimental illusions, the aristocratic Land-grabber and Guinea-pig have appeared.

—In Ontario an election approaches. The Opposition is very weak in men, and Provincial jealousy has been somewhat awakened against it by the too imperious language held at the late Conservative convention, as well as by the conduct of the Dominion Government in the matter of the disputed Boundary. The result, therefore, will most likely be what the bye-elections already indicate: the Government will win and the yoke of a dominant connection will be fastened more tightly than ever on the neck of municipal independence. To arraign particular men in this question of Provincial government would not be just: a bad system is bringing forth its fruit. Even those who deem that in national politics Party is desirable or inevitable, will admit that it is an absurdity in Provincial affairs. So far as the business of Ontario is concerned, Mr. Mowat is no more a Liberal than Mr. Meredith, Mr. Meredith is no more a Conservative than Mr. Mowat; if they are party men it is in connection with the Dominion parties in the conflicts of which the Administration of the Province is thus to its great detriment involved. In Ontario it is simply a competition for office between two sets of men. Yet we have all the evils of party government, the sacrifice of conviction to discipline, and the corporate defence of individual maladministration by colleagues in the Cabinet and partisans in the House. An attempt to inquire into the state of any department, however well supported by reasons, would be voted down at once by the majority at the beck of the Government. The representation also suffers: it is taken out of the hands of the people by the Machines, and good local men, who might serve the Province well, are excluded because they are not slaves. In the absence of principle, patronage becomes the party bond; it acquires unmeasured influence and is exercised with a narrow regard for the interest of the holders of power, which is scarcely possible where there is a real division of principle and opinion is the title to preferment. Soon even literary and educational appointments, over which the Government directly or through its partisans has control, will be confined to the following of the Premier. Everything that can be a source of influence is grasped, and while the eyes of the people are following the finger of the Attorney General, pointed in a transport of indig-

nant eloquence to the North-West Boundary, danger threatens self-government nearer home. The system calls for the aid of squadron of subordinate wirepullers and intriguers, who appear and must be fed ; nor can the Minister be much blamed for satisfying demands which it would be an effort of heroism to resist. We are going over old ground here, but the need for the discussion remains the same.

—Patronage and the personal power of those in whose hands it is have practically received a great addition through the License Act. It is pleaded that more Conservatives than Reformers have been licensed. A large majority of the applicants was pretty sure to come at first from the Conservative party, to which the publicans have belonged, because it treated them with less severity than its rival. But have these Conservatives, after receiving their licenses, remained Conservatives and acted in politics with the same freedom as before ? That is the practical question. To reward supporters is the ordinary use of patronage ; but it serves its purpose just as well if it puts an opponent under the screw. Moral crusades in the cause of temperance, as well as in other causes, have done so much good that even in their errors they command our respect ; yet it cannot be denied that they are apt to make the crusader reckless of considerations and even of principles which stand between him and the reform on which he is bent. A man must have been carried by his enthusiasm beyond the reach of argument if he cannot see the political objections to putting a great and influential trade into the hands of a party government. Nor is this the right road to the Prohibitionist's object, if his object is the extinction of the trade : nothing, not even a fallacy or a fee, is more tenacious of life than a fund of patronage in the hands of party.

—Another pillar of the connection stronger than the License Law and fully as objectionable is the Catholic vote, the relation of the Government with which may now be said to be manifest and almost avowed. The Province which is dragooned does not suffer

more, nor has it more reason for protesting against the intrigue, than the Church which is degraded. Whether it is the Catholic Church or the Methodist matters not; we give all churches their rights, and treat them with due respect; we do not want to be governed underhand by any of them. The Catholics enjoy full citizenship; let them learn to be citizens and to vote, not to conspire. What is too plain is that the Province is now in their hands, or rather in the hands of the ecclesiastics, by whom they are brought to the polls. Under the elective system, and where the texture of political society generally is loose, everything compactly organized has a power out of proportion to its numbers, and, to the fancy of the politicians, looks even more powerful than it is. A decisive argument against party is that it gives selfish combination a fatal advantage over the patriotism which eschews conspiracy. Hence the two parties in this country are always desperately bidding against each other for the Catholic vote. They were bidding for it when, in emulous self-abasement, they both of them supported the Costigan Resolutions, and they are bidding for it in the ridiculous controversy about the use of *Marmion* as a school-book. To feel the foot of its ecclesiastical manager upon their necks would seem to be the highest happiness to which either of these sets of Britons can aspire. Orangeism itself has bent the knee and through its representative embraced upon the platform Popery slightly scented with Fenianism, vowing that there should be a fair and brotherly division of the spoil. The community at all events understands the game. A spiritual manifesto published by a pair of Opposition Catholics against clerical intervention in politics, though penned with a skill totally fatal to its authenticity, is either treated with indifference or met with derisive allusions to the political connection of the distinguished signatories with the *Bleus*; and the counter-manifesto of Government Catholics, albeit the number of signatures is doubled, and increased unction thrown into the style, meets with no more respectful treatment.

—It was in the scuffle for the Catholic vote that Walter Scott, of all characters in the world, was sucked into the mill-race of Party

and revolved for some weeks upon the wheel, piteously dripping with the muddy stream. The noise of the controversy reached England and filled that discerning public with exalted ideas of our moral fastidiousness and the ardent interest taken by us in literary questions. To any one not in quest of Catholic votes, it is needless to say, that the morality of the glorious Scotchman is as pure as the burn that runs down a heathery hill-side. He was too perfect a gentleman to touch anything unclean. A churchman who finds licentiousness in *Marmion*, must himself, to use Johnson's expression, be highly combustible. On the subject of duelling, Scott thought like other men of honour in those days; this is his only weak point. Otherwise, he gives us ground for thankfulness, that in him, as in its other great Masters, British fiction is pure. Evil betide man or woman who sullies its purity! There are criminal characters in Scott's Tales, as there are in the Bible, but, as in the Bible, they meet their doom: Constance, *Marmion*, and the King of Scots all suffer for their sins. That the walling-up scene, and some other passages in *Marmion*, are offensive to Roman Catholics is perfectly true, and had this ground been frankly taken when the book was withdrawn, there would have been no more to be said. Unluckily, the false ground of immorality was taken, in order to hide the wires, when the wirepuller, not content to possess the substance without the form of power, suddenly thrust from behind the curtain his Most Reverend head. To insinuate that Scott was driven by his straightened circumstances to pander to Protestant prejudices, is the most preposterous injustice: he was not in straightened circumstances when *Marmion* was written. Nor had he any prejudices of his own: not being at all ascetic or ritualistic, he felt no special sympathy with the religion of the Middle Ages, which he treated simply as a part of the antiquities, and in a conventional, sometimes in a jocular, style. But by bringing the Middle Ages generally into fashion, he practically gave an impulse to the Neo-Catholic movement, and in Catholics to traduce him is ingratitude.

—Will the people ever see that this game of party government for a Province is being played at their expense, and that its cost

is not money only, but a sacrifice of Provincial interests? What does Ontario want with these sham parties? What does she want with a party cabinet which is nothing but a clique, with a Party policy which can be nothing but patronage, with a waste, in Debates or on Party Addresses, of time which ought to be devoted to practical affairs? What does she want with the phantom of a Constitutional Monarchy and Speeches from the Throne read by a functionary in Court Dress who to-day condemns at the bidding of his Provincial Advisers that which yesterday he was supporting as a member of the Dominion Parliament? A really local assembly such as might be formed by delegations from our Municipalities, doing the Provincial business in a practical way, and electing such executive officers as are needed, is what Provincial administration really requires. The abilities of Mr. Mowat and his colleagues would be just as much at our service under that system as under the present. It would be chimerical to expect the change till the evils of the present system have been more severely felt; but if it could be made, not only should we benefit ourselves, we should set an example of a rational and practical government without any necessity for strife or jobbery, which might in time be followed in other Provinces and perhaps in other countries.

—In the course of the Scott controversy reference was made to Collier's *History of England*, which had been revised by the Council of Public Instruction to clear it of language offensive to the feelings of Catholics. That revision was effected quite quietly and without a bitter word. Such is the difference between a political and a non-political Department of Education. The thoughts of the community are being directed to this subject. People begin to see that we can no more afford to have education turned into a political cockpit than we could afford to have commerce treated in the same way. The Council of Public Instruction had defects, but they were not irremediable, nor were they the cause of its fall. It was overturned by the wrath of the Chief Superintendent, because, in the performance of its duty to its constituents, it limited his autocracy, revised his text-books, some of which were

in dire need of revision, and inquired into the management of his wasteful, or worse than wasteful, Book Depository. As he was supposed to wield the Methodist vote, the Government bowed to his displeasure, and in its haste to gratify him forgot even the usual courtesies of public life. At the pass to which things had then come, a change of some kind was inevitable, and a Ministry of Education was an experiment which there seemed to be good reasons for trying. It has been fairly tried. The Minister appointed was the member of the Government best qualified by his intellectual acquirements for the post, and there can be no doubt that he has devoted himself conscientiously to its duties. But the result is decisive: Education is rapidly becoming the football of party, and the state of the Department is such as to excite grave misgivings in the minds of men well qualified to judge. Many voices are heard in favour of a reorganization of the Council, for the purpose of general regulation, such as determining the subjects of instruction and examination, selecting text-books, and fixing the qualifications for certificates. For administrative purposes a Chief Superintendent would, of course, be required as before. The mode of his appointment might be so arranged as to secure to him the confidence both of the Legislature and the Council of Public Instruction; and if the Chairman of the Council were named by the Government he might form a useful channel of communication between the two bodies. Let the Opposition take up this matter in earnest and they will not be without support. Nor is the question confined to the Public Schools. The friends of the University also are beginning to desire its emancipation from political influence, which has already bred trouble, and which, if exercised in a narrow spirit, might estrange half the community from an institution which ought to be the common pride of all.

—In the ensuing Session of the Dominion Parliament, Disallowance is likely to be the main question between the parties. It is one on which the Opposition might be expected to rally in force, if only the leaders knew their own minds more thoroughly, and were better prepared to take the bull of Anti-Continental policy by the horns. But the weakness betrayed in their speeches against the Contract

will probably reappear in their treatment of Disallowance. As a bombardment of the National Policy is for the present hopeless, at least from the quarter in which the Opposition batteries are placed, the only other question of importance is likely to be that relating to the Senate: even with this it can hardly be expected that much way will be made, for the country is just now in a commercial rather than in a political mood. Argument on this subject is exhausted. If the politicians who imposed a Constitution on the Canadian people had taken to themselves, in their own names, the nomination of a branch of the Legislature, everybody would have stood aghast at their assurance; but when they took it in the name of the Crown, though all the world knows that the Crown is a constitutional figment, nobody cried out; so completely are we fooled by phrases. That nomination by the Prime Minister is an indirect mode of election by the nation cannot possibly be maintained in the face of some recent appointments; but even if it could, an irresponsible tenure for life is against all reason and all principle. Belief in a superior order of legislators lifted above Party, caring for subjects for which Party does not care, and moderating the rash impulses of the popular House, must long ago have departed from the most confiding breast. The Senate is a bribery fund in the hands of the Government, and a paddock for the "Old Wheel Horse" of the party, nor, on its present footing, will it ever be anything else: the nominations grow worse instead of better. A Minister cannot help himself: the goods, in the shape of party services and expenditure on elections, have been delivered, and he is compelled to pay. It is alleged that the Senate must be preserved as the Federal element of our Constitution. On what occasion has its specially Federal character appeared? It is nominated by the head of a Dominion party. The American Senate is far more Federal in its composition, inasmuch as all the States, great or small, have the same number of members, and the election is vested, not in a Central authority, but in the State Legislatures. Yet the American Senate is so controlled by the Central Parties, that it can hardly be said ever to have acted in a peculiarly Federal way. A revision of our Constitution, which, as an experiment, has by this time had or will

soon have had a fair trial, would be far preferable to dealing with the Senate by itself: but here again Party comes in; such a process, if attempted, would speedily become a fierce and fruitless strife.

—The birth of a National Liberal Association in Toronto has a little alarmed the regular politicians who abhor the thought of a third party, being amid all their dissensions steadfast in the common faith that the loaf is not more than enough for two. Not a third party, but a union of good citizens in an effort to put the nation above all parties is, from the BYSTANDER'S point of view, the thing to be desired. But if we are to have the system at all, there is, at this juncture, not only room but a manifest necessity for a third party in Ontario. Both the existing Machines are, as we plainly see, in bondage to the Catholic vote: one Machine is in bondage to the Irish Catholic vote in this Province, the other Machine, through its connection with Dominion Conservatism, is in bondage to the French Catholic vote of Quebec. Unless some delivering power appears, sectarian domination seems likely to be the doom of Ontario, and, be the sect which it may, Catholic or Protestant, sectarian domination is a thing which we are all bound to resist, alike in the interest of the State and of religion. The machines are strong, fearfully strong, yet there is so much feeling on the subject that a struggle for emancipation would hardly be hopeless if once a standard were set up. The programme of the National Liberal Association is too theoretical in its character and too complex to make that broad impression on the minds of the people which is essential to the success of a new movement; not to mention that some of the articles, such as that favouring an Imperial Zollverein, by no means commend themselves at once even to those to whom it may be presumed that the framers specially appeal. If Mr. McMurrich and his friends could organize something strictly Provincial, with a view of giving Ontario a government which should not be the donkey-engine of an Ottawa party, and at the same time of setting us free from sectarian and anti-social influence, they would certainly do us a service, and they might look for a fair measure of support.

Whenever a third party is mentioned, the Machinists seize the opportunity of trampling, as they think, on the ashes of "Canada First." That certain politicians took "Canada First" for a party, or something that was going to furnish materials for a party flirted with it in that belief, and jilted it when they found out their mistake, is true; and there were some interesting revelations of character on that occasion. But the sincere promoters of the movement, it is believed, had no such thoughts. They never sought that which professional politicians always seek; that which professional politicians do not always seek, they sought. Their object was to advance a principle and to cultivate a sentiment: nor did they in reality fail, either "ignominiously," or, as it is possible to fail, with honour. Both the principle and the sentiment have been constantly gaining ground, and receiving the involuntary homage of their professed enemies. What are our National Policy and Commercial Autonomy but tributes to "Canada First"? "We will govern our own country. We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to misgovern ourselves, we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland, or Scotland to tell us we are fools. We will say, if we are fools, we will keep our folly to ourselves. You will not be the worse for it, and we will not be the worse for any folly of yours." Such is now the language of a Conservative Prime Minister. Not many years ago he would have been accused of seeking the dismemberment of the Empire, and perhaps, by the more hysterical Imperialists, of wanting to bring about a civil war. When "Canada First" came into existence, the very utterance of the name Canadian nation was denounced as treason. Who denounces it as treason now?

—Co-operation, which has paid us a visit in the person of its great promoter and historian, Mr. Holyoake, is a name of terror to the retail tradesman. Distributive Co-operation we mean, or in plain English, Co-operative stores, not Co-operative works, which appear to have decisively failed in England, though in France the greater sociability of the artisans and their readier submission to discipline seem to have achieved a certain measure of success. There

can be no obstacle to the success of the Stores, provided their officers are thoroughly trustworthy, and can be relied on to exercise the same care in making the purchases on behalf of the Association which is exercised on his own account by the retail tradesman. In England the stores are doing an enormous business, which is increasing every day. The best and soundest part of the system however is ready money payment, the staff of independence, comfort, and self-respect to the working man; and this may be adopted by any ordinary store. Long credits, as everybody says, are the bane of Canadian commerce; they extend in a fatal chain from the purchaser here through the retail merchant up to the producer in England; and they are apt to entail not only high prices but the necessity of putting up with inferior goods. Let our merchants generally introduce the sounder system, if they can, and adhere to it strictly, so that those who pay may feel sure that they are not making good the default of those who do not; and Co-operation will soon lose its terrors.

—Interest in the question of Education is being shown in many ways. Here, as elsewhere, contending parties feel that they will have society greatly under their influence if they can clap a padlock on the minds of the young. An important deputation of the Churches urges the Attorney-General of Ontario to make religious instruction obligatory in all the schools. It is not difficult to sympathise with those who wish the child to be trained up not only in knowledge and intelligence, but in the love of good, the hatred of evil, and the fear of God. But the difficulties which stand in the way of a universal and compulsory system hardly need re-statement. In the divided state of Christendom, and with a growing body of citizens who object to religious teaching altogether, perpetual conflicts, perpetual agitation, would ensue; the power of the State would be constantly called into action against what would present itself as freedom of opinion, and the practical consequence to religion is not doubtful. After all, too great a value may easily be set on religious teaching in the form of a task; so every one who has been compelled to attend divinity lectures at College will say. Let us be content,

then, with local discretion, guarded by a proper conscience clause, and let the Church, the Sunday-school, and, above all, the home, do their proper work. The "Cotter's Saturday Night" is worth all the compulsory clauses in the world. The London *Advertiser* suggests that a manual of the great moral truths might be framed and used as a school-book. It might be framed by a neutral authority commanding the general confidence of the Province; but if the task were undertaken by the Education Office of a Party Government, we see what the result would be. The adoption of a law making religion a part of the programme would shut out for ever the hope of giving unity to our system by the abolition of Separate Schools. Otherwise, that object may be kept in view. To perfect securities for the conscience of their children the Catholics, in common with other citizens, have a right; these there might have been a reasonable doubt of their enjoying at the time when the Separate Schools were conceded, and when the memory of persecution was still fresh; there can be no reasonable doubt now; and it is not the duty of the State to provide special institutions for the purpose of keeping a portion of its citizens under the social and political control of the priesthood of a particular Church.

—Once more the zealous Collector of Customs at Toronto is in trouble about his censorship of books. The law enjoins him to exclude indecency, but it does not enjoin him to exclude heterodoxy, and with heterodoxy all sensible men will unite in imploring him, if he cares for religion, not to meddle. Even in the case of indecency, there is great difficulty in drawing the line between obscene writers and classical writers tainted with obscenity, such as Swift, Fielding, Smollett, Balzac, Cervantes, and the whole train of Elizabethan dramatists, not excepting Shakespeare: still in this case the ground of the restriction is firm, and the vendors of pruriency are such reptiles that the community may put its heel upon them without compunction. But censorship of opinion, however extreme and repugnant to general convictions the opinion against which it is directed may be, is as much a thing of the past as the thumbscrew or the stake. Any

attempt to exercise it does mere and unmixed mischief to the cause which it is intended to serve. Paine's *Age of Reason*, which is the present subject of contention, is an ignorant and shallow, as well as coarse and violent book, the practical answer to which is, that the Christianity which Paine saw and assailed—that of the corrupt, indolent, and intolerant Establishments of England and France—was a depravation of the religion of Christ, not less hateful to His true followers as than to Paine himself; while Paine's invective, being at least sincere, is less deeply offensive to Christian earnestness than the advocacy of political religionists, such as Burke, who uphold the Christian Church as an engine of State and its clergy as a black police.

— If Ontario is not yet ready for a change in her political institutions, perhaps Quebec is: no honest man in Quebec at least can desire that things should remain as they are. The desperate state of the finances is not the worst feature of the situation, though it is leading the politicians to lay their hands upon the Commercial Companies, the consequence of which will be a flight of capital from the Province. It is impossible at a distance to sift to the bottom the charges of public theft, jobbery, and corruption brought against Mr. Chapleau by the author of *Le Pays, Le Parti, et Le Grand Homme*, or to investigate the galaxy of scandals which seem to be ever gathering round the central figure of M. Senecal. This much is certain, Party in that Province has degenerated into the vilest faction: public life has become a cesspool of intrigue, and government will soon be a domination of scoundrels. With Quebec, at all events, reform is a matter which admits of no delay.

— Long possession of power corrupts every political party. After twenty years of ascendancy the Republican Party in the United States had degenerated into a Machine worked by the hands of jobbers who subsisted on the memories of the Civil War. The indignation of the people was rising against it and threatened it with overthrow. Its better members, with the Editor of

Harper's Weekly in their van, made a gallant effort to restore its character and save it from its impending doom. They triumphed, after a desperate conflict with the corrupt wing, in the nomination and afterwards in the election of General Garfield, though to carry the election against the Democrats, they had to make terms with evil and concede the Vice Presidency to Mr. Arthur. In a dark hour for the country Garfield fell, and power once more passed into the hands of the corrupt wing, which soon began to creep back into its old paths. Popular indignation rose again, and Pennsylvania became the scene of a distinct revolt against the local Boss and the Machine of which he was the manager. To read the moral signs of the times is not given to Bosses; and the men about Mr. Arthur remained firm in the belief that a more corrupt use of patronage, more strenuous jobbery, more tyrannical enforcement of party discipline were all that was needed to fortify their position and dispel the storm. But in truth had they been assured that they might keep power if they would resign corruption, the answer of their hearts would have been, that to resign corruption was to give up the only thing which made power worth keeping. The result has been a national insurrection at the polls, by which the Republican party has been overthrown. Such seems to be the true account of the sudden revolution which has taken place in the politics of the United States.

This is not a victory of the Democrats, it is a defeat of the Machine, and as a defeat of the Machine it is a triumph of public morality. It does not surely portend the election of a Democratic President. Yet it puts the Legislature into the hands of the Democratic party. What use will that party make of its power? Hitherto it has reigned only to show that of all political combinations the most pestilent is an oligarchy of wealth in alliance with a mob. Will it now reform? There are in it men, such as Mr. Bayard, at whose hands reform might be expected. But combined with these men, and exercising a formidable, if not an overweening, influence are the very worst political elements in the United States. When Tammany begins to purify politics, we may expect to see the Prince of Darkness beginning to purify his own realm. That there will be an attempt to tamper in any serious

respect with the settlement of the Slavery question or any of the other results of the Civil War is most unlikely. The spirit of the Nation would at once be aroused to arms; the utmost that need be feared in that line is an ostentatious display in Congressional appointments, and on every available occasion, of sympathy with Ex-Confederates which may wound loyal feeling but can do no substantial harm. Any recognition of the Confederate debt is utterly out of the question. Nor is there much reason to apprehend a revival of the Southern doctrine of State Right, or an attack upon the unity of the nation. Each party is centralizing when it is in power, and Jackson, the father of Democracy, threatened to hang Nullifiers for treason. The thing most to be feared, perhaps, is a reduction of the army, to which the Democrats cherish a mob antipathy, increased by the services of the soldiers in the civil war, while the force is already too small to guarantee the safety of American society against the anarchic tendencies of the foreign element, as the labour war a few years ago too plainly showed. The Executive will still be in the hands of a Republican President, who refused to re-call Mr. Lowell, otherwise we might expect the Irish to exert an influence over the foreign policy which would lead to embroilments with Great Britain, and once more break up the moral union now almost consummated between the two great portions of the Anglo Saxon race. The Democratic leaders however must know that they owe their victory to independent votes, and that if they pursue their old courses, the same votes will be cast against them at the Presidential election. In the meantime American institutions will be severely strained, as they were in the troublesome times of Andrew Johnson, by an antagonism between the Executive and the Legislature, which the framers of the Constitution failed to foresee, as they failed in fact to foresee anything which has its source in the influence of Party.

—Free Trade has not triumphed in its own name. Yet it has gained a practical victory, inasmuch as the national vote is a protest not only against Machines and Bosses but against the needless burden of taxation. To keep up the necessity for income is

obviously the game of all who have a selfish interest in a high tariff. This policy has been unmistakably condemned, and though there is in the Democratic party a body of Protectionists large enough to deter it from inscribing Free Trade on its banner, it will hardly refuse to obey the national demand for a reduction of taxation. Internal taxes may be perhaps the first reduced, but the turn of the import duties must come.

—Sudden interest seems to have been excited in American politics among the people of England by the utterances of a novelist combined with those of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Anything which can be turned against Mr. Chamberlain's caucus finds a ready hearing. On this side of the water "Democracy" had run its course when it began to enjoy a new life of popularity in England. It is sparkling and, for satire, true; yet hardly more important as a political study than the satires of Mr. Granville Murray Bosses and Lobbyists there are, and the morality of the nation is now in full revolt against them. There is flunkeyism in the little travesty of a Court at Washington and there is still more of it, and of a viler kind, among the Shoddy at New York; but it has its root in Europe and is at present a social evil rather than a political peril: what might have happened had a military presidency been perpetuated in the White House is fortunately a matter of speculation. Mr. Spencer's diagnosis of the political malady is somewhat vitiated by a false parallel. The liberties of the Italian cities, the fate of which he holds up as a warning example to the Boss-ridden people of the United States were extinguished largely by military adventurers, by usurpers who had at their command a military power, or by the arms of foreign invaders. Among the chief sources of their downfall were the incessant wars between the petty commonwealths. Between the States of America war is precluded by the Union, which thus is the guardian of their liberties as well as of their peace. At the time of Mr. Herbert Spencer's visit to America, the Boss was the Demon of the hour against whom all good citizens were preparing to fight, and this may possibly have made rather an undue impression on the philosopher's mind.

The Boss and the Machine are not the disease, they are only symptoms, though of the gravest kind. The disease itself lies deeper, and has two main sources. One is the system of Party. So long as there are parties and the government is made their prize, there must be organizations, which inevitably become Machines and soon fall into the hands of regular Machinists or Bosses whose evil energies are professionally devoted to this work while worthier citizens are raising grain and keeping stores. It never has been otherwise, it never can be otherwise; and if each of the existing Machines were to be broken to-morrow and every living Boss hanged or put to honest labour in the Penitentiary, the next day new Machines would begin to be constructed and new Bosses would arise to work them. Purifying faction is washing the negro white; and when a white negro is found we may hope to find a political party which does not bribe in some form or other, which never intrigues or conspires, and which encourages independence of mind. English parties bribe with Peerages, Baronetries, and social grade, while American Parties bribe in a coarser way. The other source of the disease is the election of the central legislature by direct popular suffrage. Of the different portions of the American Constitution, one is a distinct success. That one is the Senate, elected not by direct popular suffrage, but by State Legislatures, themselves elected for local purposes by the people. The Senate, like everything else, is swayed and marred by Party; but no one can doubt that in average ability it rises decidedly above any other legislative assembly in the world. To it the nation looks for wise council at need. It would form an excellent government, if the depraving influence could be removed. The House of Representatives elected by direct popular suffrage is far inferior to the Senate, both in ability and in character; in character indeed it is as low as possible, and to good and sensible citizens its meeting is always a cause of dismay and its departure an unspeakable relief. In the Pension Arrears Bills, and other villainies and follies, it squanders the earnings of the people more recklessly than they are squandered by the most prodigal of monarchies or aristocracies. Experience has now sufficiently shown that though the people can elect they cannot nominate

except within the limited area over which the personal acquaintance of a common man extends, so that the nominations fall into the hands of wirepullers by whom the power is invariably abused. As to the elective Presidency, it is the curse and bane of the country: more than once it has brought on convulsions serious enough to paralyze commerce and fill the community with alarm; once it has brought on civil war. Unarmed civil war is in fact a fair description of the state in which it now keeps the nation two years at least out of every four. Changes more radical than the overthrow of Messrs. Cameron and Conkling, or, even the reform of the Civil Service, valuable as that would be, will some day force themselves on the consideration of the American people. A great step was taken when the flower of the Republican party, to restore public morality, set discipline utterly at defiance and vote for Democratic candidates. The Machine so broken will not be easily mended, and though the immediate result will be the installation of the rival Machine, the whole Party system is in serious peril. Perhaps the transition to national government may be effected through the formation of a party of Reform in which the better men of both the existing organizations will find themselves united against Stalwart Republicanism and Tammany Hall. Here, again, we are harping on an old string, but the repetition is needed, and is likely to be needed for many a day.

—In another deliverance, Mr. Herbert Spencer has repeated the stricture of Mill in the over-tension of American life. He says that the Gospel of Work has been preached enough, and it is time to preach the Gospel of Relaxation. But the Gospel of Relaxation is already preached aloud, by the daily advertisements of countless places of amusement, and of scores of summer resorts, by programmes of tours and offers of every facility for travel, by announcements of new games, and by the publication of novels without end. What is needed to tranquillize those anxious spirits and smooth those care-worn brows is rather a gospel of contentment, of indifference to inordinate wealth, of the peace and calm of mind bred by the secure possession of some moral treasure, the value of which does not fluctuate with the price of stocks. But it is diffi-

cult to see where such a treasure is at present to be found, except in the Teachings of a Master whom the most intellectual portion of the world seems to be making up its mind to disown. Mr. Spencer, however, is in this matter, like most European visitors to the United States, the victim of an illusion produced by seeing only the life of cities. In the business parts of New York or Chicago the faces are, perhaps, more eager and careworn, the step more nervous and hurried, than in the business parts of London or Liverpool; but life in an American country town, though industrious and thrifty, is not wanting in repose. True, life in the country town is still religious.

—Female Suffrage has received a severe check in Nebraska, Not that State only, but the Republic, is saved from a peril into which it had been brought by unreflecting philanthropy and the passion for revolution. He must be a believer in Woman's Rights indeed who can persuade himself that the women of any country in the mass are fit to be at once entrusted with the exercise of political power, which, where they are the majority, would make them mistresses of the State. The foreign vote, wielded by electors who, as immigrants or the children of immigrants, are hereditary aliens to republican principles is one of the most serious dangers of the Union, and the large, and as now appears increasing, number of enfranchised negroes must be carried politically to the same account. The blindest enthusiasm alone can fail to see that if to these are at once added all the women, the non-Republicans in the Republic will be to the Republicans at least as three to two. The case would, in fact, be still worse, for we may be sure that the female constituency would fall under the operation of an inverted law of natural selection; the most refined women and the best representatives of their sex would shrink from the political arena; while the termagants of the platform would rush into the fray, and Bridget would everywhere be sent by her spiritual adviser to the poll. There can be no doubt as to the political tendencies of the sex; even women, who in general sentiment were strong Liberals, such as Mrs. Barrett Browning and Miss Mitford, worshipped Louis Napoleon, though he was nothing but a dazzling usurper. What-

ever might be the lot of forms and names, in substance the Republic would not long survive the free use of the Ballot by all the women. But the consequences to a particular form of government would not be the whole or even the gravest part of the matter. The gravest part of the matter would be the consequences to the family. Hitherto the family has been a political unit. The separation of the political interest of the wife from that of the husband, and the introduction of political antagonism between them, would be another step in the progress of disintegration, which has already been carried far, not only by the increase of the facilities for divorce, the effects of which have been statistically demonstrated by Mr. Roy, but by the severance of interests, the tendency of which is to convert marriage from a perfect union into a copartnership, to use Miss Susan Anthony's favourite term, and to array commercial jealousy in opposition to conjugal affection. As it is, the husband and wife may confront each other as parties to a suit in a court of law, and if the Woman's Right movement in Nebraska had been victorious, we might have had them everywhere confronting each other on the platform and at the polls. Such innovations may be wise and right: it is possible that the time for them may have come: it would be alike foolish and wicked to refuse them a serious consideration out of regard for any tradition or for any privileges of sex. But it is a serious consideration that they demand. Hitherto people have allowed themselves too much to be governed by mere sentiment and gallantry, or have surrendered their judgments to the pity excited by particular instances of abuse, such as are incident to all relations, the parental as well as the conjugal, and prove nothing against the beneficence or the necessity of the general institution. Let us now have a pause, and reflect a little before settling the most momentous question that can be submitted to social man. The family is more important than the State: it is a deeper source of character and happiness; so long as its integrity is unimpaired it has power to regenerate the State, whereas the State has not the power to regenerate the family.

—In the Irish agitation there is a lull, and the Government begins to plume its wings and utter notes of joy, as though the storm

were over. The storm, at least the worst of it, is over, if the Agrarian question is really settled. But is the Agrarian question really settled? Will the people be content to pay the judicial rents now fixed by the Lands' Court to landlords against whom, as a class, fierce hatred has been excited by two years of conflict, and who, as their interest in the country has been reduced, and the annoyances of their social position increased, are likely to be more absentees than ever? Will not the first bad potato crop be the signal for an insurrection against what is left of the rental? Will not the men who have subsisted by the movement find means of preventing a pacification which would deprive them not only of consequence, but of bread? Will the Land Act even work as it is intended to work by its illustrious author? It in effect creates a number of interests tantamount to so many beneficial leases for fifteen years. There seems to be nothing practically to prevent these interests from being sold, or money from being borrowed on them, in which cases the rent will virtually be put up again to the full value of the land; in other words, the land will be rackrented once more. Violence and breach of principle will have been combined with futility: the property of the landlord will have been confiscated, yet the tenant will be no better off than before. An attempt to fix the value of a particular commodity, be it land or anything else, is so contrary to all recognised principle, that success alone can demonstrate its wisdom; and the value of land happens at this juncture to be specially indeterminate, because, from the development of the grain trade, the price of agricultural produce is undergoing rapid change. An alteration in the Land Law there was which was clearly desirable, and had long been advocated for the whole of the United Kingdom, but especially for Ireland. Abolition of primogeniture and entail would have increased the number of proprietors, and have severed the Irish estates of the great families from their English estates, thereby diminishing absenteeism, which, as the Irish clansman loves to look up to a rural chief, is a most serious evil, however true it may be that the estates of some absentees are among the most liberally managed. Strange to say, this obvious reform, which involved no breach of principle, has been neglected, and feudalism is

left flourishing in all its obsolescence by the side of socialistic legislation. To grant facilities for the purchase of freeholds by tenants, and thus to increase, if possible, the number of the land-owning class, was wise; but a reason has already been given for moderating the enthusiasm with which peasant proprietorship is often and not unnaturally regarded. The economical reason is not less strong. A great agriculturist in Dakota is said to raise from the vast area which he tills as much grain with four hundred farm servants as could be raised by five thousand peasant proprietors in France. A commercial loss so vast can hardly be balanced by any moral or social gain. For the distress which in some districts is caused by overcrowding the only relief is depletion, while the only permanent cure is a change in the habits of the people such as would bring an increase of the thrift and social self-respect which unfortunately are not inculcated by their religion. In these cases what was wanted was an extension of the poor law so as to make public provision for emigration. No alteration of tenures could in any way meet the need. To root people to a soil on which they cannot possibly find a livelihood is to do them and the community nothing but harm.

The political movement in Ireland has never been strong in itself; under O'Connell it was a total failure, or rather it was little more than a pretext for collecting the Liberator's Rent; under Smith O'Brien and his confederates it ended in laughter, though the men who led it then were superior to those who lead it now. Its strength on the present occasion, so far as Ireland itself was concerned, has been derived almost entirely from its conjunction with Agrarianism, which appeals to the pockets of the people; though political and religious antipathies have helped to add bitterness to the struggle and the landlord has been more eagerly despoiled because he was a Protestant and of British blood. A secondary source of life it has found in American Fenianism, a branch of Nihilism, which has supplied funds, as well as the inspiration of terrorism and the instruments of assassination. England is now being told by the Radical allies of the Irish Revolution that Fenianism is a power before which the nation which overthrew Napoleon ought to quail. It has undoubtedly received a great stimulus from the events of the

last two years, and from the apparent inability of the British Parliament and Government to meet its attacks with vigour. But Canadians, whose country it has twice invaded, and who have a near view of it, will not readily be brought to tremble at its name. Its chiefs are now washing in public the very dirtiest of dirty linen, and accusing each other of every sort of knavery, without any breach of veracity, we may be sure, on either side. Nor is its union with its allies in Ireland very likely to hold firm : to keep money flowing into the chest of its Dynamite and Skirmishing Funds it needs unflagging excitement, which the present policy of the Land Leaguers forbids them to afford, and it is always pushing Mr. Parnell and his associates to the brink of a precipice from which they manifestly recoil. The split is, in fact, already pretty wide. Mr. Godkin, an eminent Irish writer on the New York press, tells England that all the Irish in America are filled with a hatred of her which is likely to increase rather than diminish, in which case, as it already amounts to "frenzy," it will come to a fearful pass at last. It is remarkable that in Canada, though the Irish are the kinsmen in all senses of those in the United States, and here the emblems of British connection are always before their eyes, they exhibit no signs of frenzy, but live on tolerably good terms with the alleged objects of their internecine hostility, while the liberating armies of Fenianism have twice appealed to them in vain. May we not reasonably surmise that the feeling on the other side of the Line is in part at least the work of professional incendiaries such as O'Donovan Rossa or of Tammany politicians angling for the Irish vote, and that if left to itself it would gradually subside? Trouble it may give, and serious trouble, in case any awkward question, such as that of the Fisheries, should arise between Great Britain and the United States, though it is hardly conceivable that the people of the United States can allow their foreign policy to be used as the bowie-knife of an Irish feud. Military force it manifestly has none, nor is it capable of supplying any to its allies in Ireland. That the Dynamite Wing, when its hopes of a Red Republic in Ireland are dashed, may run amuck, is very likely : the contingency is one for which governments ought to be prepared : but a Fenian conquest of Great Britain is beyond the range of our imagination on this side of the Atlantic.

In the meantime, infinite mischief has been done, and the prospect of peace and prosperity for the ill-starred country has been deplorably overcast. The land has been filled with lawlessness, with contempt for the rights of property, and with disregard for contracts; the soul of the people has been steeped in conspiracy and terrorism. Deadly hatred has been kindled between classes. A series of crimes has been committed which leaves a fearful stain upon Irish character, and covers the British Government with dishonour. Many a step painfully taken towards aptitude for self-government has been lost. Investment has been rendered unsafe, and commerce has been paralysed. It is not surprising to hear of a renewal of the distress which always waits upon disturbance. All this might have been avoided if Parliament, which is now really the Government, could at the outset have looked the situation in the face, recognized it as one of domestic rebellion combined with foreign attack, and at once put forth the limited amount of force necessary to repress revolt, and to assure to loyal citizens the protection of the law. With constitutional agitation for any political object, even for the Repeal of the Union, no Liberal would desire to interfere. But this was not a constitutional agitation: it was an avowed attempt on the part of the Fenians, with whom the Irish Land Leaguers were acting in open concert, to kindle civil war. The indispensable condition of all free government, and of all moral progress, is submission to the law, which in a free state is combined with perfect liberty of discussion and unfettered use of the suffrage. No commonwealth violates the principles upon which it is based by using the powers necessary to preserve it from disruption. The Swiss Republic did this; the American Republic did this on the most colossal scale, and in neither of those cases has liberty been impaired. Less injury would in truth have been done to constitutional principles and sentiment by prompt and decisive action, frankly pleading as its warrant the safety of the Commonwealth than has been done by a course of exceptional yet ineffective legislation, and by a policy which, mingling coercion with coaxing, in such a way as to neutralize the effects of both, has prolonged a terrorist anarchy through two calamitous and disgraceful years.

It is not on the Executive that the blame mainly rests. The Executive can do nothing in a case of this kind, unless it is thoroughly supported by Parliament, which is the supreme power; and the support of Parliament has lamentably failed. The House of Commons has been torn and paralyzed by faction, whose selfishness refuses to listen to the call of patriotism, even in the extremity of public peril. The project of an open alliance with the Irish Party of Disunion, by which the other day that instructive specimen of aristocratic honour, as well as of aristocratic wisdom, Lord Randolph Churchill, added fresh lustre to a name once borne by Marlborough, was merely the frank avowal of the game which he and the rest of his crew on the extreme Tory benches have all along been playing. The great stroke of Lord Beaconsfield's statemanship, often tried, and at last successful, was a junction of the Tory Opposition with the Irish Catholics, called in the Parliamentary slang of those days the "Pope's Brass Band," or with the extreme section of Radicals, against the Liberal Government. This operation Lord Randolph Churchill is now trying to repeat; and it must be admitted that he has at least one qualification for a successful imitator of Lord Beaconsfield, whose tactics, however, were rather less upon the surface. The treasonable relations between Lord Randolph's party and the public enemy have been manifest throughout the struggle, and if the party did not fling itself so openly as it now does into the arms of the Parnellites, it was evident that it was ready to co-operate with them at any moment for the purpose of embarrassing the Government. It was ushered into the path of honour by Sir George Elliot, who bought the Irish vote in the Durham election by a declaration in favour of the Suspects. But it is not on the Opposition benches alone that alliance with Irish revolution is to be found. Since that signal display of the unscrupulousness of faction in general, and of aristocratic faction in particular, the Tory Reform Bill of 1867, the strength of the Irish vote in England and Scotland has been fearfully increased. The Irish are congregated in the cities, where they come in for the household suffrage, and where, by constant association, their clannish union is preserved, while the British farm-labourer, a good, loyal and law-abiding citizen,

though not quick-witted, remains excluded from the franchise. The consequence is, that not a few of the English and Scotch Liberals who are members for cities owe their seats, in part, to the Irish vote, and are afraid to support the Government in any measures of legislative vigour against rebellion. These men, have been always at the ear of Government, breathing timid counsels and advocating a policy of concession. Nor are there wanting more extreme politicians, who hope perhaps hereafter to lift themselves into power by Irish aid, and who have throughout the struggle been practically labouring to abet the operations of disaffection, to cut the sinews of national resistance, to prevent the law from being sharpened against Terrorism, and, without openly proposing the severance of the Union, to prepare the way, by sapping Unionist sentiment, for an ultimate surrender. The treaty of Kilmainham was the momentary victory of this party; though scarcely had they proclaimed their triumph when it was snatched from them, and the treaty was torn up by the burst of indignation which followed the Phœnix Park murders. It is a melancholy consolation to think that the Mother Country has hardly a right to cast a stone at the Colony the Parliament of which passed the Costigan Resolutions. In England, as here, the mass of the people are sound at heart: they abhor terrorism and assassination; they prize and earnestly desire to maintain the Union; but they are misrepresented and betrayed by politicians who are slaves to the Irish vote. If a strong and patriotic leader would present himself, they would follow him, and strengthen his hands to cope with the public peril. Unfortunately the Sage of Chelsea, while he has taught us that in the following of Heroes lies our hope of political salvation, has not taught us in what way the Hero is to be found.

The mass of the English people, we repeat, are still sound at heart, yet statesmen of the firmer mould, when they look round them for support, have some reason to deplore what some of them call the "flabbiness" of opinion. At the height of the crisis, and in the hour of extreme danger, there prevailed in England an apathy which formed the most perilous feature of the situation. More attention seemed to be paid to frivolities such as

the doings of the Australian cricketers than to the struggle which was going on for the integrity of the United Kingdom. A vast influx of wealth has brought with it a passionate love of pleasure, which diverts thought from serious questions; and the onlooker is somewhat reminded of the voluptuaries of old who sat intent upon the shows of the Circus while the armies of destruction were gathering at their gates. A still deeper cause of this temporary loss of tone is probably to be seen in the failure of the religious beliefs on which it is idle to deny that the national character has hitherto rested, while the new basis which science professes herself able to supply cannot be said as yet to have been evolved. The party of Dynamite is in earnest and thoroughly knows its own mind: the defenders of law and order lack force because they lack conviction. The union of firm faith in law with firm faith in liberty was characteristic of the Puritans, and by those who are in some way or other the representatives of the Puritan it is still most vigorously displayed. Scotland is Liberal; she hardly sends any Tories to Parliament; but in her the Covenanter still prevails over the sceptic, and in this matter she has shown more firmness of political nerve than England.

If the nation was itself, it would not listen for a moment to a proposal for its own dismemberment. Resign Provinces which have been held for seven hundred years, and let them be made the seat of a hostile power! And what sort of power? Mr. Godkin, a good Irish authority, helps us to forecast the character of a Celtic government: he tells us that it would be marked by a tendency to arbitrary rule, and would show comparatively little respect for individual rights: he distinctly implies that it would be less scrupulous in protecting life and allow greater license to murder. Great Britain, in short, is asked to give up a part of her immemorial patrimony in order that it may be turned into a Hayti! Of a Celtic Ireland, Dynamite would soon be king. There can be little doubt that in the chaos of warring elements which would ensue, and among people little endowed with political force or the faculty of self-government, the most violent would grasp power. It is pretty clear what would follow. There would be a display on a larger scale of the spirit

which showed itself in the Phœnix Park and the Joyce murders. All men of British blood and Protestant religion would soon be butchered or would be flying for their lives. It is preposterous to suppose that the influence of the English Radicals, or any other influence would then be able to prevent Great Britain from interfering. Ireland would be reconquered by a power fearfully incensed, and the circle of calamity would come round again. Of all races within the pale of civilization, the Celt in his native state, such as he is in Brittany, is the least inclined to constitutional government. The temporary development of Parliamentary life in Ireland during the quarter of a century before the Union, to which Mr. Godkin and others point as a proof of Irish capacity, was not Celtic: it proceeded from the dominant race, to which the representation was practically almost confined. Even Mr. Parnell is plainly shown by his name to be of English blood; and so was his predecessor in the leadership, Mr. Isaac Butt. The attachment of the Celt, as has been said a thousand times, is not to institutions but to persons; and had the Kings and Queens of England presented themselves to him as they ought to have done, they might have won his heart. His best chance of being trained to liberty with order lies in his union with the self-governing race from which his Parliamentary institutions are derived. The Home Rule which he would give himself, if the Union were dissolved, would soon verify Mr. Godkin's diagnosis: it would be a despotism of some kind, probably that of a Terrorist Chief.

People always talk of this as the Irish Question. But, in fact it relates only to the Celtic and Catholic Provinces, to which the disturbance is confined, while Ulster, being largely Scotch and Protestant, is tranquil, prosperous, and attached to the Union. Not in Ulster, but in the Celtic and Catholic Provinces alone, does that which is the real root of these calamities exist. There only does a population, content to live upon the lowest kind of food, and a kind as precarious as it is low, continually multiply up to, and in bad seasons beyond, the verge of famine. This in itself is enough to upset the parallel which some are drawing between the case of the British in Ireland and that of the Aus-

trians in Italy, a parallel which, by the way, is fraught with associations not very gratifying to Irish Nationalism, since nearly the last stand against Italian Independence was made by an army of Irish Catholics in the service of the Pope. The Austrians in Italy were armed intruders, men of an alien race and language, utterly unconnected with the Italian people. The British are of the same language with the great mass of the people in Ireland, Erse being now spoken only in small districts, and of the same blood and religion with the people of Ulster and the majority of the wealthier class in the rest of the Island. There is, in fact, a large British population in Ireland, while there is a still larger Irish population in England; so that the two races are interlaced with each other, and the first steps of the Disunionists must be to cut off Ulster from the rest of Ireland, and to send the Irish Colonies back from the English cities to their own land. It is needless to remark how different were the political relations between the Austrian Government and its Italian subjects from those between Ireland and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which the Irish are fully represented, and, for nearly half a century, actually held the balance of power. The true analogy is not between the case of the Austrians in Italy and that of the British in Ireland, but between that of Ireland and certain provinces of the Italian Kingdom, such as Calabria and Sicily, which are less advanced in civilization than the rest, and still require exceptional measures to preserve them from anarchy and brigandage, but which no one advises Italy to cut adrift and allow to fall back into barbarism. Let no one who bears the British name permit himself to feel ashamed of his country, or to desert her cause, in the belief that she has played the part of the Austrian tyrant. Only in 1832, when her Parliament ceased to be nominated by the oligarchy and began to be elected by the people, did she herself obtain self-government, and from that hour the spirit of imperial legislation towards Ireland has been uniformly liberal and kind. In important matters, such as national education and religious equality, reform in Ireland has far outstripped reform in England; and on the land question concessions have just been made which, whether they are likely to turn out well or not, are as-

surely more than liberal, and would be absolutely precluded, as legislative violations of contract, by the Constitution of the United States. An Irishman, writing to one of our journals the other day, accused the British Government, in pursuance of its wicked policy, of denying education to the Irish people: let him survey the nations of his own faith throughout the world, and tell us where a Roman Catholic government, under the influence of the priesthood, has given the people anything like the system of national education introduced by the British Government into Ireland. Progress would have been more rapid, as Cobden truly says, had Ireland only sent better members to the House of Commons. Mr. Godkin and Mr. Morley, two most able writers, have undertaken to set forth the grievances which form, in their opinion, the justification for Irish Revolution. Those set forth by Mr. Godkin are sentimental: Irishmen, he thinks, do not receive the compliments to which they are entitled; to use his own phrase: "provision is not made for their vanity." Yet he frankly admits that they have their share, he even says that they have somewhat more than their share, of the honours of the Empire. Most certainly they have, and what else, in the name of common sense, can be required? Mr. Godkin complains that the honours are not bestowed on them as Irishmen. They are bestowed on them as citizens of the United Kingdom, placed on an exactly equal footing with the rest; and it may safely be said that nothing in the way of distinction or promotion is either withheld or less cordially given because he who claims it is of Irish blood. Mr. Morley's grievances are principally defects in the machinery of local self-government, which have their counterparts in England, and which, together with their counterparts in England, would, ere this, have been removed by a local self-government Act if the Parnellites had not paralyzed the legislature by their obstruction. Not one practical wrong of recent date and real importance, not a single act of oppression, does either Mr. Godkin or Mr. Morley allege. Nor would the Terrorists feel any gratitude to Mr. Morley for the sort of redress which he offers them; what they want is not Home Rule, measured out by him, but a Pandemonium of their own.

How can the British Government remove that which, as has already been said, is the real root of the evil? How can it prevent the Irish Celts from multiplying without measure in a land where they have not the means of subsistence? It cannot change either the religion of the people or their natural character, and the operation of any change in the Land Laws, supposing it to be in the right direction, must be slow. Irish emigration will apparently continue to flow into Great Britain, the British Colonies, and the United States, carrying with it everywhere its antagonism to the principles of Anglo-Saxon civilization, everywhere using the political power to which it is admitted as the instrument of its hostility, and threatening with subversion every Anglo-Saxon polity. The intensity and vitality of Irish Nationality in America are probably overrated by Mr. Godkin and other writers of that school; the assimilating forces assert their sway at last, and the third generation sees a change. Yet Irish Nationality in the United States is intense, and tenacious of life. The other day, an Irishman having been executed for murder at Newhaven, his funeral was celebrated with the utmost ecclesiastical pomp, and thousands of his compatriots attended his body to the grave. If American statesmen fancy that they can with impunity embarrass British statesmen in the settlement of this desperate question, they never were more mistaken in their lives. Their own institutions are not less fundamentally Teutonic and Protestant than those which are assailed by the tendencies of the Catholic Celt on the other side of the Atlantic. Let them think of the Irish rising in the Civil War, and the measures of repression to which they were compelled to resort on that occasion, and which exceeded in severity any adopted by the British Government since the dreadful days of 1798. In spite of the torrents of almost delirious abuse which are daily poured upon England, Englishmen, and Englishwomen, from every Irish platform and journal, there is but one feeling towards Ireland among the members of the British Parliament or the British people. All alike desire that she should be prosperous and happy; all alike desire to make her a full partaker in British freedom; nor does one of them wish to use measures of repression for any other pur-

pose than that of preventing anarchy, terrorism, and civil war. To deliver Ireland over to anarchy, terrorism and civil war would be to justify too well the charges which at present are groundless.

By the Land war in Ireland a general impulse has been given to Agrarian Communism, and the hopes of its advocates everywhere have been raised. Not that the Land League is by any means communistic in the proper sense of the term; the Irish tenant farmer wants to oust his landlord and have the land to himself; nothing can be further from his thoughts than to give it up to the community at large, or to share it with the labourers, of whom there is a large number, and to whom he is often a hard master. Still the movement is Agrarian and stimulates other movements of that kind. People are found, it seems, to listen to social philosophers who propose that all landed property, including the farm which the settler has just reclaimed from the wilderness by the sweat of his brow, shall be confiscated without compensation and put into the hands of a set of politicians styling themselves the State. The practical answer to this recommendation is that an attempt to give it effect would inevitably be the signal for a civil war, in which the philosopher and his audience would hardly come off victorious. Milder schemes are propounded under the name of Nationalization. But you have first to be sure of your government, and even supposing that you were sure of your government, what good would Nationalization do? Only a limited number of us can be husbandmen. What the community at large wants is that the land should produce as much food as possible, which it will not do unless the requisite amount of capital and labour is put into it; and the requisite amount of capital and labour will not be put into it, as decisive experience teaches, unless the cultivator's possession is secure. If the cultivator's possession is still to be secure, nothing will have been gained by Nationalization; if it is no longer to be secure, but he is to be a mere tenant on sufferance under the politicians, production will fall off, and the result of this grand improvement will be famine. New Zealand, it seems, is bitten with the new policy, and proposes henceforth, in disposing of the public land, to give nobody a freehold, but to limit all ownership to a lease for twenty-one years. The fruits of this wisdom will soon appear.

Again the effects of Irish disturbance have been felt beyond the question itself, in the alteration of the procedure of the House of Commons. In any case the rules must soon have been tightened: the social restraints, once all powerful in what was truly called the best Club in London, have of late entirely lost their force; the moral penalties of offences against opinion are no longer dreaded; a member who has used discourteous language when called to order for it, repeats the insult in another form and in no way suffers for what he has done; of the authority of leaders no more is left than is personally represented by Mr. Gladstone. Iron regulations now are needed to save the assembly from becoming a chaos. The attempt of the Irish conspirators to wreck Parliament by Obstruction has only brought the question to a head. The special cases of some of these men ought in fact to have been treated in another way. They had openly leagued themselves with a foreign organization, the avowed aim of which was to overturn the British Government, and on that ground they ought to have been at once excluded from the councils of the nation. The course actually taken has led to a series of degrading scuffles, ending after all in suspension, which then assumed the aspect of a violation of constitutional right for the purpose of carrying a measure of coercion. The effect of the Cloture remains to be seen; but the Speaker, in whom the initiative is vested, will hardly venture to move except in very extreme cases; and it is easy, without creating a very extreme case, merely by talking on every question so to clog the wheels of Parliament that legislation cannot proceed. The system of Grand Committees is the other great change. It is difficult to see how such a system can work with Party, unless that party which has the majority in the House at large has also the majority in the Committee. It is not difficult to divine to what use the Grand Committee for Ireland will be put by the hands into which it is likely to fall, if not at once, when a general election shall have doubled the number of Mr. Parnell's following. It will be turned into an engine of Disunion. The Prime Minister is now all-powerful; let us hope that he is all-wise. The question has been raised in England, evidently with a practical bearing, whether great orators are great statesmen. Take away the great orators of the

Long Parliament and the Revolution, take away Walpole, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Grey, and Canning, and British statesmanship will be a shrunken thing. Yet oratory has its liabilities: it is apt to exercise its persuasive power not only on the audience but on the speaker himself. If the Prime Minister only knew Ireland, more entire confidence would be felt in his policy; but the work of genius itself must fall if it is based on an illusion.

Will the reorganization of Parliament end with the introduction of Clôture and Grand Committees? There is one member of the House of Commons at all events who thinks not. He thinks that debates altogether have become obsolete, and that nothing is now required but a mandate from the constituency directing its representative to vote for or against a measure. The next step certainly would be to dispense with the representative altogether and, instead of sending a mandatory, to vote by mail. To this we shall not soon come; yet it is certain that the real debate already goes on outside Parliament, and that of the public opinion thus formed the speeches and votes of what is called a deliberative assembly are little more than a record. Parliamentary government at present fills the world; but, like everything else, it has its allotted span.

—In Egypt, the New Model army and its General did well; so, in spite of some minor miscarriages, did the War Office: the nation, therefore, might well rejoice; yet, considering the meanness of the foe, and the feebleness of the resistance, the pean sounded somewhat loud. Evidently, in this age of electricity and sensations, the British character is losing its sedateness. Arabi's complete collapse seemed to prove that he had no moral force behind him, and thus to absolve the Mother of liberties from the charge of strangling a nation; indeed, Egypt is nothing but a compound of a half-alien dynasty and a mercenary soldiery with a people of miserable serfs. Yet something, perhaps a good deal besides the safety of the Suez Canal, depended on the issue of Tel-el-Kebir. When the Sultan intrigued with Arabi, he had a large design hovering before his mind: he was dreaming of a transfer of the centre of Islam from the scene of its decrepitude in Europe, where he knows that its power is doomed, to Asia, its

more congenial realm, and of a renewal of its vigour at the sacred fountains of its youth. Nor is the hope confined to Constantinople: had the sword of General Wolseley failed, a thrill of exultation would have run through Islam, and Mahometan arms would have clashed in Africa, in Syria, and perhaps in Hindostan. There was significance in the superior valour displayed by the black soldiers from the Soudan; they are new converts to Islam, which has been rapidly making way among the tribes of Africa, less, perhaps, by virtue of its doctrine than because to white and black alike it offers social brotherhood, while a religion of outward observance, with a simple profession of faith for its creed, and military propagandism for its highest work, demands of the barbarian neither intellectual effort nor a change of heart.

The weak part of the British case is indicated in the donation of tobacco offered by the Rothschilds to the victorious troops. There is too much reason to fear that the arms of England may be serving extortion. Extortion it may be truly called, for of the Egyptian debt only about half represents real advances. Like new diseases, new causes of war appear as fast as the old causes depart: wars of conquest and mercantile wars are going out of fashion, but stockjobbing wars, apparently, are coming in. The invasion of Mexico was partly a stock-jobbing affair; the invasion of Tunis was almost wholly so. Not a sword ought to be drawn, not a drop of blood ought to be shed, in the interest of any stock whatever; let the investor in foreign bonds bear his own risk, to which his gains are sure, as in the present instance, to be proportioned. Jesuitism is a power of the past, and is not likely to trouble the world much more: Court intrigue, which was the Jesuit's chief engine, has lost its sway; education has been wrested from him by the State; and the superstition of which he was the satellite is stricken with decay. Eut Judaism, or rather the financial tribe of Israel, like money and the Stock Exchange, is a power of the present, and is in a fair way to get into its grasp everything that money and the Stock Exchange can control, that is to say, the whole train of Mammon and all powers of the world that are in need of loans. It holds and manipulates in common an immense

proportion of the public debts of Europe. The Councils of necessitous Austria evidently own its sway. It made, for financial ends, the war in Tunis, with the help of Gambetta, whose ear it has, and of M. Rustan, who was its tool. It had a hand in the Egyptian expedition. In defence of its sinister interests it drew England to the brink of a war with Russia, which would have been accompanied by a rising in Ireland. We shall hear more of it in the near future.

Will England be able to withdraw from Egypt? Few think that she will; and if she does not, the Egyptian boundary will not be the limit of her acquisitions and responsibilities in that quarter. As in India, she will be drawn into wars with the barbarians in her neighbourhood; she will come into collision with African Islam: in her own despite she will conquer and annex. She will have in short an African as well as an Indian Empire. She will then be entangled, she has already begun to be entangled, in jealous disputes with France, as the other conquering power of Africa, similar to those in which she is now entangled with Russia as the other conquering power of Asia. This Bismarck has all along desired, and with this aim he has been instigating England to take possession of Egypt; his soul must now rejoice. A new course of territorial aggrandizement is opened in Africa, while the integrity of the United Kingdom itself is in peril, and people are beginning to talk of letting Ireland go! Grasp at territorial acquisitions thousands of miles away, and suffer national dismemberment at the same time! Surely a man does not altogether forfeit the name of a patriot by holding that the first objects should be strength and security at home. Yet intervention in Egypt became certain when the Suez Canal was opened. The water-way cannot be safe if hostile governments hold the shores. Round the Cape of Good Hope the route lay over open seas, not beset by rival powers, and easily guarded by a superior navy in time of war.

It is strange that the Gladstone government should derive fresh strength from a war: yet such is the fact, and it proves that the war spirit is still strong. Besides the victory in Egypt, however, there is the collapse of the Opposition, owing to the failure of its leaders. Peel left a splendid legacy of statesmen,

formed under his eye and in his councils ; his supplanters have left none. Even Sir Stafford Northcote was originally brought forward by Mr. Gladstone, then one of the lieutenants of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Salisbury has lost caste by his equivocations, and forfeited public confidence by the selfish recklessness of ambition which betrays itself in his violent harangues. Had he shown the patriotic self-abnegation which becomes an English gentleman in the presence of public peril, his position and that of his party would be far better than it is. The leadership in the Commons must be weak indeed when such a personage as Lord Randolph Churchill can venture to parody Disraeli's attack on Peel by shooting his pellets at Sir Stafford Northcote. The House of Lords has also cut a very sorry figure by its feeble shows of resistance, and its acceptance of the bribe offered to it as a body of Landlords in the Arrears Bill. When Mr. Gladstone departs the Conservatives will hardly be able to make a serious bid for office. Power will pass into the hands of moderate Liberals such as Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Goschen, who will receive the practical support of a number of Conservatives, convinced that the question is now one between order and anarchy, and that they cannot afford to put property and life to hazard in order to gratify the animosities of Lord Salisbury, or the vanity of Lord Randolph Churchill. The Radicals will no doubt retain a representation in the Cabinet, but they have been losing ground. They have let the nation see that it is doubtful whether they would protect life and property, that they are capable of tampering with the integrity of the United Kingdom, worse than all that they do not absolutely abhor an alliance with a party of terrorists and assassins. Men there are not a few who are entitled to the name of Liberal, if it can be merited by hearty attachment to popular institutions, combined with perfect readiness to try any social or economical experiment which promises to improve the lot of the people, and who hold their own property and station in society entirely subject to the higher claim, but are resolved to have no fellowship with murder. The integrity of the nation, however, is also a question on which there can be no compromise. It would be strange if the work of

the Protectorate, undone by the profligacy of the Restoration, and restored by Pitt, should be once more undone by the feebleness of Radicalism in the present day. It is enough to make Cromwell turn in his grave.

—A dispute between the Home Government and the Colonists of Jamaica about the payment of damages for the wrongful seizure, by the Governor, of a ship supposed to be violating international law, has raised the question whether any part of the expenses of the Empire is to be borne by the Colonists, or whether the whole is to be borne by the Mother Country. The people of the Mother Country will soon begin to ask themselves whether the honour of paying is so great as to put all considerations of interest out of sight. Jamaica, when first occupied by Cromwell, was an outpost of English and Protestant enterprise, advanced to break the exclusive domination of Spain in the Western Seas: in later times the possession became little better than a curse: the wealthy owners of its sugar estates vied with East Indian nabobs in corrupting society and parliament; then a vast sum had to be paid for the emancipation of its slaves, and since that time it has perplexed and dishonoured the British Government by a deadly quarrel between the whites and the blacks, which broke out into hideous atrocities under the infamous governorship of Mr. Eyre. Little would Great Britain lose by the secession of Jamaica. Whatever may be the end of this controversy, these displays of Colonial close-fistedness are unfavourable to the romantic dream of Imperial Federation.

—In Europe generally three things still fix our attention: the attitude of the great war powers, the trial of the Parliamentary system with party government, and the socialistic movement. It may safely be assumed that France will not attempt to take her revenge on Germany without allies; she knows well what Germany is, and the recent trial of her own army and military administration in Tunis is by no means calculated to whet her appetite for combat. Her eyes are bent in malicious hope on the scowling faces of Russia and Germany; but those nations, though

from neighbourly antipathy, they are always snarling at each other, will hardly rush into the fearful shock of arms without a substantial cause of quarrel; and substantial cause of quarrel they have none. If the sword is likely to be drawn at all, it is by Russia against Austria; for the Slavonic populations of Austria, including those which she has been recently annexing under the jealous gaze of the Muscovite, are always stretching their hands to their northern kinsmen; and the internal troubles of Russia, instead of restraining her from the conflict, might, if they became desperate, lead her Government to seek in war a chance of relief from domestic broils and perils. Her debt is heavy, but it is in her power to suspend payment; her commercial organization is not sensitive enough to feel national bankruptcy as it would be felt by England or the United States; conscription would furnish her with soldiers, forced requisitions with food for them, and a little money will buy powder.

Of Parliamentary government with the Party system there is still the same report to be made. Everywhere Parties split up into sections, deliberative assemblies become nests of cabals, a firm basis is wanting for government; everywhere there is a sense of instability, of uncertainty as to the future. England herself, the Mother of Parliaments, in spite of all her experience and training, begins to illustrate the general rule. In Italy, the Ministry appears for the moment to have secured a large majority, but in Spain the ground is again heaving beneath its feet. In Germany Bismarck in reality rules, by a method not Parliamentary: he stands outside all the parties, of which there are nine or ten, and makes up his majority from time to time of such elements as he happens to be best able to command. In France, the Chamber has made its will completely supreme, and it now in effect not only makes and unmakes Cabinets, but despotically enforces the resignation of any particular Minister who has incurred its displeasure, so that even the corporate authority of the Cabinet can no longer be said to exist. At the same time, the Chamber itself grows more and more sectional, more and more chaotic, less and less capable of wielding supreme power and affording to society a sure guarantee against confusion. In the French cities,

meanwhile, Communism is once more raising its menacing head and spreading a panic which already, we are told, begins to show its effect on trade, and if it reaches a certain point may after all bring back the Empire; for France has had experiences not to be forgotten, and she will hardly allow herself again to be turned into a bedlam and a slaughter-house by the worshippers of Marat. The movement in favour of having a soldier as the next President shows the direction of public feeling.

There is now abroad something beyond Communism, which though it desires to sweep away existing institutions respects the existing laws of morality. There is Satanism, which seeks the overthrow of morality as well as of institutions, which literally and deliberately says, like the Arch fiend in "Paradise Lost," "Evil, be thou my good!" George Sand, in one of her tales, introduces a sect of secret worshippers of Satan who is called "The Wronged One." This fancy of the novelist is now actually embodied in the Russian Nihilists, the Spanish Intransigentes, the French Moralists, and the Dynamite and Assassination wing of the Fenians in the United States. All these, whatever may be their immediate mark, are animated by the same fanaticism of destruction. The Russian Nihilist especially proclaims in set terms his antagonism to all existing rules of morality, political, social and domestic. Those who refuse to believe that the fall of religious belief may possibly be attended by a disturbance of popular morality and scoff at all apprehensions of that kind, are already called upon to witness phenomena worthy of their serious consideration. No compunction on this score however stays the hand of French Atheism, which is carrying on its propagandism with a fury exceeding that of the Voltaireans of the First Revolution, and endeavouring by the use of the political power now in its hands not only to disestablish religion but to proscribe it and banish it by force from the life of the people. The literature of the Atheist Propaganda is being actively disseminated among the peasantry, who have hitherto been beyond its influence, and if they have disliked the priest, have disliked him because they are haunted by the fancy that Legitimism, with which the order is supposed to sympathize, might disturb them in the possession of

their land. A parody on the Gospels, published at an Anti-clerical book-store in Paris, in a cheap form for circulation among the people, exceeds in blasphemous violence almost anything ever seen : it also exceeds almost anything ever seen in brutal inhumanity. The Satanists may be few in number, compared with the defenders of morality and civilization ; but if they are desperadoes, dynamite and incendiarism put terrible powers into their hands.

—In trying to record the progress of that far deeper as well as more universal movement of which the political and social unrest is but the outward and local symptom, THE BYSTANDER has only to place himself again in the position which seems to him to be that of many cultivated and thoughtful men. We may feel to the full the perplexities of our age ; be resolved to shut out no real revelation of science, however startling, to stifle no honest doubt ; we may firmly believe that the only way out of the maze is unswerving allegiance to the truth ; and yet determine not to be swept away by the mere rush of physical discovery, or to take denial, however confident and even insolent, for disproof. There is a fanaticism of unbelief as well as a fanaticism of belief : the proofs of its existence are everywhere around us. One has been furnished since the last appearance of THE BYSTANDER by a production of Canadian Agnosticism, in which a not very fair use is made of some of our words. All the passages in the Bible which to modern taste seem indelicate are collected with sinister industry, and published in a volume which is tendered as proof that the Bible is not less indecent than Voltaire. The fallacy is patent and the parallel most unjust. The passages in the Bible are not really indelicate, much less licentious or obscene : they are simply primeval and Oriental ; they neither betrayed pruriency in the writer nor excited it in the reader. The indecencies of Voltaire and Diderot do betray pruriency in the writer ; they do excite and are intended to excite it in the reader. They are the revolting offspring of an unclean imagination. Almost all the passages in this collection are taken from the Old Testament, that is, they belong to an age of primitive

manners. The New Testament baffles malicious scrutiny, lowly as were the hands by which it was written. That the lectionary of the Christian Church at the present day ought at once to be purged of all that is at variance with our present sense of decency, as well as of all the traces of tribal morality, THE BYSTANDER said and still says: this a different thing from confessing that the Old Testament is indecent and immoral. The point is of special importance, because it is by this perverse and utterly unphilosophic use of Old Testament texts that the apostles of Agnosticism in the United States produce the greatest effect among the people.

No one can read a batch of books on theological or philosophical subjects without seeing that the world has arrived at a crisis wholly unparalleled in the history of opinion. No one can re-visit England, or any European country, after a few years' absence, without being struck by the rapid progress made in the destruction of old beliefs. Not many years ago, "Essays and Reviews" set the world in a flame. If the book were to appear now it would be deemed almost tamely orthodox. In less than a quarter of a century the "Origin of Species" has wrought a great revolution, and the triumphant obsequies of its author in the most sacred of English fanes were the recognition of his intellectual victory. Newton's discovery hardly gave faith any shock beyond that which had been given by Galileo, and the discoverer himself remained a devout Christian. But Darwin's discovery, besides being a blow much nearer to the heart of conviction has coincided with an immense development of research and criticism, with a vast increase of mental activity, with a political and social revolution which has welcomed religious revolution as its ally. For all who think seriously, and still trust their religious instincts, the hour is one of fearful perplexity. It must be one almost of agony for many of the best and most cultivated among the clergy. The Agnostic who goes to church as a matter of social policy, and the French philosopher who proposes that, while he and his compeers luxuriate in their mental independence, a popular religion shall be provided to maintain political order among the people, seem each of them to regard the clergy-

man as a part of the church equipment, not more liable to intellectual disturbance or to the pangs of an uneasy conscience than the pulpit or the font. The Roman Catholic priest may perhaps go mechanically through his prescribed round of services without greatly feeling the pressure on his individual soul. But the Protestant pastor, as often as he enters his pulpit, has to express his personal convictions; and if he reads what is read by other men, his step surely must sometimes falter as he mounts the stair. To make his position tolerable he must need all the relief that a sense of his practical usefulness as a moral guide and a minister of charity can afford. But for all of us alike it is a crisis of real awe. Suppose Agnosticism should prevail; suppose the Divine Father in whose providence and beneficence has hitherto been our trust amidst the darkness of our present lot should disappear; suppose in His place there should appear on the throne of the universe a formless and nameless Force, undistinguishable from Chance, since we are no longer to recognize Design, and manifested in Natural Selection carried on through a murderous struggle among all creatures for existence, out of which the survivors will come victorious only to perish with the vanquished in the physical catastrophe of the planet—would not the change be felt through the whole life and being, through all the relations, interests, and affections of Man? There can be no use in shutting our eyes to any truth, but those might be accounted happy who have died in the persuasion that the Power in whose hands they were, and to whom when life was over they returned, was a Power of Good. A temporary dislocation of social ethics would be the least part of the matter; though, as we have said already, Satanism is a serious phenomenon, and Scientific Optimism deludes itself if it confines its view to a circle of opulent and cultivated Agnostics whom nobody expected to break out into violence or lust. The disturbance will appear on the scene where coarser natures struggle for wealth or power, and in the abodes of poverty from which the compensating hope of a future state has fled, and has been naturally succeeded by a passionate desire of grasping as much as possible of the pleasures of the present world. The Anti-morality which goes with a belief in Supreme Unbeneficence is already taking a

definite form. In the *Popular Science Monthly* a writer deprecates any interference with drunkenness which he maintains is a useful agency of selection, eliminating from humanity low and sensual natures. Nor has pure Evolutionism anything to say against him. It would have nothing apparently to say against a proposal to improve the vigour of the race by putting all weakly children to death. Opinion at present is against the experiment, but opinion is a variable secretion of the brain. The law of Evolution is that the strong shall live and the weak die. He who puts the weak out of the way is working with the law. Others may veil the non-moral character of Natural Selection: Haeckel proclaims it without remorse.

—In Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Science of Ethics" we have an attempt, far more powerful than that of Mr. Herbert Spencer, to place Morality on a Scientific basis. Mr. Spencer's writings on these subjects will hereafter be deemed those of a physicist, making excursions into a domain beyond his jurisdiction. Mr. Stephen tells us that what nature wants is, "a big, strong, hearty, shrewd man." She has got him and has put into his hand a thick stick of redoubtable logic. On one side she has left him weak. He holds mystery to be a synonym for nonsense. Often it is, but when Athanasian mysteries have been laid aside, the mystery of existence will perhaps press upon the soul more than ever. Be his main theory right or wrong, as a moral analyst Mr. Stephen well repays the close attention which he exacts. His candour is transparent and it leads him at last to confess virtually that his problem remains unsolved. He is brought to the conclusion that "there is no absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness," and that "to attempt to establish such a coincidence is, in Ethics, what the attempting to square the circle or to discover perpetual motion is in geometry or mathematics;" that it can be affirmed to exist only "for the virtuous man." Undoubtedly this is true if the only criterion is that furnished by Evolution, and the divergence is most signal in the case of those who, like Socrates and the Founder of Christianity Himself, are allowed by all, including the Evolutionists, to have been the great moral reformers and benefac-

tors of mankind. No supreme rule, it appears, can be found for the guidance of life and the direction of human conduct without a conception of the end and destiny of man. Socrates was happy; if Theism was true; if Theism was not true he was not happy, and a virtue which does not lead to happiness is condemned by the nature of things. Mr. Stephen's good sense refuses to indulge in the Millenarian visions of progress by which Evolutionists and Agnostics sometimes supply the want of a sustaining motive in their Ethical system. He admits that "progress cannot be assumed to be indefinite, that science rather points to a time when the social organism will fall into old age and decay, and to the ultimate extinction of life upon the planet." Besides, all these philosophers are so much occupied with their scientific theories of humanity as a whole that they leave individuality out of sight. Why, in the name of common sense, should a man sacrifice his pleasure to something which may come thousands of years after he has ceased to be, and which, it may be added, will be necessarily brought about by Evolution whether he sacrifices his pleasure or not?

The Scientific Optimist now finds himself confronted in force by the Pessimist, for Pessimism is certainly gaining ground. It has the facts on its side, if this existence is all. It would be difficult at least to contend that hitherto happiness had been the general lot of mankind, much more to contend that the lot of millions in all countries and ages had not been misery. What ground, Schopenhauer may ask, can there be for believing that the power which has been so ruthlessly manifested in the past will change its character and manifest itself under a different aspect in the future. Scientific Optimism assumes that whatever is good will continue and will steadily increase, while no new evil will be developed. This assumption is, of course, unsupported by experience, nor does it seem to have a much better foundation in reason. Suicide is apparently on the increase, and despondency, as well as moral disturbance, may be apprehended as a possible consequence of an Eclipse of Faith.

Mr. Stephen's vocabulary, as well as his theory, and, like those of all his school, is physical. "Organism" and "social tissue," applied to collective humanity, convey a truth, but they also cover

an assumption. They put individuality out of sight. A good deal of social science is being manufactured in this way. The most powerful characters, and those which have exerted most influence over the course of history, though they have belonged to their community and their time, have not been mere social tissue: they have been eminently self-contained, and have often fed their force by solitary meditation. There is also, it would appear, a lurking assumption in Mr. Stephen's argument against Free Will; or, to speak more truly, against the belief that human action is in any degree self-originated, and is not subject to the same kind of causation as are the occurrences of the outward world. He takes it for granted that the evidence of our natural senses, on which physical science is built, must be preferred to the evidence of our consciousness; and he argues, in effect, that Volition cannot exist, because if it did there would be something besides physical Evolution. He is in error if he thinks that anybody has taken effort to be the highest good, or in itself a good at all. This would be an ascetic theory indeed. But effort, or something like it, is the law of our being, Evolution itself being witness: in this way, and not by fiat, the Power of the Universe works. In looking for the possible design, or if design is to be excluded, the drift of the dispensation under which man is placed, we are struck by the fact that character, which is the best thing known to us, is produced by effort, individual or collective, and we ask whether in this we may not possibly find a clue. If no design or drift can be found in the universe, except mechanical progress through a cruel struggle for existence to a physical catastrophe, the name of Dismal Science may be transferred from Political Economy to Ethics.

— Not unprofitable reading is Mr. Graham's "Creed of Science." The book marks at all events the attitude of a respectable body of thinkers. Mr. Graham subscribes thoroughly to Evolution, but he also sees that there are things not dreamed of in the physical philosophy, and that Man is not likely to be satisfied with science alone any more than with bread. He sees also that it is rather early in the day to assume that Darwin's discovery

is a key to all the mysteries of the Universe, or even to give an unqualified adhesion to that discovery itself. Is it not so? Have not Astronomy and Mathematics still something more to say? Darwin postulates an immense tract of time, but does he not really require an eternity? How many æons would Natural Selection take in producing, merely by the improvement of accidental variations, a bird which should build a nest in anticipation of laying eggs, or a flower and an insect mutually adapted to the sustenance and propagation of each other? Could it be done within any period which Astronomy can possibly allow for the existence of our planet?

— Many who were craving for new assurance of their faith must have eagerly opened a book on "Natural Religion" by the author of "Ecce Homo." Culture and grace of style they would find, but otherwise there would be disappointment. Not only the miraculous or supernatural, but the Beneficence of God, nay His existence apart from the collective forces of nature, and belief in a future life, are given up as unessential to religion. Of worship there is not a word, and it must apparently be abandoned with the rest. This is not only lightening the cargo but scuttling the ship to save her from wreck. What remains? In effect, a set of labels inscribed with the name of religion, which Professor Seeley affixes to civilization, to culture, to science, to art, to intellectual enthusiasm of every kind, above all to nationality and "the atmosphere of thought and feeling which surrounds the State." In vain a sceptical man of science or a Bohemian artist abjures belief in God; in spite of his protestation he is labelled religious. Nobody can be an atheist who retains belief in any law regulating his being. At this rate, no doubt, religion is indestructible: but what will it do for us in life or death? To the toiling and suffering masses of mankind, placed beyond the pale of any fancies about art and culture and the atmosphere of thought and feeling which surrounds the State, what hope or comfort, what support of lowly virtue, will Professor Seeley's philosophy bring to make up for the loss of belief in a Living God?

—Canon Farrar continues to write, and his immense popularity shows that however disturbed conviction may be, interest in the Founder of Christianity and His work has suffered no abatement. We eagerly welcome any semblance of addition to our knowledge, such as "Lives of Christ," which are not biographies at all, but merely topography and antiquities, mixed up with shreds of the Gospel. Canon Farrar, with all his knowledge and all his gifts as a writer, is not a safe guide to truth: he is a pulpit orator who is always veiling difficulties in clouds of eloquence; what is worse, he is a tactician, almost avowedly performing a strategical operation by withdrawing his forces from untenable outworks into the body of the place. His mode of treating the Miracles, by minimizing, and by introducing, wherever he sees a chance, mesmerism instead of miracles, seems the least rational of all. He suggests that Eutychus was not killed but stunned; that the Gadarean swine were driven down the steep by the sight of the maniac's convulsions, which he fancies were attended by an effusion of blood; that the apparition of the bodies of dead saints in the Holy City at the hour of the Crucifixion was the offspring of imagination excited by the earthquake. Soon, of course, he comes to cases which set any such solution at defiance. The question of Miracles is one of fact to be determined by evidence. Can the authors of the Gospels be certainly identified with persons stated in them to have been present at the performance of the Miracles? If they can, we have eye-witnesses; if they cannot we have none, and our faith in our religion must rest upon other grounds.

—The "St. Giles' Lectures" are the work of leading divines in Scotland, which has hitherto been the most orthodox of all Protestant countries, because there the people are the keepers of the faith. But they signally illustrate one great change which has come over the spirit of theology. The barrier which before separated Revealed from Natural Religion has been removed, and all religion is recognised as being for its time and to the measure of its excellence divine. Not only has the Patristic notion that the religions of the heathen were the handiwork of Devils, been totally discarded, but the very names Heathen and

Idolater have been almost laid aside. By these liegemen of Calvin we are told that the Serpent in the narrative of the Fall had a common source with the storm serpent of the Iranians, and that to contact with Zoroastrianism the Jewish religion owed the importance given to prayer, the belief in immortality and a spiritual world, in angels and archangels, and perhaps also in the Resurrection. What would Knox, Melville, and Henderson have said to such suggestions? This same view, however, prevails through the whole series of lectures: it is closely connected with the idea of a science of religion for which comparative philology has paved the way by tracing religious conceptions in their progress through a variety of languages. The revolution is immense, and its influence is now apparent in every theological work which is written with any freedom.

—A strong current of opinion almost always has its back-stream. The back-stream in this case is Neo-Catholicism, the Anglican type of which the other day bore its revered leader to the grave in the person of Dr. Pusey, while Cardinal Newman, walking beside the bier, was an illustrious index of the place to which his friend's principles, logically carried out, belong. Puseyism, or to call it by its other name, Tractarianism, was a serious movement, and produced men who exercised for a time a powerful influence over minds that were not weak. Ritualism, which is an after-growth, is less serious, and has not produced anything beyond a pulpit orator. Its spiritual force is measured by the martyrdom of Mr. Green. Its well-filled churches it owes perhaps in part to attractions scarcely connected with conviction of any kind. In the Middle Ages art and ritual were necessities of belief; they are often necessities of unbelief now. Religious indifference finds in them a partial relief from dulness, and when the Agnostic goes to church it is to a Ritualistic church by preference that he goes.

—With "Marcus Aurelius" closes Renan's memorable series of works on the "Origin and Early History of Christianity." That

Renan presumes too much on his power of divination and often lacks anything like a solid basis of fact, will probably be the opinion of most critics. Especially is it so in the case of his "Life of Christ," which is the work of fancy—of a fancy steeped, no doubt, in Oriental erudition and local knowledge, but distinctly personal and not without a touch of Paris. He is reckoned among destructives, yet it may be doubted whether such has really been his influence. He has probably taught thousands of Frenchmen who had never before looked into the Gospel and regarded its religion simply as an exploded superstition, to feel a respectful interest in Christianity and affection for the person of its Founder. His theories as to the authorship, date, and composition of the Gospels and of some other books of the New Testament are of course fatal to the orthodox doctrine of Inspiration, but not less fatal to that doctrine, in truth, is the admission of a single error in any part of the volume alleged to be inspired. Miracle of course he rejects, and his attempts to detach from it the general narrative, in the case both of the Gospels and the Acts, is the weakest part of his work. But he appears to be a firm believer in religion, and he is certainly a witness stronger, perhaps, than he is himself aware, to the historical fact that with the Author of Christianity spiritual light and life came into the world.

—Methodism in Canada is trying to follow the example of Presbyterianism by uniting its different sects into a single church. May success wait upon its efforts! Perhaps a union of the larger churches will one day come. This, motives of economy, as well as far higher motives, counsel. The village may maintain in a proper manner one competent minister, but it cannot maintain three. Each step in the process will make further steps easier, because it accustoms those concerned to the abandonment of the unessential. If the unessential and the unpractical could be abandoned, religion might live. Is the heart or the life of any working man really affected by the differences which sever the Protestant churches from each other?

—A sign of growing disposition to union on the basis of the great truths was given in the life of that most excellent Primate of the Church of England over whom the grave has just closed. The general merits of Archbishop Tait, and the wisdom with which he steered his barque amidst the storms of a troublous time have been abundantly and eloquently set forth. Less notice has been accorded to the not less important fact that, without doing anything at variance with his duty as the Head of the Established Church of England, he was always personally in hearty communion with good Christians of all Churches, and steadfastly promoted, to the full extent of his influence, the reconciliation of Christendom.

—The question of establishing Free Lending Libraries in our cities has been raised by two public spirited Aldermen of Toronto, who are urging their fellow citizens to adopt that method of stimulating the thirst for knowledge and the love of intellectual pleasure. A few years ago, at the time in fact when these gentlemen commenced their movement, they would have had all the friends of popular enlightenment and culture on their side. But it is impossible not to see that a great change has been made in the aspect of this question by the recent extension of cheap printing. Almost every book, whether light or solid, whether recently published or of a standard character, for which an ordinary reader would be at all likely to ask, is now placed within his reach at a trifling price. This literary revolution promises to prove second in importance only to the invention of printing itself, and prudence bids us at all events wait and see what will be its effect before we commit ourselves to the expense of a building, library and staff in every city. Of the books commonly taken out by those who use Free Libraries, not only is the vast majority reprinted in a cheap form, but a large proportion are of the class which remains but a short time in vogue, and then becomes dead matter and a mere encumbrance to the shelves.

What is most clearly wanted is a good library of reference in each Province for the use of students or persons desirous of information on particular points, with a librarian possessing a thorough

knowledge of books and competent to direct readers to the proper sources of instruction. At Toronto, an extension of the Parliamentary Library might be made to answer the purpose. It is unfortunate that the only good library which we at present have should be wasted on the solitude of Ottawa.

—A kind and praiseworthy interest has been shown by Lord Lorne in the promotion of Canadian literature and art. In this neutral field a Governor-General may find a happy sphere for the activity which his constitutional position precludes elsewhere, and he will not be in danger of compromising, by the artificial influence of his rank, the destinies of a country with which he has no permanent connection. The Academy of Art has succeeded. It had a definite object, which nothing but an exhibition of paintings could fulfil. The Academy of Letters is not likely to succeed. It has no definite object, since essays, if they are worth publishing, are best exhibited by publication. Moreover, English and French art is the same, but English and French literatures are not. The selection of members inevitably involved invidious preferences and rejections which were not ratified by public opinion, while anything like exclusiveness is repelled, and rightly repelled, by the spirit of Canadian society. The French Institute itself has its unlovely side: the struggle for admission gives birth to no small amount of intrigue, jealousy, and cabal. The only recognition of literary excellence needful or possible in such communities as ours is the verdict of an educated people. Such a plant as a Canadian Academy of Letters, though patronized by Royalty, will not take root in this soil. Let all disputes for which it may have given occasion among our literary men be adjourned for a twelvemonth; we shall then hear of them nomore.

What is wanted to give birth to a national literature is a nation. That the colony is not without her share of the intellectual gifts of the Mother Country proofs continue to appear. The work of Messrs. Macoun and Grant on "The North West"; the second and third volumes of Mr. Rattray's "Scot in British North America"; Mr. Dent's "Canadian Portrait Gallery" and "Forty Years of Canadian History," may be cited as worthy exampl e

while "Picturesque Canada" does honour to our artists and to the taste of our people, if for the skill of the engravers we have still to resort to our wealthier kinsmen on the other side of the Line. Canadian Science will always be advancing while it possesses such inquirers as Dr. Dawson, Dr. Selwyn, and Dr. Sterry Hunt. Nor does journalism lag behind in the race. To our Metropolitan Press an independent member has been added by the appearance of the *Toronto World*, while the local press continues, by its growing force, to give the best security for the diffusion of life and intelligence through the whole political frame.

It is rather sad, on the other hand, to find in the literary obituary the name of our only national magazine. The *Canadian Monthly* owed its existence to the shortlived glow of national feeling which passed through the veins of the community on the morrow of Confederation. Sustained only by the voluntary effort which a transient enthusiasm inspired, it made rapid way for about a couple of years. Then, as the movement in which it had originated flagged, the shadow of doom began to fall upon it, and only by great effort and careful management has life been kept in it so long. To talk of revival is vain: against English and American competition, patriotic feeling alone could hold its ground, and of this the limit has been seen.

—Great efforts are being made to improve the endowments of some of our Universities, and to establish them more firmly than ever on their present local and denominational footing. The tribute of our praise is due both to the excellent Principals of Queen's and Victoria, whose energy has infused fresh life into these institutions, and to the Alumni and the members of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches whose liberality has responded to their appeals. Yet even those who have abandoned the hope of consolidation and resigned themselves to the present system can hardly see without sorrow the roots of localism and denominationalism more deeply struck than ever. It is impossible that this Province should maintain six or even four Universities worthy of the name, and capable of doing, either for the student or for the advancement of learning and science, that which a University undertakes to do. This has been so often said and so

faintly denied, that to dwell upon the point any more is needless. But people in general are less alive to the social mischief that may be done by a number of weak Universities tempted, as they almost inevitably are, in the struggle for existence to compete against each other in the facility of graduation. Universities are places of training for learned and scientific professions, one of which every student, saving a few sons of opulence, must intend to enter. Convocation orators may talk of the universal diffusion of Academical culture, and bid us look forward to the time when youths of all classes will come to College and carry back their knowledge to enrich and embellish life in the store or on the farm. This is mere rhetoric. To say nothing of the disinclination to commercial pursuits or farm labour, begotten by intellectual refinement, a course of four years at a University completely knocks off industrial associations and destroys industrial habits. But the number of persons for whom there is employment in the learned and scientific professions is limited, and if the market should become greatly overstocked, there will be a sort of upper class proletariat of paupers who will be of all paupers the most miserable, because their sensibilities will be peculiarly acute, and perhaps of all the most dangerous.

—The Medical College at Kingston has been the scene of an unpleasant affair arising out of Co-education. Nothing in the "Revolt of Woman" is more startling than her determination not only to attend lectures on human physiology, but to attend them with males. In vain have chiefs of medical science protested in the interests of the lecturer, who could not fail to be embarrassed by the presence of ladies, as much as in that of delicacy. Their opposition has served only to stimulate the passionate desire to break through the last barrier. It is surely impossible that a professor should be able entirely to avoid either language or demonstrations which must give pain to female sensibility. Besides the academical affray, Kingston has witnessed an unseemly altercation between the sexes. This, however, will not be without its use as a warning, if it brings home to the minds of the women the fact that the results of their movement, carried to the extreme to which some of them would carry it, must be

not merely the concession to them of certain things hitherto confined to men, but a general change of the relations between the sexes, with serious consequences, perhaps, to such of the female sex as do not wish to become lawyers or physicians. Once more, if woman demands equality she will have to resign privilege: she cannot be at once the partner and the competitor of man. In the meantime, Universities which feel that they are doing good work as places of male education may not unreasonably, before allowing themselves to be revolutionized by the impatient champions of social innovation, pray for a brief respite, in order that they may have time to see the result of the experiment which the Co-educational Universities are making.

—Of the works published in Canada during the last quarter, the most important is Mr. Alexander Mackenzie's *Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown*. Funeral panegyric can never be mistaken for history, and when it was poured forth in an indiscriminating flood at the obsequies of Mr. Brown, it passed unchallenged, because everybody knew that it was simply an expression of feeling evoked by the death of a prominent citizen and by the tragic circumstances of his end. But when a version of historical facts and an estimate of historical characters are seriously pressed upon our acceptance, and by a writer of such political eminence as Mr. Mackenzie, criticism must do its duty. The obligation is particularly clear in the case of Mr. Brown, who in the course of his long and contentious life placed upon record in the journal which was the minister of his animosities, and the files of which have, through the accidents which befel its rivals become to an unfortunate extent the materials for our political history, charges, often of the most cruel kind, against a multitude of persons who crossed him in the path of his ambition or otherwise provoked his ire; so that his apotheosis would be the condemnation of many other public men. Not a few of the charges are revived in this work. Sir Edmund Head, a man whose character in England stood as high as possible among men of honour, is accused of shameless partizanship, of perfidy, of betraying, in the exercise of a high public trust, the head and

heart of a conspirator. Sir John Macdonald is accused of adopting policies which he disapproved, for the purpose of retaining office, of keeping a "spider's parlour," of meanly stealing the credit of measures not his own, nay, of planning an infamous attack on the character of an opponent in the belief that a document essential to the defence had been destroyed—a piece of the blackest villainy. Mr. Justice Wilson is accused of ingratitude to the author of his fortunes which nothing but hallucination could excuse. Imputations of betrayal of principle and unworthy motive are sown broadcast over all who were guilty of taking a course different from that taken by Mr. Brown.

No man attains a high position in politics or in any other sphere without having some remarkable qualities to justify his elevation. As a speaker Mr. Brown had the force which is derived from conviction, always passionate, if not always deeply seated, from an abundant command of vigorous language, great knowledge of Canadian politics, a fluent utterance, a powerful voice and a commanding presence, combined with the impressiveness which always belongs to the words of a leader, though, in the specimens of his oratory selected by his biographer, there is not a touch of eloquence nor one memorable word. In Parliamentary debate he was formidable; on the platform he was evidently supreme, and there his great popularity was won. As a writer he had corresponding merits. His style was practical and telling, but if we are to judge from the samples presented, somewhat coarse and, like his oratory, devoid of high excellence, much more of anything that could be called genius. He had almost boundless powers of work, and great energy of character, sustained by a sanguine temperament and a vigorous constitution; but the British statesman who as Governors General have studied the public men of Canada with a keen eye, did not believe him to be singularly endowed with courage. As the manager of a journal he was eminently successful, so far at least as circulation and influence were concerned. As a political leader he was not so successful; once by accident he grasped power, but held it only for four days, and he left his party at last prostrated by a crushing defeat, distinctly traceable to the policy which, though he had then ostensibly retired from the leadership, he imposed on

his vicegerents. As to the extent of the services rendered by him to the country there is wide difference of opinion, nor does the present biography help us much in the formation of a definite estimate. Responsible Government had been virtually won by the Reformers of 1837, whose political movement succeeded, while their military movement was an ignominious failure, except in so far as it opened the eyes of the Colonial Office and enforced attention. Lord Durham's report was decisive: the rest would not have failed to follow, though the Governors General, or some of them, might at first recalcitrate against the new system. The Liberal principles in pursuance of which responsible government had been conceded, continued to gain ground in the Mother Country, and the policy of the Colonial Office was sure to reflect their progress. Constitutional government would have come without Mr. Brown; what Canada more clearly owes to him is the system of Party, of which, in its most tyrannical form, he was the High Priest. He revived Party after Confederation; he forced it on Ontario; though to overturn a government which would not walk in his ways he could himself, as his biographer ruefully admits, coalesce with extreme Tories. Two great objects, however, there still were to be gained, the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves, or in other words the practical establishment of religious equality, and Representation by Population. The first was vigorously advocated by Mr. Brown, and was no doubt greatly promoted by his efforts; but it can hardly be called his personal achievement, nor did he at last show much more zeal for the right settlement of the question than jealousy of those who had taken the task of settling it into their hands. With the attainment of Representation by Population he is specially identified, and on this his fame as a Reformer is supposed mainly to rest; yet so far was he from personally carrying that measure, that he never brought, or showed a resolute determination to bring, the question to a decisive issue, and it was at last merged, with all other questions between Upper and Lower Canada, in Confederation. For many years, however, he made it the subject of an agitation intensely bitter, and fraught with danger, as it sowed the seeds of deadly enmity between the two races and the two Churches upon whose amity the peace, the prosperity, and almost the exist-

ence of the community depended. Violence was the less excusable because the arrangement which Mr. Brown sought to overturn was a compact which when first made had been to the advantage of his clients, while no breach of faith whatever had been committed on the other side. Such ill service was a serious set off against the good service which he undoubtedly rendered by his general activity on the side of Reform. His attacks upon the Roman Catholic religion were such as nothing could excuse but sincerity; and that they were not more than half sincere became evident, when at the first call of political convenience he turned round and made with the Catholics of Ontario a concordat upon which his party has subsisted ever since. Something is to be said for Mr. Brown's rival, who at all events aimed not at kindling civil strife, but at holding the jarring elements in union. Hatred of what might be deemed incendiarism and a sense of the peril which it was bringing on the country, may very likely have prejudiced Sir Edmund Head against Mr. Brown, while the highminded gentleman would be repelled by brutal treatment of opponents, and by the use of a public journal as an engine for destroying reputations which stood in the way of a personal career. But to accuse Sir Edmund of conspiracy is preposterous. Apart from his character, which, as has already been said, stood as high as possible, he was a shrewd and experienced man of the world, and had been trained, as an English official, in the strictest school of public life. What could have induced him to compromise his reputation, and run the risk of ruining himself in the estimation of his government by conspiring with Canadian politicians in whose fortunes he had no interest, and to whom and whose affairs he was, after a few years, to bid farewell forever? He gave Mr. Brown fair notice, in admitting him to office, that he was not to reckon on a dissolution; and if Mr. Brown himself, in the excitement of sudden accession to power, did not realize the precarious character of his position, some of his more cool headed colleagues did. It is idle to dogmatize about the right of a Minister to a dissolution: there is neither a written law upon the subject nor a fixed rule; the moderation of English statesmen and their fine sense of controlling opinion having prevented questions from arising and precedents from

being formed. But it stands to reason that a Minister cannot be entitled to use this prerogative entirely at his will; if he were, the legal duration of Parliaments would become a nullity and the country might be thrown into confusion as often as reckless ambition chose to try its fortune in the lottery of a general election. Cases are supposable in which it would be the duty of a constitutional sovereign to demur to a demand for a dissolution, and, if he thought fit, to take independent advice. Probably it may be added that in a colony at that time, though responsible government had been established, a somewhat larger discretion was still understood to be left to a Governor than was left in the Mother Country to a constitutional king. Mr. Brown had not defeated the ministers on any great question, or even on any question pertaining to their own policy; he had defeated them by taking advantage of a chance coalition of local jealousies against the award of the Crown fixing the seat of government at Ottawa, which they thought themselves bound in duty to support. A general election had just taken place and there was no shadow of reason for surmising that the mind of the country had changed. That the Parliament had been elected by corruption was a plea which, in the first place, could not have been entertained by the Governor General without the grossest impropriety and which, in the second place, would have cut the ground from under the feet of Mr. Brown whose only claim to office was a majority obtained in that Parliament. A Governor General might well believe that in declining to dissolve he was doing his duty to the country; and though there was room for difference of opinion, there was none for the torrent of foul language which Mr. Brown poured upon Sir Edmund Head through the *Globe* at the time and which his biographer has reproduced. The "Double Shuffle" was a technical, though, as the Courts held, legal evasion of a rule the application of which would in this case have been senseless, since the ministers were simply resuming their offices after an interruption of a few days. It was unseemly and objectionable in a high degree, yet in the struggles of parties things practically worse have been done: a thing practically worse was done when with the approval, if not at the instigation, of Mr. Brown, the Lieutenant Gov-

ernor of Quebec turned out for a party purpose a Ministry which had a majority in the Legislature. Mr. Brown's entrance into the Confederation Ministry is disapproved by Mr. Mackenzie; by most people it was and still is commended as a temporary sacrifice of personal rivalries to the public good. Liberals have more reason to complain that a public man professing their principles should have omitted to give the Constitution moral validity by submitting it to the people, and should have vehemently advocated a nomination against an elective senate. His argument in favour of nomination is thoroughly aristocratic in spirit; he has the House of Lords evidently in his eye, and his fear seems to be that the members of the Upper House will be found too thoroughly in harmony with the popular feeling of the day. The republication of his speech comes at an unlucky moment for his surviving followers, who, to sanctify their own conversion, are making him declare from his grave that he was at heart in favour of their present policy, but was restrained from declaring himself by the delicacy and chivalry which, as they aver, were leading features of his character. How came he then fiercely to assail Mr. Mills, whom there was no impediment of delicacy or chivalry to restrain, for commencing a movement in favour of reform? There are men who are demagogues out of power, Tories in power, despots ever. By his biographer, Mr. Brown seems to be regarded as the Father of Confederation; but, on the record, he hardly deserves that title. His paramount aim seems to have been not so much a union of all the Provinces, which he deemed uncertain and remote, as a change of the political tie between Upper and Lower Canada, in the interest of his own Province. In giving an account of Mr. Brown's secession from the Coalition Government Mr. Mackenzie seems to admit that though the difference about the Reciprocity negotiations was the occasion, desire of relief from an irksome position was the cause. The giant of the platform or the assembly is apt to shrink into less imposing dimensions when placed at the Council-board and pitted, mind to mind, against shrewd and able men who are not to be swayed by rhetorical thunder. It was always said that the Southern Slaveowner never was half so happy at Washington, even in the hour of his political ascendancy, as on his own

plantation, where he was absolutely lord and master of all around him. Mr. Brown's position, it may be easily believed, was more pleasant in the sphere where, instead of finding his supremacy always contested, he ruled with despotic sway, and could visit dissent from his opinion with the lash. That, in spite of his formal retirement, he remained master of the party, is a belief which his biographer will find it difficult to dispel. He may have been sparing of ostensible interference, but his will was daily made known through his journal, which was the compass by which the helmsman steered the ship, and at last steered her full upon the rocks. Mr. Mackenzie says that Judge Wilson was made by the *Globe*: he would not confine the remark to the case of Judge Wilson, and he would admit that if a Judge on the Bench was bound to pay respect to his maker, the obligation would be at least as much felt by right-minded men in other spheres. Government by influence is bad for this among other reasons, that it entails the selection as leaders and possible ministers of men not too strong to allow the influence to rule in their names. Nobody will blame Mr. Brown for opposing Nationality. He was just the man to believe with perfect sincerity that the reforms in which he had taken part were the last legitimate birth of time, and that while, in stripping the Home Government of all its substantial power, and vilifying its representative for attempting to retain the least particle, he had himself earned the glory of a patriot, to touch the form was treason. His biographer is evidently of the same mind: yet he, with seditious frankness condemns in more than one passage the incapable meddling of the Home Government with our affairs, both political and diplomatic; so that he would leave nothing, so far as can be seen, except the "fountain of honour." But the National movement was the direct offspring of Confederation and of the appeals which Mr. Brown, among other promoters of that measure, had addressed to the spirit of the nation; it was pure and generous; it embodied aspirations such as, when successful, history had always crowned with honour; it not only was consistent but was combined with hearty love of the Mother Country; it might have been strenuously opposed without being savagely reviled and slandered. Commercial motives, too, were allowed to peep out in the organ of Mr. Brown's Anti-national-

ism, as Mr. Mackenzie will do well to remind himself before he again pours his imperial scorn on "the Commercial school." If Canadian nationality was a thing really to be desired; if it was really good for this Continent that there should be two experiments in democracy instead of one, the proprietor of the *Globe* was enabled by his control of opinion at a critical moment to do more mischief than commonly falls to the lot of so subordinate an actor on the political scene.

For the enterprise, the skill and energy shown in the creation and management of the *Globe* as a newspaper, Mr. Brown deserves the highest praise, which may be accorded without assuming that had he remained at New York, a country full of intelligence and political life would have failed to provide itself with journalists. The use which he made of his journal is a different matter, and it illustrated the dangers attendant upon a powerful, and in the main, beneficent institution. Party organs are bad, though we must have them, so long as Party reigns: but far worse than any party organ is a journal which, under the mask of public censorship, serves the objects, backs the confederates, and traduces the enemies of individual ambition. Those who thwarted Mr. Brown's will, or incurred his enmity, were not merely assailed with the abuse which is bandied in our party frays, and often shows more heat than malice; they were systematically hunted down. Misrepresentation and distortion were employed constantly and without scruple to hold them up not only to political but to social and personal odium. If they were journalists, all the rules and privileges of the Press were disregarded in the determination to destroy them. No journal ever did more to poison the heart of society; the most virulent of party organs, the most scandalous of society papers, would not have wrought practically so much harm. Thanks to the ability with which the *Globe* was managed, and to the failure of its rivals, there arose a literary despotism which struck without mercy, while a train of parasites seconded its blows, and its victims were utterly defenceless. Few men were bold enough, or sufficiently independent in circumstances, willingly to brave the tiger. The commercial world and the banks cowered with the rest. The power of representation and suppression possessed by a leading newspaper is as formidable as

that of its editorials; and Mr. Mackenzie is fully warranted in saying that public men were made, and he might have added unmade, by the *Globe*. Were Sir John Macdonald as black as Mr. Brown's biographer paints him, we should have had reason to be thankful for him as a liberating force. That Mr. Brown sometimes employed pens dipped in a bitterer gall than his own is very likely; still the responsibility was his. On one occasion he was made to feel the limit of his power in a way highly creditable to the people: his attack upon a Judge distinctly recoiled upon himself, and it is rather surprising that his biographer should dwell with complacency on that affair. All this time the highest pretensions to superior morality were kept up. Mr. Mackenzie is justified in treating the "Big Push" letter as a small affair compared with the Pacific Railway Scandal: what made it so significant was that it was penned by censorious virtue. Nor was the display of religious orthodoxy less edifying: people were denounced for honoring Emerson, and for breathing a doubt about the eternity of Penal Fire. In the funeral sermons appended to this biography we find proofs of the supreme value unhappily attached by clergymen to dogmatic professions. The fraternity of journalists owes little to one who treated his compeers simply as infringers of a monopoly of opinion, to be crushed if possible out of existence, and showed utter disregard of the courtesies of the profession. To the Dictator respect for conscientious difference of opinion was unknown; and the man in whom that is wanting is no Liberal, let him call himself what he may. Proofs of strong domestic affection are given in this biography: of generosity to opponents, of placability, of mercy none. By the commercial undertakings, which, as his biographer shows, he was able to combine with politics and journalism, Mr. Brown exhibited wonderful energy and played a useful part in the development of our industries; for this he deserves full credit; but if he contributed to the improvement of our commercial morality, it was, as Mr. Mackenzie must be aware, rather by precept than by example. When a charge against the character of Sir Edmund Head, of Sir John Macdonald, or any other man, is found to depend on the unsupported testimony of Mr. Brown, the accused will be entitled to acquittal.

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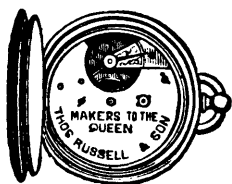
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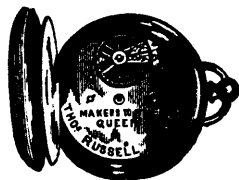
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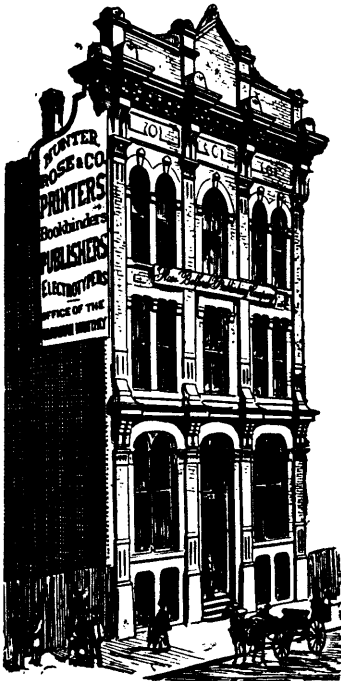
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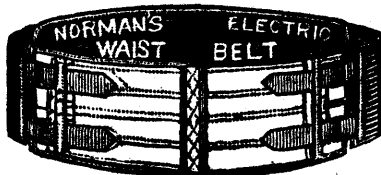
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