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A MONTHLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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THE BYSTANDER FOR 1881.

FRIENDS of THE BYSTANDER are notified that subscriptions for the new year will now be received. Those who wish to take the publication for 1881 will kindly remit the amount, ONE DOLLAR, to the undersigned, or to the Publishers, before the close of the present year. The Magazine will be sent only to those whose subscriptions have been received.

For the objects of THE BYSTANDER and the principles on which it is conducted, its friends are referred to pages 630 and 632 of the present issue.

Cloth Cases for binding the years' volume are now ready, price 30 cents. Subscribers sending their numbers to the publishers, Messrs. Hunter, Rose & Co., 25 Wellington Street West, can have them bound on the payment of 50 cents. Back numbers can be supplied. The volume for the past year, in bound form, can be had, price \$1.50; or in numbers, at the subscription rate, \$1.00.

G. MEROER ADAM,

Manager of THE BYSTANDER.

EQUITY CHAMBERS,
20 Adelaide St. East,
TORONTO, Nov. 30th, 1880. }

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

THE BYSTANDER.

DECEMBER, 1880.

IN saying that the Pacific Railway Agreement ought to carry with it the assent, not only of a parliamentary majority, but of the nation, we did not mean to advocate a dissolution of Parliament. What we meant was, that the terms should, as soon as possible, be communicated to the country, and that time should be given before the meeting of Parliament for full consideration and discussion, so that the members might go to Ottawa instructed and fortified by the opinions of their constituents. There could be nothing in this derogatory in the slightest degree to the authority of the Legislature, while it would have been a simple act of justice to the country. But we must wait to hear the explanation of the Government.

In addition to the more obvious reasons for obtaining, if possible, the free and indisputable assent of the nation to a compact, the operation of which will extend over a period long enough to give time for more than one change of Government, and more than one change of the national mood, another not so obvious, at least not as yet noticed, may be mentioned. The Provinces of the North-West, as they fill up, will begin to have interests and a will of their own. They will feel their prospective as well as their actual importance, and be no longer content to be dealt with as a mere possession by provinces destined, if the Confederation holds together, to be in proportion

to them no more than New Brunswick is to Old Canada. They will think that they have a peculiar title to their own lands, and will jealously scrutinize every use of them, or of the money raised by selling them, for objects in which they have no special concern, particularly if, at the same time, they find themselves in want of the railways and other means of communication, without which expanses of prairie, be they never so fertile, are worth no more than so many millions of acres in Sahara. In Manitoba symptoms of political life and of a consciousness of Provincial interests are just beginning to appear. If the pressure of the tariff is felt by her population, as felt it is likely to be, and indeed with regard to coal already is, her assumption of an independent attitude will be hastened, and a strain will so much the earlier be put on any compact made at her expense, which she may not deem to her advantage.

Our own conviction on the general question need hardly be repeated. We should deprecate the committal of the country to the construction of those portions of the line which, as matters now stand, must be deemed unprofitable, that is to say, the Mountain section and that to the north of Lake Superior. We should deal with the whole subject on a commercial footing, being persuaded, that what is best for the country commercially is also best for her politically, and that her greatest danger is the accumulation of debt, which may ultimately deprive her of the control of her own destinies. We should have said—“The North-west Territory is a rich heritage which has fallen to Canada. Let us first thoroughly open up the territory itself and realize the wealth which it contains, by providing it through its whole extent with railways and by inviting population. If, when this is done, a surplus fund of land still remains, let it be applied to the completing of an inter-oceanic line within the Canadian border, if that seems desirable; if not, to the reduction of the national debt.” There are those who believe that the antagonism between Canada and her neighbours, on which the project of a political and military line is founded, will continue and even increase: there are others to whom it seems

to be melting away like April snow. Again, the northern coast of Lake Superior, may prove, as some assert, to be a country teeming with mines, and sure to attract a great mining population. In that case, a railway carried through it, instead of being commercially unproductive, will pay well, and the whole case, including the character of the present bargain, will be greatly changed.

We, by no means, feel sure that could the question have been fairly put to the people, we should not have had them on our side. Matters, however, have taken a different course. The political and military objects connected with the Anti-Continental policy have prevailed. They have prevailed with both the parties, for the late Government adopted the entire scheme, and betraying its misgivings only by being more hesitating in execution than the present. Canada stands committed to the construction of the political and military line. But upon commencing the enterprise as a Government work, the difficulties and evils which always beset great works undertaken by Governments have appeared. It has become evident that a vast commercial enterprise in the North-west cannot be properly managed by a political department at Ottawa: the contracts have given birth, as the evidence taken by the Royal Commission shows, to jobbery and corruption on the scale usual in such cases; party hostility interferes with the operations; a prospect of indefinite expenditure is opened, and a burden of uncertain magnitude presses on the commercial spirit of the country. The Government, therefore, has resolved to transfer the undertaking to a Company, and its resolution is beyond doubt approved by the nation, which received the announcement of the successful result of the negotiations with universal expressions of relief. The agreement, at the time of our writing, is not before us in detail, but its main conditions seem to be known. The Government gives the Company twenty-five millions of dollars and twenty-five millions of acres of land. On what principle the land is to be selected does not yet appear, but it is stated to be valued at two dollars an acre. The Government finishes the road from

Thunder Bay to Selkirk, and from the Pacific to Kamloops, and hands those sections over to the company when the whole road is finished. The Company gives as security for the construction, one million of dollars, and five million acres of its land. The Government is to continue to hold this security, paying interest on it to the Company, for a period after the completion of the line sufficient to prove satisfactorily that the perpetual working of the road has been secured. The road, it is to be inferred from this arrangement, does not revert to the Government, but becomes the property of the Company. We must leave it to railway experts and others familiar with the subject to pass judgment on these terms. That the country should have to pay fifty-five millions in hard cash, to say nothing of the land grant, for the building of a railway, which, after all, is not to be its own, appears to us a severe comment on the Anti-Continental policy. For our own part we should of course propose to amend the agreement by separating the Prairie, Mountain, and Lake Superior sections, from each other, apportioning the subsidy, and leaving it open to the nation to decide, when the Prairie section has been finished, whether the other sections shall be constructed or not. But supposing this to be out of the question, all we have to say is, that the ablest negotiators have been employed on the part of the country, that their own reputation and position as public men were staked upon the issue, and there can be no doubt that they have done their best. That the bargain is a good one for the Company may be taken for granted: no body of capitalists would have embarked on so vast and perilous an undertaking without a prospect of large gains. But what is a good bargain for the Company may not be a bad one for us, since a commercial Company may reasonably expect, by superior management, to make profit which a government could not make, and to avoid losses which a government could not avoid. Immigration will now be effectively pushed, and the value of the land which remains in the hands of the Government will be increased. At all events, uncertainty and indefinite liability are

at an end. Perhaps the clearest and greatest gain of all is, that we are rescued, politically as well as commercially, from a yawning abyss of jobbery and corruption.

It has been naturally remarked that the Syndicate does not contain those names of colossal European firms which were expected to appear. The members of the Government have partly to thank their own too sanguine language for any disappointment which the absence of the Barings, the Erlangers, the Paris Rothschilds may have produced in the public mind. On the other hand, there can be no doubt as to the perfect respectability and trustworthiness of the men with whom the agreement has actually been made: what they have undertaken they will perform to the best of their power, and the commercial honour of the country, so far as it is entrusted to them, will be safe in their hands. Nor is there reason to fear now or hereafter intrigues between them and the Government against the interest of the nation. They are not the men, nor do they resemble the men, who ten years ago commenced their operations as applicants for the construction of the line by deliberately setting to work to corrupt the Government through Sir George Cartier. Vague apprehensions are afloat that the interests of the public enterprise will in some way be made subservient to those of the St. Paul and Minneapolis Road owned by the leading members of the Syndicate: but the line of the Pacific Railway laid out by Government cannot be altered; and if its construction benefits the St. Paul and Minneapolis Road, no harm is done to us. The fact is that without the sort of basis afforded for a Syndicate by the St. Paul and Minneapolis Road, we should hardly have found a trustworthy body of capitalists to undertake this work.

It may safely be assumed that the Pacific Railway Agreement will occupy Parliament from the ninth of December to Christmas, so that to touch on other questions at present would be premature. Not that we look forward to a tough or protracted struggle on the subject of the Agreement. The Opposition may make a good point on the refusal of the Gov-

ernment to make known the conditions to the country, but otherwise its position is weak. It has thoroughly committed itself to a policy with regard to the general question identical with that of the Government; and, if it attempted to prevent the transfer of the construction to a company, it would have the whole country against it. In power, it accepted the undertaking and carried it on as a government work; while its organ persistently goaded on the country to the enterprise, and impugned the motives of those who were trying to bring the other side of the question before the people. Nor is any one, except the regular leaders of the Opposition, likely to make a stand; not one has done so at any stage of the affair. In whatever respects the Canadian Parliament may resemble that of England, it lacks the sturdy eccentricity of the Cross Benches. In the English Parliament, if public interests so great had been at stake, there would unquestionably have been found a man who, in defiance alike of majorities and of conventional opinion, would have fought his battle unflinchingly, and forced his view of the question on the consideration of the country.

—Amid the jubilant voices of 'the Hum,' it is to be hoped that a note of gentle warning will not grate too harshly on the public ear. The causes of commercial improvement and of the present rise, not to say inflation, of all stocks and securities, are two good harvests and the revival of the lumber trade, in connection with the general termination of the crisis in the United States and over the world at large. The cause is not increased taxation, however skilfully the new taxes may have been adjusted; and the tour which the Finance Minister has been making to see the happy fruits of his new Customs' duties in creating wealth, though gracious and politic, is not without its comic side. It would be a sad mistake, therefore, to suppose that a further increase of prosperity could be produced at will by a fresh increase of the taxes, or that it is desirable to maintain taxation at its present rate one moment beyond the actual

existence of the fiscal need. As the harvests and the lumber are the causes of the commercial improvement, so they are its measure, which no legislation can enlarge. It is necessary to lay this to heart, lest, in the fond belief that we have discovered a legislative talisman capable of conjuring wealth to any extent out of aggravated imposts, we should be led to plunge into a course of boundless importation, multiplication of manufactures, and bonus granting, which must soon end in disaster. Many seem to think that Canada is prevented from doing an enormous trade only by want of commercial legislation, or of puffing, or of some nostrum which the Canadian Government or that of the Mother Country, if it had the good-will and energy, could apply. But the reason why Canada is not doing an enormous trade is that she has only four millions of people, one million of whom, at least—the French Canadians—are extremely poor, while the amount of her good land is limited, almost all of it is taken up, and not a little of it is exhausted. She is also deeply in debt, and has yearly to send a large sum in the way of interest to England. Her purchasing power, therefore, is not infinite, nor the market she affords unbounded, either for imported goods or for those manufactured at home. The number of banks, loan societies, and insurance companies which the wealth and commercial transactions of such a community will support is limited, though from the multiplication of such institutions it seems there are speculators who fancy that it is not. General and steady prosperity awaits our people if they will be guided by a sober view of facts: if they allow themselves to be misled by rhetorical fictions, a period of exaggerated hope and boundless speculation will end in another crash.

—The changes in the Ministry do not much affect its character in any respect: certainly they do not widen its basis. There were some who cherished the hope that Sir John Macdonald might use his personal ascendancy to liberate the country in

some measure from the dominion of faction, and make government more national. Had he done this, his career would have closed gloriously. But among the tests of greatness, some one has numbered the power of taking in new ideas after fifty, and the difficulty of the fact is increased when the old ideas block the avenues of the mind in the shape of comrades and expectant partisans. The only move in the direction of a broader basis has been the employment, we fear we ought rather to say the waste, of Sir Alexander Galt. It is something, however, that Sir John Macdonald has always been true to the public interest in the appointment of judges: let us hope that he will persevere in this course, and follow the good example of the British Government, which now sets aside party altogether in most of the judicial appointments, reserving only the very highest as the rewards of its Law Officers. In the country, unless all visible symptoms deceive us, the feeling against Partyism, and in favour of National Government, gains ground. The process is slow, of course, because the existing system is of long standing, deeply rooted in habit, and supported by powerful organizations, the members of which have a personal interest in its continuance. But to say that a reform is difficult, and probably distant, is not to despair. If patriotic citizens are satisfied that National Government is better for the community than government by faction, and if they will keep the object steadily in view, and press towards it whenever an opening is presented, a happy moment may at length arrive, and the "impracticable" and "chimerical" may all at once become a fact.

—The *Montreal Journal of Commerce* will not let THE BYSTANDER alone. Perhaps its manager would himself prefer, like his excellent compeer, the *Toronto Monetary Times*, to exclude politics and, still more, personalities from his columns. But he, no doubt, finds Sir Francis Hincks irrepressible as well as inexhaustible. We mete to Sir Francis Hincks with his own measure, as he chooses, in defiance of the rules of the profession,

to attack by name the author of unsigned articles. The Knight is sorrowful because Conservative journals will not follow the bright example of the *Globe*, which he holds up for their imitation, in pursuing with calumny and insult a literary brother who has the honour to be the object of his hatred. The journals in question have only said that, however much they might dislike a man's opinions, they did not want anybody to be hounded down. Sir Francis does want somebody to be hounded down, and therefore mere forbearance seems to him "systematic toadying." Was it "systematic toadying" when, on a recent legal occasion, affecting his personal character and feelings, he received equitable treatment at the hands of writers whose political opinions are opposed to his own? Those whom he chides for their lukewarmness may feel that they are above all things members of an honourable profession, the privileges and courtesies of which they are bound to regard. They may also, on general grounds, have been unwilling to join a ring of assailants whose motives were manifestly personal, and who, with powerful organs at their command, were setting on a defenceless man. We believe Sir Francis when he intimates that no insult is gross enough if aimed at the right object, to seem to him libellous, and that he is unable to conceive how the use of such weapons can be deemed an interference with the freedom of discussion. He has succeeded, at all events, in proving that modern knighthood is an institution, adapted to the requirements of a practical age, and has no connection with the fantastic chivalry of the past.

Sir Francis Hincks avers that we have "imputed to the party of which the *Mail* is an organ that, openly professing loyalty its members are consummate hypocrites and secret advocates of annexation." We beg leave most respectfully to intimate that he must himself be aware of the character of his statement. "A moral reunion of all who own Great Britain as their parent and speak the tongue of Shakespeare" is turned by his plastic fancy into a political annexation of Canada to the United States. Who talked or thought of hypocrisy? Mr.

Thomas Hughes, by founding an English Colony in Tennessee, shows that he feels the influence of the moral reunion ; yet, with a sincerity which no one doubts, he deprecates Annexation. Supposing we had even said that the tide of feeling was turning, does change imply hypocrisy ? Was not Sir Francis Hincks once a Radical, and is he not now a Conservative lecturing "revolutionists" with the horrified solemnity of a Tory Duke ! Between these two extreme points of a distinguished career there must have been a time when his sentiments were on the turn, but when it would, nevertheless, have been as absurd to accuse him of hypocrisy as it would have been to accuse him of corruption.

Our critic has a keen and practised eye for motive. In one page we claim a fair hearing for the result of Sir John Macdonald's proposed negotiations respecting the Pacific Railway, in the next we defend Mr. Blake against an attack made on him by Sir John Macdonald. This shows, it seems, that we "have two strings to our bow," and that if our concealed, and presumably nefarious, object cannot be obtained by paying "homage" to Sir John Macdonald we hope to obtain it by paying homage to Mr. Blake. It matters not that we have often avowed our dissent from the particular line taken by one of those statesmen, and from the general policy of the other. These, no doubt, are blinds to cover a crafty approach. We shall be glad to hear what it is that is to be compassed by flattering at the same time the leaders of two opposite parties ; but pending this disclosure, we take the liberty of assuring our critic that we neither owe nor pay homage to any man in the Dominion.

Scarcely had this journal appeared, when Sir Francis Hincks tried to stop its sale by proclaiming through the reporter of an American paper that it was brought out for the purpose of advocating Annexation. We condole with him on the result of his generous effort. The BYSTANDER was brought out for the purpose of reviewing Current Events, Canadian and general ; the Canadian Events in the interest of the whole Canadian people, and in that interest alone. Of such mental labour as has been

bestowed upon it not a twentieth part, we will venture to say, has been devoted to the subject of the relations between Canada and the United States. Our tendency from the first has been to increase the literary portion of the journal at the expense of the political department; and we should have gone further in this direction had we not been stopped by the remonstrances of friends. We have taken subjects just as they have presented themselves. Two great questions, the Tariff and the Railway Policy, have been before the people since the *BYSTANDER* appeared. Neither of them could be discussed without reference to our relations with the people of the United States, and to the terms, whether of antagonism or partnership, on which we may be destined to live with them on this continent. The prevailing policy respecting Government railways is based on the assumption of perpetual antagonism, and is an attempt to give effect to that principle at prodigious cost to the nation. If Sir Francis Hincks, instead of hooting at us, would have read us, he would know that we have never mentioned political annexation except to show that it is not a necessary consequence of commercial union. Frail indeed would be a political allegiance which depended on the continuance of a customs line. Commercial union, we beg leave, in answer to Sir Francis Hincks' reiterated inquiries, once more to inform him is complete reciprocity; and if complete reciprocity is annexation, he and the other advocates of partial reciprocity must be at least half annexationists. But suppose we had broached the political question, are Canadians alone to be gagged? You can hardly take up a newspaper without seeing a notice of some article in the English press, dealing freely with our concerns. One paper by Mr. Anderson and another by Mr. Clarke have just appeared, discussing the destinies of this country without reserve. A Conservative member of the British Parliament has given notice of a motion for next session which, if carried, would entirely "revolutionize" our political relations. Is Canada to be silent while that motion is debated, or are her thoughts to be confined to a circle authoritatively traced for her by Sir Francis Hincks?

If Sir Francis is bent on keeping up antagonism to the rest of the continent, and demands a policy founded on that principle, why does he not use his pen against the agencies which he must see plainly enough are carrying us the other way? Canadians are crossing the line by tens of thousands, and of those who remain there is not one in a hundred who would not be ready to go if he were assured that by doing so he would improve his own condition and that of his family. This fact is decisive, not in favour of annexation, but against the anti-Continental policy and the expenditure of the people's earnings at the rate of fifty-five millions in a lump on anti-Continental objects. Sir Francis would do well also to turn his attention to the progress of sentiment in the Mother Country, which for his policy is most untoward. He cannot have failed to note the marked and almost unparalleled attentions which are being paid to the American ambassador, and he knows enough of English society to understand that the acceptance, by an English County, of an American as the Master of the Hunt, which was mentioned in our journals the other day, is in its way a significant fact. He will hardly enjoin us, in the name of loyalty, to persevere in an antipathy which the Mother Country has renounced. He has the sea to mop up; and will find plenty employment for his mop without thrusting it perpetually into our face. We never said or thought of saying a word against him if he would only have left us at peace, or criticized us temperately, and without breaking the rules of the profession.

That the present state of things is not final but provisional, is avowed by everybody who speaks or writes upon the subject, by the Conservatives and advocates of Imperial Federation as distinctly as their opponents, while, on the other hand, no one—certainly no one connected with this journal—has the slightest interest in precipitating the course of events. In one way or other the Canadian statesmen of the next generation will be called upon to act upon an ampler scene, and to deal with greater questions than those of the present. If any one of them shall hereafter have reason to think, as he looks

back, that the frank discussion of all questions in these pages has helped in the slightest degree to prepare him for his part the special object of the BYSTANDER will have been fulfilled.

—All will applaud the gallantry of the young members of Toronto University who assemble to vindicate what they deem the rights of women. It can hardly be said that a person who has received from the State a high education is positively injured because that education is not carried higher; still if a young lady is distinctly prepared at the High Schools for a male University career and taught to look forward to it as the completion of her course, her exclusion is undoubtedly a hardship. But the question whether young ladies ought to be prepared at the High Schools for a male University career, is one of several cognate problems relating to our system of education which demand, and it is to be hoped will soon receive, the attention of the community. Not the slightest disloyalty to the cause of public education is implied in saying that the high pressure system begins to breed misgivings, both in those who look at the matter from the medical, and in those who look at it from the economical, point of view. In reminding the advocates of Co-education that the moral and social as well as the intellectual bearings of the system required consideration, we meant only to distinguish the effect on the character in its two-fold aspect from the effect on mind: we did not allude particularly to the danger of runaway matches or anything else that is indelicate; though it seems to us preposterous to treat co-education at the University as a mere sequel to co-education at the High Schools, ignoring altogether the important fact of puberty. Is it intended that the system shall be made universal and that all the young ladies of the wealthier class, without distinction of disposition or circumstances, shall be thrown with all the young gentlemen of the same class in common Universities; or is it intended to limit the experiment to a select few? In the latter case, we shall not raise the

education of women generally, but on the contrary rather lower it, by taking away the intellectual leaven from the lump: in the former case, surely, we shall have to encounter moral and social difficulties on a large scale. Zurich produced a female student life which startled Europe and caused German Universities to recoil from the plan. Caution is inspired, we must repeat, by the evident connection of the co-education scheme with a general attempt to change the relations of the sexes, the success of which would be the most momentous of all social revolutions. We are Liberals, cordially desirous of giving free play to all reasonable aspirations, and willing to run considerable risks in the way of experiment as often as it appears likely that the lot of any part of the human race can be changed for the better; but, when all has been said that can reasonably be said about the defects of the present system of female education, we cannot help regarding a gentle and accomplished Englishwoman who as a wife and mother is performing well the highest of human duties, as an article too precious to be flung into the smelting pot without a considerable probability of improvement.

To provide employment for unmarried women thrown on their own resources is an excellent object, and one which commands our warmest sympathies. But would it be promoted by co-education? Few women, surely, can look forward to making their bread by the practice of the learned professions. That course would require a renunciation of marriage, certainly of maternity, to which, unless female character and aspirations undergo a total change, women would rarely be willing to resign themselves on the threshold of life. A woman may study theology, law, or medicine, but she cannot possibly mind a baby and attend to a congregation, client, or patients at the same time. There are a few female ministers of religion, but the fashion appears not to gain ground. There are women practising medicine with success, yet of these again the number is small, though larger than that of the female preachers; and the anticipation that female patients would prefer physicians of their

own sex does not seem to have been generally fulfilled. As to law, its paramount object is justice, not provision for the maintenance of lawyers: and how is that object to be attained if we are to have female advocates appealing to the feelings of male jurymen, and male advocates appealing to the feelings of female jurymen? It is vain to suppose that by merely shutting our eyes and minds, we can really exclude the influence of sex. Politics is a trade into which, even if it is destined to last, no woman who retained a vestige of her sex would wish to go. It must be remembered, too, that every female minister, physician, or lawyer—those callings being already over-filled—would take away the bread from a man and from the man's wife. We have urged, in connection with this question, the expediency of encouraging the Art Schools, which may train women for a considerable variety of employments, suited to the special conditions of their life, as well as to their special gifts, and not incompatible with domestic occupations. In this direction probably there is most to be hoped. We are glad to see that the Toronto School of Art is doing well and that our Christmas bookstores display in increasing measure the fruits of female taste and of the fine touch of the female hand. Good schools of Music might be a valuable addition to the Schools of Art.

The Co-education movement is connected not only with a general tendency to revolutionize the relations between the sexes, which touches the foundation of society, but with ideas about the necessity, or the unspeakable advantage in all cases, of education carried to a high pitch, into the correctness of which the world will have some day to look. Some persons are marked out for the life to which a learned and scientific training is essential, without being on that account a bit better or a bit happier than their neighbours; for it is an utterly groundless and perverse fancy which draws distinctions of higher and lower between honest callings, all equally necessary to the common work and the common weal of humanity. The mass are destined to active pursuits or business which, we are persuaded, it is better as a general rule that they should enter

as soon as a sound practical education has been received. Ordinary occupations, commercial or domestic, happily do not now preclude the enjoyment of intellectual pleasures, since books, journals, and other sources of instruction are placed within everybody's reach, and the Professor himself teaches not orally only, as in bygone ages, but in print. Co-education practically goes on, for both sexes, if they do not sit in the same class room, read the same books at home. Mere stimulation of the brain during youth may be no benefit, but the reverse, nor is human happiness likely to be increased by kindling an intellectual ambition, which cannot be satisfied, in the hearts of all mankind.

If it is urged that Co-education prevails in the United States, but we must say that this is no rule for us. One of these communities cannot do the rest a better service than by asserting in social questions its right to separate deliberation, and refusing to be swept by any wave of fashion that may be passing over another portion of the Continent. But the adoption of Co-education in the United States is by no means universal. Principal Eliot, of Harvard, a most liberal-minded man, after personally inspecting the various Co-educational institutions and weighing the results of his inspection, decided against the change. He was denounced with great virulence, but his firmness did not give way. The founder of Cornell University was a noble-hearted and admirable man, but he was totally without experience in University matters, and his ignorance, combined with his enthusiasm, interfered to no small extent with the good effects of his benefaction. One of his hobbies was the union of manual labour with University studies, which has failed. Another was Co-education, which is weak, though it has been supported with princely munificence by a second Cornell. Certainly the result has not yet fulfilled the visions of the female advocate of Women's Rights, who closed a speech full of peculiar social doctrines by assuring Mr. Cornell that when his University had been opened to women "his anniversary would be celebrated with the same reverence as the Fourth

of July or the coming of Christ." Female Colleges, such as Vassar, Elmira, and Wells, have not, so far as we are aware, declined in favour. But let Cornell carry on its founder's experiment, which it is doing under the most auspicious circumstances, with a beautiful, though as yet poorly filled, boarding-house for the female students, and beneath the eye of the most generous of foster-fathers. Experimentation on the relations between the sexes is more costly and perilous than experimentation on the Edison light.

—There is one feature of the Presidential Election which the more sober-minded even of the vanquished party will recognise as good—the result is decisive: all muttering; about a Protest and a Count have died away. We surmised that, the Ohio and Indiana elections having indicated an inclination of the balance to the Republican side, Commerce, to avoid the fell possibility of a dispute, would be likely to throw her weight into that scale. The danger of a count, with passions at fever heat, was perhaps greater than Americans knew. They have had so many escapes that they are in rather a happy-go-lucky frame of mind. But once they did not escape. People do not go, they are drawn, into civil war. Matters come to a deadlock, amidst frenzied excitement, and then the hand is laid upon the sword.

The American people were doing well: their trade had revived, their finances were flourishing, their debt was being reduced: they shrank from a revolution in government which would have put all this to hazard. They knew that whatever Mr. Bayard or Mr. Tilden might say, and however sound the policy of such Democrats might be, Tammany and other sinister elements were behind, and that rule would be really in the hands of the imperious South. The Republican party had shown too clearly the bad effects of a long tenure of power, though far less under Mr. Hayes than under General Grant: many would have been willing to consent to a change on this account as well as on the general principle that, under the party system,

turn and turn about is the best rule. But the risk was too great to be run. Besides, from the Bosses to Garfield is a great and happy change. This, we conceive, is the real account of the Republican victory. Of Bloody-shirt feeling against the South there was little trace: appeals of that kind fell dead: but not to want to exterminate people is one thing, to want to be governed by them is another. Nor can we believe that the abstract question between National Government and State Right had much influence. Slavery was a disuniting force; so, in a less degree, is White Ascendency, the relic of Slavery: but the States of the Union are now so welded together by railways, canals, and every kind of commercial, as well as every kind of social, connection, that no Administration could possibly infuse much vigour into the separatist doctrine of State Right. This, we apprehend, the people feel, and know that the party in power, be it Democrat or Republican, is for centralization, and the party out of power for local independence.

† The Protectionists naturally persuade themselves that it was upon their issue that the battle was fought and won. They say that it was being lost on the common issues when Protection was taken up; and that the change of front turned the day. Political troops must be very well in hand if they can execute such a change of front under fire. The weakness of Free Trade has been revealed: evidently its friends are lukewarm, while its enemies in both camps are ardent, having special interests to defend. We do not believe that more can be said; but this is a sufficient answer to Canadian journalists who fancy that in sympathizing with the Democratic party, they are sympathising with the party of Free Trade. If manufactures grow at the South, the Democratic party will be less energetically Free Trade than it is now. On the other hand the Republicans, if they go on managing the finances well and diminishing the necessity for taxation by reducing the debt, will be Revisors of the Tariff in spite of themselves. Nobody now-a-days would advocate the imposition of taxes on the people, merely for the purpose of keeping out foreign

goods; nor could any party with such a policy hope to hold power.

A bad feature of the election was the sharp line once more drawn between North and South: but for this there was no help. The political action of communities is determined, at bottom by their social structure; and the social structure of the South is still radically different from that of the North: Southern society resembles that of the West Indies after emancipation, which could not have been safely permitted to rule England. Time, intercourse with the North, immigration not only from the North but from England, industry, the growth of manufactures and commerce will soften the dividing line: effaced it can never be so long as the South contains a dominant and a subject race. Happily in this case there is no Irish Channel. It is the fatal tendency of these contests for the Presidency to sharpen and emphasize all sectional divisions, as well as to bring all dangerous questions to a crisis. But the South appears to have borne the defeat well, to show less resentment in fact than the Northern wing of its party. This is the good effect of the policy of President Hayes, which the Bosses denounced because their rolling stock was on the other line. The Southerners have, in truth, lost nothing; they might have lost a good deal had they by four years of domination, in company with Tammany and other powers of evil at the North, disturbed commerce, alarmed the country, reawakened the feelings, if not reopened the issues, of the Civil War, and been hurled down in 1884 by a violent recoil.

General Garfield sets down, as one of the greatest results, the defeat of personal calumny. When the people are asked to place in a man's hand an immense trust, it is natural and right that his character should be closely scrutinized; but this is a different thing from political assassination. The persecution of Mr. Tilden for pretended non-payment of his income-tax was detestable, so were the attempts to destroy the character of General Garfield. The number 329 which was posted and placarded everywhere by his enemies, itself confuted the slander-

ous tale which it told. Was it possible that a politician of mark, however corrupt, should have been such an idiot as to sell his reputation for three hundred and twenty-nine dollars? The character of General Garfield is as pure as that of Mr. Hayes, and as that of any party politician can be.

The President Elect is a man of feeling and taste, but he is also a strong man, and it is not likely that he will be betrayed by any party passion or thirst of party applause into a departure from the path of equity towards the South and general moderation happily traced by his predecessor. It is said that he means to keep the present Secretary of the Treasury, as a pledge of the continuance of Resumption policy. A measure of Civil Service reform, larger than that on which the present Administration has had strength to enter will be expected at his hands by some of the best of his supporters. But to Party, Civil Service reform is an arduous undertaking: both factions stand in need of the bribery fund, without which their followings cannot be held together or the services of their wirepullers enlisted. It is not of increase of efficiency that the Civil Service of the United States stands in need so much as of increase of purity. The native intelligence and versatility of the people to a great extent supply the place of special training: nothing can be more preposterous or apparently more fatal to good administration than a political rotation of Postmasters, yet if we may trust our own experience the postal administration is good and the same may be said with regard to the police, which is also appointed by party. Against the Customs administration there are loud complaints, on the ground, not of inefficiency, but of corruption. The only department which requires a very special training is that of Foreign Affairs, and this, in the case of the United States, is on a small scale. Competitive examination is, we confess, no idol of ours: it is a safeguard against jobbery when honest appointments cannot be secured; but we prefer honest appointment by the head of the department, who is at liberty to look to trustworthiness as well as to ability and knowledge, and ought to be the best judge of what the service

needs. The Spoils system it is that, by breeding a swarm of mercenary politicians, who distract the country by their venal struggles, is the curse of the Republic: and the cure for this evil would be a Constitutional Amendment enacting that no person in the service of the United States, other than a member of the political executive, should be deprived of his place without cause duly assigned. Abolition of the office would, of course, be cause as well as inefficiency, breach of duty, or superannuation. Never, we fear, has the necessity of such a reform been more apparent than it is now. In the late election all the officeholders were taxed as usual, Presidential ordinances to the contrary notwithstanding: a vast sum must have been raised in this way and spent in various forms of bribery. General Garfield may perhaps say with truth that his election is a triumph over calumny: we are strangely misinformed if he can say with truth that it is a triumph over electoral corruption. Again we are constrained to ask how the political character of any nation can withstand forever the virus of evil passion and corruption which these vast faction fights infuse?

Little was heard of the Greenbackers; nor at this moment do we know exactly what vote they polled. In Illinois the number was 25,000, in Missouri 35,000, in Iowa 33,000. We are told that when the official returns come in the total will not fall short of half a million. Of the nominal Greenbackers many were no doubt absorbed by the two great parties, especially, we may be sure, by the Democratic party, as the party hostile to Resumption. Fusion in Maine proved affinity at all events, whatever may have been the exact relations of its elements. It seems clear, however, that Fiat Money has received a total overthrow. Not there—not in sham currency—lies the hope of improving the lot of the working class. Nor does it lie in taking banking or any department of commerce out of commercial hands and putting it into the hands of demagogues, incarnations of mere envy and malignity, to be ruined in the name of the State. A "National" party which would give itself to promoting the material inter-

ests of the people, without regard to the old organizations and their regulation issues, would command the hearty sympathy of those who look at things from our point of view. But its objects would be the repression of faction, the punishment of corruption, the administration of government not in the interest of any party or section, nor of any class, whether artisan or millionaire, but of the whole nation. A movement of this kind would have life in it and a future. We congratulate the Nationals, if the statement is true, on the departure from public life of Dennis Kearney. Far be it from us to misjudge any man who stands forth to plead the cause of labour or the poor, merely because he is rough or even violent. The world too often slumbers over injustice and needs a rude awakening. But this man's speech betrayed him. Never did love of mankind clothe itself in such language. Could he have got the upper hand, he would simply have set the torch, in the spirit of reckless hatred, to a civilization which, with all its imperfections, is the most just to those who toil and the most hopeful that the world has seen.

— Some Americans appear to think that the struggle in Ireland is for national independence. It is true that the landlords are regarded by the peasantry as aliens, and historically, at all events, are so. But the struggle is essentially agrarian. Anyone who has watched the course of the Home Rule party must know that the political movement is very weak. Its feebleness and the uncertainty of its aim were betrayed when, for lack of such leaders as great national movements never fail to produce, it was fain to take up with so questionable an adventurer as the late Mr. Isaac Butt. Its special object, if it can be said to have one, is now completely merged in the agitation against rent. For our part, we have more than once avowed that if national independence were possible for Ireland, a patriotic struggle would command our sympathies. We thoroughly accept the Liberal principle of justice among nations: we do not

want to see communities bound together in bundles and deprived of their separate life to gratify anybody's vanity; we do not believe that Empire of this kind adds a particle to the happiness or to the real dignity even of the Imperial people. Of the two it is far worse and far meaner to be the conqueror and oppressor than to be the conquered and oppressed. But a struggle for independence, and independence itself, are possible only to a united nation. Ireland is very far indeed from being united. The Orange and Protestant North is at this moment ready to march against the Fenian and Catholic South; in the first hour of independence the two races and the two religions would be flying at each other's throats, and it is not unlikely, as experience shows, that the North, though the minority, might have the upper hand. At all events, if the Protestants of Ireland were hard pressed by the Catholics, nothing could prevent the Protestants of England and Scotland, especially those of Scotland, whose kinsmen as well as co-religionists the Irish Protestants are, from rushing to their aid. But of the Catholics themselves, particularly those of the wealthier class, many, since Catholic Emancipation and Disestablishment, have become unionists, while the clergy, and particularly the Hierarchy, are for the most part strongly opposed to Fenianism and to the project of an Irish Republic. Among the Home Rulers themselves, scarcely two are agreed in their political aims, and the peasantry, owing to their fatal want of constitutional training, are devoid of political ideas, and have no notion of anything but blindly following a chief whom they are apt to choose, as Americans know, on the most illusory grounds. There is not among the Irish leaders one capable of holding together any large body of his countrymen, much less is there one capable of founding an Irish commonwealth. If Ireland were cut loose from England to-morrow, in a month she would be a political bedlam, which would soon be turned into a slaughter-house. But as large a measure of self-government as most of the Home-Rulers themselves profess to desire may be attained in another way. The Liberal party

not only stands pledged to do justice to Ireland, but has been doing it for half a century, and in its last measures—the Land Bill which was carried ten years ago, and the Compensation Bill which was thrown out by the Tory House of Lords the other day—it has shown that its sense of right is not hide-bound by conventional rules. Its victory over Jingoism in the last Election was the victory of righteousness over aggrandizement: under the same banner it still marches, and unless the Irish patriots distinctly see their way, not only to the political severance of their island from Great Britain, but to the peaceful establishment of an Irish Republic, wisdom bids them march on by its side.

It is natural that many should be found to arraign both the consistency and the wisdom of the Liberal Government in prosecuting Mr. Parnell and his fellows. If the prosecution were directed against opinion, the conduct of the Government would be most inconsistent and most unwise. But it is directed against public incitement to violence, outrage, and murder, which it is the duty of every Government to repress, and which, if they continue, will beget a righteous hatred of the cause for which they are committed, not only in England but over a great part of Ireland itself, and render the work of carrying remedial measures, in face of the Conservative resistance, even more desperately difficult than it is already. As we have said before, we are not even sure that the prosecutions will fail legally; still less are we sure that a proof given by the Government of resolution to uphold the law and handle law-breakers with determination will fail of the moral effect which was undoubtedly produced by the prosecution of O'Connell. No one who has not seen something of Irish administration can be aware to how great an extent the Ministry, on all these matters, is advised, and its course shaped by a standing staff of officials at Dublin, composed of men who know Ireland to the core, and are incomparably more capable than any outside critics, of estimating the public effect of any proposed measure in the minds of the people. There are some who ap-

parently would have had the Government do nothing, but allow the land question to be settled by the blunderbuss and the houghing-knife. There are others who would have had it suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, thereby depriving inoffensive citizens of their civil rights, filling the public mind with the sense of a reign of arbitrary force, and retarding the all-important process of training the Irish people in respect for law. There was more, in our judgment, to be said in favour of a renewal and application of the Arms Act. There is no measure of precaution which is so effectual and at the same time interferes so little with everybody's rights. Nobody can want arms except for a bad purpose, while the general possession of them by the peasantry is the sure incentive to lawless conspiracy and deeds of violence, even if it does not lead to bloodshed on a larger scale.

The Cabinet, while it vindicates the law, is framing remedial measures, and will very likely propose to Parliament something in the nature of an extension of the Ulster Tenant Right, which practically converts the landlords' interest into a regular rent-charge combined with a certain control over alienation. If we may trust our acquaintance with Ireland which perhaps is now somewhat out of date, we doubt whether in the Southern districts uncertainty of tenure is the principal root of the mischief or the cause of the present outbreak. We should rather have been disposed to trace the evil to the excessive and almost insane competition for farms which goes on among a people who have hardly any manufactures, not much commerce, nothing but the land to live on; and, in the thriftlessness which is the consequence of their unfortunate history, multiply beyond the means of subsistence. An Irish tenant, rather than give up his farm and be sent forth to starve, will undertake to pay a rent far beyond what the land will bear. Default, and if the matter is left to the bailiff, eviction follows. Among the essential facts of the case must be numbered, we fear, the excess of population in a country, of the land of which two-thirds are, from the wetness of the climate,

unfit for growing grain, especially in competition with the boundless harvests of America. Potato-growing is barbarism for nine years and in the tenth famine. Depletion of population there must be. But decisive experience seems to prove that freehold proprietorship, if it can be introduced, will bring an increase of prudence as well as of industry and thrift. Glebe land has been sold by the Church Commissioners to small proprietors, who paid for it in instalments, apparently with the best results. Perhaps with regard to other land a similar privilege of purchase by instalments at a Government valuation might be given to the tenant. Few landlords, probably, would refuse to part, on any equitable terms, with the privilege of rack-rent limited by assassination. The whole world will have reason to rejoice when the question has been settled: for a swarm of false land theories and schemes of agrarian rapine is rising from the soil of perturbed Ireland.

A people refusing to pay rent is a difficulty with which perhaps no Government has ever before had to grapple. It would present itself only in a country where the landowners were aliens and absentees. Political movements in Ireland have been put down with ease. They were sentimental and aggressive; but this is pecuniary and passive. The Fenian organization swarmed with informers: among every ten Fenians there was a Government spy; but in this agrarian agitation the people are evidently bound more closely together, and made more faithful to each other by an object which touches the pockets of them all. The difficulty of forecasting the result is increased by the impulsiveness and mobility of the Irish character, which are such that an incident comparatively trifling may give a new turn to the course of events. An increase of murder and outrage may awaken a spirit in England, Scotland, and the North of Ireland itself, which will call for decisive measures; and that the peasantry should make head in the field against the forces at the command of the Government is utterly out of the question. The leaders show their shallowness as well as their wickedness by encouraging outrage.

O'Connell was wise enough always to keep his agitation within the pale of law. The prosecutions are coming on, and it is not certain that a verdict of guilty will not be obtained from a Dublin jury which represents a commercial element by no means in sympathy with agrarian agitation. It does not seem that the excitement has taken much hold of the Irish people on this continent, for whom perhaps the agrarian has less interest than the political movement. Nor has insurrection in Ireland the slightest chance of aid from any European power. All the powers are standing in a deadlock of jealous hatred with their daggers at each other's throats, and not one of them would care to provide its enemy with a great maritime ally. Russia might have given trouble, but happily the quarrel with her is at an end.

There are rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet about the Irish question, and we may be sure that they are not unfounded. On such a subject, Whig landowners and Birmingham Radicals could not possibly be agreed. But dissension is not disruption: the personal ascendancy of the head of the Government is great; it was increased, as the most trustworthy critics tell us, by the events of the last Session, during which he showed himself completely master of the House of Commons; and by leaning to the side of the minority, as we cannot doubt he does, he will preserve the balance between the sections and prevent secession. Still, a division of the Radicals from the Whigs, and the formation of a mixed Government of Whigs and moderate Conservatives, with Lord Derby as its typical member, and perhaps as its head, is a probability of the near future. The time of the Radicals is not yet come: they have no leader, and as yet no plan.

—Election Commissions in England have accounted for a certain portion of the Conservative reaction, notably for the great Conservative victory over Sir William Harcourt at Oxford. But this is the least part of the matter; the most important

part of it are the revelations of corruption, for which the ballot was supposed to be a cure. The fact is that though voting arrangements may throw obstacles in the way of corruption or facilitate its detection, nothing can uproot it where the tendency exists. Kill it in the form of bribery, it will re-appear in the form of "nursing," that is of a corrupt expenditure carried on by a wealthy candidate all the year round, and perfectly compatible with legal purity at the time of the election. Pauperism has been proved to be, to a great extent, hereditary: the same thing may be said, so far as England is concerned, of electoral corruption. Oxford, in the last century, was infamous even among the venal constituencies of that time: it scandalized a Parliament of borough-mongers by openly putting itself up for sale. It abounded in Freemen who were always specially corrupt, and have bequeathed the taint. Sandwich and others among the boroughs which have just been making themselves infamous, belong to the same class. The great constituencies which were created by the Reform Bill of 1832, such as Manchester and other Northern cities, are usually free from corruption: indeed, some of them are punctiliously pure, and will not allow the candidate to pay even his legal expenses, though they exact from him hard work. The immunity extends to those constituencies, county and metropolitan, in which the numbers baffle bribery. But here the expenses are sometimes enormous. Organization is very costly, and a large fee, generally one of \$500, is expected by each of the local solicitors belonging to the party, in payment of his services as an election agent, or rather, because he is the only man who knows the people, has the key to their affairs, and can guide a candidate to their votes. We have known a candidate in a constituency of moderate size required to pay fourteen of these fees as the condition of his nomination.

The corrupt Oxford, be it observed, is the city not the University. The University, as a constituency, is so pure that the messenger who announces to a candidate his election is not even allowed to taste refreshment under the candidate's roof.

But the University has been disgraced by the conduct of some of her officers who have been so misguided as to take part in the electoral corruption of the city. The University bears the discredit; but she is not really to blame, any more than she and Cambridge are to blame for sending partisan nonentities as their representatives to Parliament, instead of sending examples of Academical training. She is the victim of political influences brought to bear on her from without. Both Peel and Gladstone received the votes of a decisive majority of the really Academical members of the Oxford constituency, especially of the honour men: they were thrown out by the country squires and parsons who, though non-resident, retain the suffrage as Masters of Arts, and come up, whenever party spirit is aroused, to vote for the Blue Ticket. The present offenders were thrust into their offices really by external influence, and, to do them justice, were intended to play pretty much the part which they have played. Neither from these scandals, therefore, nor from the obscurity of the representatives of Oxford and Cambridge in the House of Commons, can any argument be drawn against University representation. The real and conclusive argument against University representation is that it connects the Universities with party, from which, that they may do their proper work for the whole community, they ought to be absolutely free. Their duty is, if they can, to breed statesmen, not themselves to meddle with affairs of state.

—Female Suffrage, though rejected by the British House of Commons, has been adopted by the Isle of Man. As the Island is a diminutive appendage of the British Crown, without representation in the British Parliament, and has consequently no politics or diplomacy, a more harmless plaything than its suffrage cannot be imagined. Does anybody believe that the men of England or France or Germany would let the women vote them into a war? This is what the French women, if the

suffrage were given them, would try to do to-morrow ; at the bidding of their priests they, like Eugenie, would vote for a war to break up Protestant Germany, or to recover the temporal dominions of the Pope : and there Female Government would end. It cannot be doubted that Lord Beaconsfield was wise after his generation in voting, as he always did, for women's suffrage in England : the female voters would have turned the scale in favour of his party, and the nation would be still pursuing a policy of military adventure in Afghanistan, supporting Ottoman tyranny, and trying to domineer over Europe at the perpetual risk of war. But would the men have submitted ? Would not the agitation against a Government, known to be upheld in such courses by the votes of the women, have soon assumed a dangerous form ? Suppose some great disaster had happened and the Ministers, compelled to go to the country, had appealed to their female supporters for protection in the ballot against the wrath of the men ! Political authority has hitherto been vested by the right of necessity in the sex which alone can enforce the law at home and defend the country against attacks from abroad. Before it is transferred to a new foundation, it will be well to see that the new foundation is sound. It will be well also for women, before they exchange the guardianship of affection for the exercise of power, to assure themselves that the power will be real.

—The cession of Dulcigno was demanded in fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin. This does not prevent the authors of the Treaty of Berlin from encouraging the Turk to kick against the cession of Dulcigno. The Turk, being encouraged, kicks, and the mutual jealousy of the Powers is so abject, that, at the time of our writing, he seems still to have a chance of making fools of them all. It matters little to anybody except to those "caterans," as Lord Salisbury graciously styles them, of Montenegro, who have been for so many centuries the heroic vanguard of Christendom. Except at a few points, where foreign

commerce makes a police for itself, the Ottoman Empire is now little better than a political chaos with plundering pashas floating on the top. Its army it may keep till the men die off, or the arsenals are exhausted; its steam fleet it cannot keep because engineers and skilled seamen will not serve without pay. The Ottoman race and Mahommetanism remain real forces, but they are being rapidly supplanted by the Greeks on the shores of the *Ægean*. The kingdom of Greece, though small, will form a nucleus, and at last a head, as Piedmont did for Italy. If diplomacy will keep her hands off, nature will do the work. Meantime, the disgrace of failure can hardly be said to rest specially on the only government which has honestly endeavoured to carry the Treaty into effect. We are told that Lord Beaconsfield would have done much better. What Lord Beaconsfield did, beyond all question, was by encouraging the Turk in resistance to justice to bring on the Russo-Turkish war, which it is now absolutely certain might have been averted by a policy of honesty and common sense. That England stands alone in her support of Greece is probably true: even Italy seems to have deserted a cause so similar and congenial to her own: but this isolation is not the most ignominious of positions; perhaps, if Greece succeeds, it may in the end prove not the weakest. Those who think that English diplomacy has failed because Vienna journals say so, must be warned against the influence of the "Yellow International," as the Germans call the Jews, which has got the Vienna press and some of the German newspapers into its hands, and to which Mr. Gladstone, as the liberator of the Christian communities, is an object of intense aversion.

Between the Eastern question, Afghanistan, and Ireland, the Liberals have inherited a goodly legacy from their opponents: as a party they would have fared better if they could have remained out of power two years longer; but their friends need not mourn for them so long as they keep the faith.

—In France another Ministerial crisis has come and gone: but some day a ministerial crisis may come and not go, at least not without carrying the Republic away in its train. A certain measure of dignity is necessary to every government, in no country more than in France: and what dignity can a government have which is tumbled over once in every six months, and the members of which are known to be the mere puppets of a preformer who sits behind the curtain pulling the strings? The wonder is that Gambetta can find any public men of decent standing to take this ignominious part. That he is playing his own game with skill cannot be doubted: but such craft is usually found in close alliance with selfishness, and we would rather see the Republic in less cunning hands. There is too much reason to fear also that Gambetta's mind is set on a war of revenge. The scenes in the Chamber to which people point as condemnatory of Republican institutions are not a whit more scandalous than those which took place in the Legislative Halls of the Restoration, out of which a member was once actually dragged by *gendarmes*, or even than some which, at moments of intense excitement, have disgraced both Houses of the British Parliament: and the chief culprits have been not republicans, but Imperialists and Monarchists, such as Cassagnac and D'Asson, who seem to act on the principle that a Republic is a blot on the political creation, and a monstrous birth of wickedness, towards which no laws of decency ought to be observed. It should always be remembered that the scenes are painted for us by the graphic pencil of the New York *Herald*.

—A fatal tendency to persecute opinion was inherited by the French Revolutionists from the despots and priests who had exterminated the French Protestants and murdered Calas. Nor has it yet been thoroughly worked off. The Liberals of other countries, therefore, have good reason for watching anything that looks like persecution on the part of their French brethren.

ren with a jealous eye. But the expulsion of the Jesuits, whatever else it may be, is not persecution of opinion. The doctrines of Loyola are freely taught in France: the religion of Loyola is freely practised. Jesuitism is not a set of opinions, it is a conspiracy, carried on in the interest of a foreign power hostile to the independence of all nations. It has had its hand in a long succession of priestly crimes against humanity, from the religious wars and political assassinations of the sixteenth century down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes down to the Swiss Sonderbund and the Franco-German war. Even its missionary enterprise, which is the better part of it, has been, to a great extent, as in Paraguay, subservient to its acquisition of power. What it was in the beginning, Jesuitism is now. Its ends and its means are the same. Its novices still commence their career by surrendering their consciences absolutely into the hands of their superior, divesting themselves of moral being, and becoming the "living corpses" which their founder enjoined them to be. Using education and the confessional as its engines, it carries on a war of intrigue, in conjunction with the other forces of reaction, against the existence of free institutions in France. Country it has none, nor regard for country. That it should sometimes be the object of exaggerated suspicion is only the natural consequence of its real acts and of the furtive character of its operations. Its suppression, in the interest of civil government, was extorted from the Papacy, not by Protestant or Rationalist Republics, but by the Catholic Monarchies of the last century. Cardinal Manning himself, the prince of Ultramontanes, does not want it in his domain. The simple question is whether its machinations were really dangerous to the Republic; if they were not, to expel it was a great mistake, if they were, there is no more to be said.

—A clearer case of persecution of opinion is Bismarck's attempt to silence Socialism in Germany. The result, as usual, has been the conversion of an erroneous theory into an explosive force. Pessimism, or Materialism, would, in like manner, become an explosive force if it were treated in the same way. Ruskinism might be made dangerous to the State by a sufficient number of gagging Acts. In the midst of the Labour War in the United States, the authorities allowed a Communist meeting, with an extravagant programme, to be held at New York, only taking care that no breach of order was committed; and the result proved, in what might be deemed a crucial instance, the wisdom of keeping the safety-valve open. Bismarck is now trying homœopathy; he proposes to organize the whole of the working class, by compulsory legislation, into a vast guild or benefit society, after the mediæval fashion, but under the paternal authority of the State. The Middle Ages have passed away, and so, we venture to think, has the era of paternal government. Perhaps, in the case of Bismarck, we should rather say military than paternal, for military organization has been his forte and is his foible. By drill the great Chancellor united Germany, and saved her from French jealousy; by drill he thinks that German society is still to be guided and preserved. A system which makes every man a soldier has perhaps paved the way for arbitrary government, by impressing the people with habits of regimental obedience; but, on the other hand, the needle gun used on fields of national victory has imparted to the mass of the German people a sense of power such as was imparted to the English peasantry by the long bow drawn at Crecy and Poitiers, and with social results somewhat analogous to the great movement among the English villeins in the time of Richard II. German Socialism, however, unlike Wat Tyler and his followers, has, we believe, been guilty of no violence or conspiracy: it has submitted without resistance to the repressive laws Hödel, who attempted to assassinate the Emperor, seems clearly to have been an isolated maniac. The sting of Socialism is popular suffering, which, if

Bismarck can remove by reduction of armaments and general economy, he may safely leave Icarian projects and phalansteries to be dealt with by Economic Science, backed by the resistance which, in every community not utterly oppressed and miserable, proprietorship, industrial habit, and domestic affection, oppose to socialistic change.

—Who would have dreamed that the country which, for nearly a century, has led the van of European thought would be discussing the expediency of re-imposing political disabilities on the Jews? The movement, however, as was said before, is not religious, but economical and social. The idea of disabilities is absurd; such a reversal of progress would only make bad worse. An amendment of the naturalization law is alone feasible, and this would not meet the danger which the alarmists apprehend. If you cannot shut out Judaism altogether—and how is this to be done?—wisdom bids you bring to bear on it all the softening and domesticating influences in your power. But while we disapprove the line taken by the German people we can enter into their feelings. Their land, they say, is theirs: with the sweat of their brows they have made it fruitful; with their blood they have saved it from the spoiler. They now see it invaded by alien wanderers of an Oriental race, superior to its natives in astuteness, though inferior to them in industry, who come not so much to dwell in it as to feed on it, have no special affection for it or for its people, form a nation apart with an intensely exclusive sentiment, avoid as far as they can sharing public burdens, shun manual labour, take comparatively little part in productive industry, but suck up the wealth of the workers by usury and stockjobbing, insinuate themselves with patient craft into places of influence such as the offices of the press and seem likely to become, to a great extent, masters of a country, from which, if its riches failed or disaster overtook it, they would depart with as little compunction as they came. Such is the vision which presents

itself to the minds of the Germans, and has frightened them into this spasmodic effort of self-defence. That their alarm is at all events real, and that they are not feigning excuses for religious persecution, may be believed; for they are the most tolerant as well as the most good-natured of mankind. To rejoice in subjection to superior genius might be magnanimous, but from the days of the Egyptians downwards such magnanimity has been rare. Yes, let optimistic philosophy say what it will, there have been not only great calamities in history, but calamities the effects of which have endured, and are likely to endure. The dispersion of the Jews is one of them. Its evil effects were felt as keenly by the Roman world which knew not Christ as by the most fanatical communities of mediæval Christendom. We should have had a Greek dispersion also, and another train of the same evils, if Greece had not been given back to its own people. The restoration of Palestine to the Jews, which is now perfectly possible, might at all events be a partial remedy. Three thousand Jews are said to be on their way from Roumania, where they have incurred the bitter enmity of the people by their extortionate practices, to the United States. If Palestine were theirs, they would be on their way to Palestine. At New York they will ply the same trades which they ply in Houndsditch. On the hills of Judea they would be planting the olive and the vine.

—Let nothing but good be said of the dead is one of the maxims which are often much perverted in the application. Abstinence from censure is one thing; false praise is another. No doubt considerable license must be granted to adulation as well as to the other hypocrisies of funerals, and the orator who declared that he would tear a false inscription even from a tomb, if he had undertaken literally to fulfil his threat, would have had a hard day's work before him. Tony Foster, the undoubted murderer of Amy Robsart, lies in Cumnor Church be-

neath a sumptuous monument, inscribed with a prolix rehearsal of his extraordinary virtues which indignation has never attempted to deface. Still there are limits even to obituary lying, and it is particularly offensive when religion is used to trick out the panegyric of a scoundrel, and we are told as a finishing touch that the deep source of all his virtues was his piety. It may be that this extravagance is sometimes a rebound from previous injustice; weak minds are always slopping over on both sides. What is most mischievous of all, however, is not the mere misdescription of an individual character, but the wresting of general principles to suit the exigencies of an awkward case. We chanced the other day to take up an obituary notice in which, evidently for the personal behoof of the deceased, was introduced a general defence of miserly habits. If miserly habits are good, generosity, beneficence, and hospitality are evil. The miser is not so mischievous to society as the licentious spendthrift who debauches as well as wastes; yet it is very wretched and ignoble to be a miser. A man who is a miser is a living advertisement of the omnipotence of gold.

“ Dear saint,

Riches, the dumb god that giv'st all men tongues,
That can'st do nought and yet mak'st men do all things;
The price of souls; even hell, with thee to boot,
Is made worth heaven. Thou art virtue, fame,
Honour, and all things else. Who can get thee,
He shall be noble, valiant, honest, wise.”

These lines contain in fact the explanation of the vice. The miser feels that he is accumulating the means of boundless enjoyment, dignity and influence, though he never applies the means to the end, and he goes on till the end is lost in the means. Often the infirmity becomes sheer lunacy, and the man's last years are spent in insane dread of poverty: we have heard of a millionaire who, in his old age, was possessed with the belief that he was a pauper, and could be quieted only by pretending to pay him a weekly allowance, which he fancied kept him from the poor-house. Political economists are in-

clined to look with favour on misers because they store up capital. But though economists are not flinty, their science, pursued without correctives, is apt to become so: we knew one, a very kind-hearted man, who used to say that in the Day of Judgment, though his record might in some respects be weak, he would be able with truth to plead, as an atonement for his other sins, that he had never given a penny to a beggar. After all capital is made for humanity, not humanity for capital; and he who, by his example, teaches us to harden our hearts makes poor amends by adding, in a very roundabout way, to the contents of our pockets. A rich man, if his tastes are simple, as those of most men of noble nature are, is not bound to spend money in keeping up a grand establishment, nor is he bound to head all the subscription-lists, if there are good objects of his own selection on which he prefers to concentrate the wealth at his command. We praise the Italian banker who hoarded for many years that, by one splendid act of munificence, he might pay off the city debt. But no economist will succeed in persuading us that a man ought not to make the best use he can of his money while he lives, and, above all, to keep his heart above his gold. A rich man's house which never welcomes a guest, even at Christmas, from which the hand of charity has never been stretched forth, on which the eye of gratitude is never turned from the throng, will always be the monument of a grand mistake. Often the scene closes amidst the plottings, caballings and heart-burnings of expectant harpies, whose wrangling voices are the miser's requiem instead of the public blessing which, had he been wiser, he might have earned.

—Hanlan has kept himself clear of the tricks and rogueries of his trade, and for having done so, he personally deserves applause, though to applaud him for common honesty is to pass the severest censure on the trade. Nor have we forgotten his generous and graceful act in subscribing a hundred dollars to the

amateur boat-races. But his career has had the disastrous effect of awakening among us the accursed passion for gambling, at once on the largest scale and in the most dangerous form. Only the disreputable will sit down to the dice: but respectable men will bet and even encourage their children in betting. If, on such an occasion as this race, a patriotic feeling is mingled with the love of gambling, so much the worse: the vice by being dignified is made more seductive. Once inoculated, society will be long in working off the disease. It is understood that a sum not short of a hundred thousand dollars was transmitted from Toronto to London, to be staked upon this race. Much of this money was risked by young men who could ill have afforded to lose it, and some of whom, had they lost it, might have then been tempted to recover it by dishonesty. We hear of poor people staking all their savings. Those who bet on Hanlan have won, but those who bet against him have lost: the winners of to-day will spend lightly, and to-morrow they will be the losers. A frank expression of opinion on this subject will not be resented by any one who has seen how utterly gambling drags down and shatters a young man. Napoleon who, though wicked himself, wanted to be served by trustworthy men, and was a very shrewd judge of character, always avoided those whom he believed to be addicted to gambling, saying that no confidence could ever be placed in them. Managers and employers will find that Napoleon was in the right. A secondary evil is the setting up of an utterly false standard of merit. We use the term merit in the most liberal sense, as including every exhibition of qualities that are or may be of any real use to the community. No such qualities are exhibited by shell-rowing, which, though a healthy amusement for amateurs, is otherwise of no more use, directly or indirectly, than any other sport or game. The calling of the wherryman, with which these rowing matches were once connected, is as obsolete as that of the running footman or the thatcher. The steamboat is now "First oars." Besides, wherryman rowed in boats capable of carrying passengers, not

in shells which would be sunk by a ripple. So far as usefulness, or everything that can possibly conduce to it, is concerned, a poor Esquimaux, navigating in his little skiff the dangerous waters of the Hudson Bay, is worth a whole population of shell-rowers. A professional sporting man begins by deserting useful and honest trades, on which his career is a practical slur; and an industrial community which pays him public homage does its utmost to degrade and discourage the pursuits and qualities by which it lives. Intelligence can hardly be displayed, in any high degree, by the mere repetition of a uniform and almost mechanical motion. We have even known successful scullers who were far from being remarkably fine or healthy specimens of humanity. Yet a man who had performed the most splendid feat of seamanship on our lakes, who as an explorer had opened to us, by his enterprise and fortitude, some new and valuable territory, who had saved a fellow citizen's life at the risk of his own, would not receive a thousandth part of the homage which is lavished on a professional sculler. We may hope that the chief seat of the frenzy is Toronto, and that of the money sent to the English betting ring, not much belonged to farmers. There is, of course, no use in preaching against a mania. Nothing avails but an antidote, such as is provided by those rowing clubs which do their best to preserve the healthy character of the amusement, and to exclude the professional sporting man with the roguery, vice, and misery which he invariably brings in his train.

—Among the many symptoms of Ecclesiastical disintegration we note that the *Canada Presbyterian* has fallen out with the *Globe* over the reception of Sara Bernhardt. The *Globe* compiles column after column of gushing panegyrics. The *Canada Presbyterian* calls this sort of thing "an agony of baseness," characteristic of "simpering imbecility which would fain be thought cultured," and, striking an attitude of martyr resignation to the endurance of calumny, defies the *Globe* to throw at its head

the epithets "fanatic" and "mawworm." The *Globe* might reply by reminding its offended sister that Sara has received the public homage of the Prince and the Princess of Wales. As the expression of its own sentiments, the *Canada Presbyterian* gives an extract from the letter of a reverend gentleman, who calls this adorable woman not only "dirty, impudent and offensive," but a name which a lay journalist cannot venture to repeat. A lay journalist, however, will hardly go beyond the mark in saying, that the enthusiasm which greets Sara Bernhardt, not only on the stage but off it, is a phenomenon characteristic of the age, and one which affords matter for reflection. Americans can never help flinging themselves at the feet of celebrity, especially when it comes to them accredited by European opinion, which, and English opinion above all, they regard with excessive deference. So far as they are concerned, their raptures about Sara Bernhardt and their wild competition for tickets to see her, are notoriety-worship and nothing more. But the homage paid her in England by the cynosures of society, no doubt, denotes a change of sentiment. The science of ethics is in a state of transition. Calling Sara's peculiarities "French" is an unjust reflection on the French character: nowhere is domestic affection stronger, nowhere are its manifestations in family life more beautiful than among the French people generally, and especially in the rural districts. But there is a circle, principally in Paris, of which the sentiment is that embodied in a number of well-known works of fiction. To this circle, Sara Bernhardt, if current biography speaks the truth about her, would appear to belong, and to its account her errors may be charged more justly than to her own. For our part, we do not want to pry into any one's private life, or to set up a standard of which, in matters perhaps not less important than sexual regularity, we may ourselves fall miserably short. In the Old World it is possible that the enthusiasm for culture or dramatic art may, in the case of a magnificent actress, overpower all other thoughts and save the devotee from harm. In communities like ours, this can hardly be the case, and, as regular

union of the sexes seems to us the keystone of morality and happiness, if Sara Bernhardt preaches disrespect for it by her example, we cannot pretend to receive with sorrow the announcement that she is not coming to Toronto.

—It is curious to note the backstreams which always run against a great current of opinion. Against the great current of Scepticism is now running a backstream of ecclesiastical apparition and miracle. While the existence of a Deity is questioned in the Conservative press of highly educated countries, the Virgin appears at Knock, in Ireland, and an old woman is cured of her rheumatism by a piece of cement sent her by a priest from the favoured Church. Of course the vision was seen, and the cure was really experienced. Some thirty years ago there were in the Tyrol two women called the *Estatica* and the *Addolorata*, one of whom had the signs of the Passion marvellously impressed upon her body, while the other was lifted up off the ground in the ecstasy of prayer. The cases turned out as usual to be mixtures of hysteria and imposture; and the exhibitions, if we recollect right, were finally suppressed by the Catholic authorities themselves. Yet we ourselves heard a man of intellect and education, whose testimony in any ordinary case would have been first rate, declare that he, in company with two other persons equally credible, had actually witnessed the miracles. The Holy Coat of Treves was as spurious as the House of Loretto: it was not woven, as that of Christ is stated to have been; antiquarians conjectured that it was the coat of a soldier of the Varangian guard. Yet it performed temporary cures in rheumatic and nervous cases: to give a man who had lost a leg or arm a new limb was beyond its power. Vision and miracle have not ventured to display themselves much on this side of the Atlantic: instead of choosing countries in which their influence might be useful in combating scepticism, they unaccountably waste themselves on those in which nobody needs to be converted.

Even ordinary apparitions seem to be having their day again, though the fact is that every one of us, however sceptical, has always cherished one ghost story. As in the case of the ecclesiastical apparition, the phantom is really seen. "Believe in ghosts!" said Coleridge, "No, Madam, I have seen too many of them." We had once the curiosity to look through the principal ghost stories in order to learn on what evidence they had been believed. The only one that would have stood its ground at all under cross-examination by Mr. Blake was that of the wicked Lord Lyttelton. It was perfectly well attested that Lord Lyttelton had recounted to his friends a supernatural communication which he pretended to have received, warning him that he would die at a certain hour; and that, at that hour, his valet, entering his bedroom, found him dying on the floor. But the explanation is easy: the voluptuary sated with his vicious life had resolved to commit suicide, and the warning apparition was a trick devised by him to mask the nature of his death. It was not very likely that the laws of nature would be suspended to announce the approaching exit of a debauchee. No less a personage than the historian Clarendon has a ghost story which he tells with pomp and is evidently disposed to believe. It relates to a supernatural warning supposed to have been conveyed to the Duke of Buckingham on the eve of his assassination by Felton, and by the Duke to have been communicated to his mother. But on inspection we find that Clarendon himself vouches for no part of the evidence except the fact that the old Duchess appeared less surprised and moved than might have been expected on receiving the news of her son's murder. More than one account of her comparative apathy might be suggested; and here again we may observe that Heaven was not likely to attach quite so much weight to the concerns of the Duke of Buckingham as was attached to them by Lord Clarendon. We have said that everybody cherishes one ghost story. Our's is that of the children who, scampering along a dark passage at the end of which they would have fallen into a well, were stopped by the ghost of their mother.

Ghost-lore may be left to grandmamas. A far more serious affair is Spiritualism, which appears to have a strong hold on many weak, a few strong, and one or two scientific minds. Spiritualism in one aspect may be numbered with reactions against Materialism, though in another aspect it is the grossest of Materialism itself, for what can be more materialistic than table-turning and planchette? It was in the form of table-turning, be it always remembered, that Spiritualism first appeared, and in this case the character of the ultimate development is determined by that of the germ. Table-turning seems to have been first started as a joke: when it became an illusion and a mania, it was conclusively resolved by Professor Owen's experiment into a nervous motion of the hands of the performers. The belief that the spirit world communicates with us through the legs of tables, or even through a planchette, may be safely pronounced lower than the lowest superstition of the savage, and to surrender our minds to it is to do the utmost despite to what is spiritual in ourselves. It might have been supposed that the farcical exposures of Katie King, and of a score of similar impostors, would have been enough to put an end to the epidemic; yet it still widely prevails. Each great eclipse of religious belief in history has been attended by some nemesis of this kind. Sceptical Rome had her Egyptian charlatans, the prototypes of the Sludges, her mysteries of Isis and Serapis, her thaumaturgists, her astrologers. Astrology reigned again in that religious void which followed the decline of the Catholic faith of the Middle Ages, nor, wonderful to say, has it yet ceased to have votaries; not many years ago, at least, it had some amongst the educated classes in London, and maintained a periodical of its own. Mr. Home and his compeers are charlatans of impressive demeanour, who have thoroughly studied the art of fascinating the mind: through the mind they bewitch the senses: and having bewitched the senses they are able to perform very mean and common conjuring tricks without being detected. They are allowed, without demurrer, to arrange conditions for the practice of their legerdemain, to which ex-

ception would at once be taken in the case of an ordinary conjuror; to darken the room and place the spectators so as to preclude close inspection. Under an imperfect light, the professor of Spiritualism orders a heavy arm-chair to leave its place against the wall and to come to him in the middle of the room. The arm-chair obeys. The spectators, fascinated beforehand by the professor's mental art, stand, where he has placed them, all agape, and awestruck at his miraculous power. If he were a common conjuror they would bid him cause the chair to move away from him as well as towards him, or place themselves between him and the chair as it moved; they would then perhaps become aware that he was pulling the chair to him with a horse-hair line. Curiosity once led us to visit a medium, whom a spiritualistic friend recommended as the very first of the class. Never was money better spent than the fee which we paid for the interview. To call the imposture gross and palpable is to do it less than justice; it was absolutely childish: and when we witnessed it, knowing that it had duped, and was still duping, thousands, the depth of human credulity was revealed. The female spirit who entered into the medium, as the charlatan avowed, groped her way evidently by the light of a few facts gleamed from a preliminary conversation between the sitter and the medium: she stumbled from blunder to blunder and gave accounts of what had never existed. In the United States there was a famous female medium, who kept a hotel and drew guests by her spiritualist performances. She sat in a sort of box, with one opening on a level with her head, and another on a level with her knee; through the upper opening, when the spectators had been wound up by singing and other devices to illusion point, the spirits of the adult dead showed their faces; through the lower, those of the infant dead, who, it seems, retained in the other world the disability of stature. The adult dead were, no doubt, personated by a mask on the medium's face, the infant dead by a mask on her knee. The presence among the spectators of a professor of science caused the spirits to decline performing for that day. A pas-

sionate desire to hold communion with lost objects of love is the only element in addition to Spiritualism which merits our respect and sympathy, and this is but a small set-off against the tendency of the practice to debase the intellect of those who indulge in it, to lay them open to the inroads of imposture from all quarters, and to pervert their conceptions of the spirit world. We have recently had a most lamentable case of suicide of which the mental disturbance produced by Spiritualism appears to have been the cause.

—To class Ritualism with Spiritualism would be uncivil: but as an avowed attempt to take the world back to the faith and worship of the Middle Ages, it is the most pronounced of back-streams. It has been brought prominently before Canadians of late by the visits of its eminent preachers, Mr. Mackonochie and Mr. Knox-Little, as well as before the world in general, by the grotesque collision of the contumacious Mr. Dale, on the subject of candles and vestments, with the laws of the Church, on whose authority the whole system professes to be based. If the Ritualists undertake to prove, by reason or by Scripture, that the Episcopate, as the depository of Church authority, is infallible, or at least entitled to a mental submission without bounds; that to priests are committed the keys of spiritual life and death; that the sacramental theory of religion is the right one; that gorgeous robes, incense, bells, banners, and genuflexions are essential to worship; these propositions, like any others advanced by sincere and zealous men, are entitled to our respectful consideration. But if they found their claims on the immemorial tradition of the Church of England, and call upon us not to reason with them, but to bow to that authority, we must say of their immemorial tradition, as Edie Ochiltree said of Monkbarne's Prætorium, "We mind the bigging on't." It is less than half a century old. It was born with the clerical reaction against the Liberal movement which carried the Reform Bill of 1832, and threatened to dissolve the union of Church and State. Ritualism is the continuation of Tractarian-

ism, though in a more feminine form ; and the source of Tractarianism can be pointed out, as distinctly as that of any river, in a passage of the first of the *Tracts for the Times*. "Now, then," says the writer of that Tract, "let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the Government of the country so far forget their God as to cut off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, *on what* will you rest the claims to respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connection ; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend? Is not this a serious practical question? We know how miserable is the state of religious bodies not supported by the State. Look at the Dissenters on all sides of you, and you will see at once that their ministers, depending simply upon the people, become the *creatures* of the people. Are you content that this should be your case? Alas, can a greater evil befall Christians, than for their teachers to be guided by them instead of guiding." "On what then," the writer proceeds to ask, "are we (the clergy) to rest our authority when the State deserts us?" The answer is given in these words—"There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion ; others who rest it upon their popularity ; others on their success ; and others who rest it upon their temporal distinction. This last case has been perhaps too much our own ; I fear we have neglected the true ground on which our authority is built—our Apostolic Descent." Whoever believes in the "Apostolic Descent" of the clergy, will soon believe in the priestly system. Gradual, half-conscious, and furtive approaches were soon made by the Tractarians to Roman Catholicism, under cover of disclaimers, which lent a somewhat Jesuitical character to the movement, though the conscientiousness of the leaders was beyond doubt. At last Mr. Ward, the most logical mind and the *enfant terrible* of the party, joyously proclaimed that numbers of English clergymen were embracing the whole cycle of Roman doctrine. This brought matters to a head.

Mr. Ward's book was condemned by the clerical University of Oxford, which, before the revival of Convocation, served as the mouthpiece of the Church ; and the Tractarian leaders soon saw what every one who uses his reason must see, that there was no standing-place for Roman doctrine outside Rome. Newman and his friends accordingly went to the Church to which their principles belonged. Anybody who denies that before the appearance of Tractarianism the Church of England was Protestant, in name and fact, must be prepared to wipe out the ecclesiastical history of England. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley would have been incredible fools had they suffered martyrdom for the difference between Ritualism and Rome. The King, who is the head of the Church, pledges himself by his coronation oath "to maintain the Protestant reformed religion established by the law." Everyone who is old enough to remember the events of 1840-45, can attest that the Ritualist doctrines and practices, when first brought under the notice of the Church by the Tractarian movement, were received with surprise and horror by the mass, not only of the laity, but of the clergy, and by almost all the Bishops. A curious example of infallible authority this Church, who did not know of what spirit she was till a group of young Oxford clergymen arose to tell her, and who, when her real doctrines and her proper form of worship were presented for her approval, not only failed to recognise them, but repelled them with disgust !

It was natural that Oxford should be the centre of the movement ; her character and studies were intensely clerical ; her buildings and associations were mediæval ; so were the statutes of her colleges, and they bound the Fellows to celibacy, making them in fact half monks. The marriage of the clergy, combined with the dependance of their families on their preferment, has been and is the great practical check on their progress towards Rome. Of the two leaders who did not go over with Newman, Keble was married and held a living, Pusey had been married, had children, and was a dignitary of the Established Church, besides being noted for intellectual pe-

cularities which enabled him to stop short of logical conclusions. Newman was a celibate Fellow of a college; so were Froude, Morris, Oakley, Faber, and Ward. Dr. Pusey furnished a good deal of the learning, but Henry Newman, now the Cardinal, furnished the genius of the party. A singular, as well as illustrious, pair of brothers are Henry and Francis Newman. The object of pursuit with Francis has always been the truth, and the chase has led him through a series of "phases of faith" as his spiritual autobiography calls them, which may vie with the wanderings of any ecclesiastical Ulysses. With the Cardinal the object of pursuit has always been the best system, and his acute and fertile intellect has been employed in devising arguments, some of them curious enough, to bring the best system into tolerable harmony with reason. We owe gratitude to him as one who has tried for us a great experiment in spiritual living; but for truth, as truth, let no one look to his pages. He will give you a list of miracles and relics that would severely try the credulity of a Calabrian peasant; he will trace the growth of the myth of the Virgin, so that any intelligent boy must see its legendary character; then by an effort of faith he will protest that he believes it all. Francis is the driest of "dry light." Henry is all poetry, and the picture of the mediæval Church, created by his loving fancy, and set forth in his charming style, took by storm the hearts of the Oxford students of that day, who had known nothing more attractive in the way of religion than Evangelicalism, then declining, or the sawdust Establishmentarianism, aptly nicknamed "High and Dry." The talisman of his personal influence was also extremely potent, and whether he was conscious of it or not, he used it to the utmost of its power. In this respect, as in others, his *Apologia*, like autobiographies in general, is a self-deception. Those who want a glimpse into the real man, as he was in those days, will find it in *Loss and Gain*, a religious tale written by him at the time of his secession. Few young men of promise at Oxford escaped the spell; not very many remained Tractarians, but all were

cut adrift from their old moorings ; and they drifted, some of them as wrecks, to every shore of belief or unbelief. Many expected that Henry, like Francis Newman, would continue his wanderings and again pass out of the Church of Rome ; but they did not ask themselves whither he could go. His originality was disquieting to the safe and regular stagers like Cardinal Wiseman ; his characteristic treatment of Papal Infallibility, not questioning it, but deftly paring it down to nonentity, must have been anything but satisfactory to the Society of Jesus ; under Pius he was evidently labelled dangerous though valuable, and his promotion to the Cardinalate shows that a new policy has come with Leo.

Tractarianism under Newman was a far more serious thing than this aftergrowth of Ritualism, which, as its name imports, appeals largely to a love of ecclesiastical pageantry, evidently akin to the prevailing sensationalism of the day. Newman never went much into the candle and vestment part of the business, and though his religious philosophy placed ecclesiasticism above reason, he remained a religious philosopher, and never sank into an obscurantist. From his writing to the highest writing of the Ritualists, the descent is great. He lowered and could not help lowering himself by his desperate efforts to hold an untenable position within the pale of a Protestant Church and to twist its formularies into accordance with the doctrines in opposition to which they had been framed. But of this humiliation in his case there was an end. If he lingered, he never paltered. As soon as he clearly saw the step to which his convictions led, he took it, and entitled himself thereby to universal respect and gratitude.

On what Ritualism stands, intellectually, it would be hard to say. If Church authority is the foundation, and if the organs of that authority are the Bishops, surely what is said by the immense majority of the Bishops is likely to be right. But the immense majority of the Bishops pronounce Anglican doctrine to be heresy, and the Church of England to be no Church at all. The genuineness of the Roman Catholic Episcopate the

Ritualists do not question. They seem to cherish a belief that they are in passive or suspended communion with Rome. The first Roman Catholic priest they meet will dispel the illusion, and tell them that their Bishops are lay heretics, that their Orders and Sacraments are figments, and that they can obtain admission to the true Church only by abjuration, penance, and conditional rebaptism. Surely he who believes that salvation is to be found only under the authority of a visible and universal Church, if he has regard for Bishop Butler's principles of probability, will betake himself to the only visible Church which can pretend to be universal. The Ritualists, feeling their weakness, turn to the Greek Church, and try to form an alliance with it, though they consign its members to everlasting perdition, each time the Athanasian Creed is repeated, for denying the procession of the Third from the Second Person of the Trinity. The same attempt was made in the last century, in concert with some divines of the Gallican Church, headed by Ellies Dupin; but it came to nothing. The Greek, or as it may be more truly called, the Russian, Church is intensely national; it does not care to proselytize, nor does it wish to connect itself with foreign Churches. The late Mr. William Palmer, one of the most eminent of the Tractarians, spent many years in trying to bring the Russian and the Anglican Churches into communion with each other, but in vain. Mr. Mackonochie's theory is, that the Anglican Church is the Church of the English-speaking race; the fact, both actual and historical, is far otherwise: but supposing it were not so, what has the accident of language to do with religious truth? The real foundation of Ritualism is the private judgment of its leaders, who at their discretion modify the doctrine and worship and regulate the advance towards Rome, though by speaking of themselves always in the third person feminine they keep up the impression that their voice is that of the Church. A perpetual stream of secessions, especially among the clergy and the aristocracy, attests the weakness of the position. The strength of Ritualism lies on its sentimental and æsthetic side; perhaps, also, in its

sisterhoods, which appear to gratify a strong inclination if not to meet a real need of women, and to deserve the respectful attention even of those who dislike the sectarian objects to which in Ritualistic hands the system is applied. The movement has an obvious attraction for the clergy, irrespectively of any selfish ambition, as leading to the recovery of an authority over the laity which they are persuaded they will use for good. Nor is this source of its strength likely to decrease. As intellect is deterred from entering the clerical profession, in these days of perplexity, by dislike of tests, means of influence other than intellectual, such as the command of the sacraments, the power of absolution, and the fascination of dress and ceremonial, will become more necessary and will be more cultivated than ever.

It is impossible for those who hold that a natural basis is necessary to sustain religious belief, and that Ritualism has none, to suppose that the system will be long-lived. It will be strange if ever-recurring conflicts with the laws and authorities of the Establishment do not lead in England to a secession on such a scale as would, at all events, terminate the history of the movement within the Anglican Church. In that case the Ritualists would probably, after lingering for a time in some intermediate state, find their way at last to Rome. It is not impossible that the catastrophe may be hastened by an imbroglio arising out of the use of an unregulated confessional. The Church of Rome, fully aware of the dangers which beset the exercise of this tremendous engine of spiritual and social power, has so regulated it as to make it almost mechanical, while her clergy are as far as possible unsexed. The theory of the Ritualists is that the Church of England authorizes the confessional; but the fact is that she neither does, nor has done anything of the kind; consequently there are no regulations or safeguards, and a clergyman not unsexed assumes the function of a spiritual director with no law to guide or restrain him but his own discretion. The revelations elicited a short time ago by Lord Redesdale, and comprised in a pamphlet which, on grounds of delicacy, was circulated only among members of Parliament,

showed that in no respect, but in being unauthorized and uncontrolled, did the Ritualistic system differ from that of the Roman Catholics. In England mutterings of domestic suspicion and remonstrance have been already heard, and the first loud outcry will probably bring on a crash.

—Moral Philosophy seems to have reached the bottom of the descent: perhaps she may now begin to struggle upwards. Mr. Spencer's *Data of Ethics* has found a critic from the Agnostic point of view in the person of Dr. Van Buren Denslow, whose work on *Modern Thinkers* appears with a preface by Col. Ingersoll, and who appears to be a vigorous thinker in his way, though a rough writer. Dr. Denslow is of opinion that Mr. Spencer has stopped short of his legitimate conclusion, and that he ought to have discarded the idea of morality altogether. Moral laws, according to Dr. Denslow, "can be shown by analysis and historical research to be merely doctrines established by the strong for the government of the weak." "It is the strong who require the weak to tell the truth, and always to promote some interest of the strong." "Thou shalt not steal, is a moral precept invented by the strong, the matured, the successful, and by them impressed upon the weak, the infantile and the failures in life's struggle, as all criminals are." "So the laws forbidding unchastity were penned by those who in the earlier periods of civilization, could afford to own women, for the protection of their property rights in them against the poor who could not," It is the same with the other precepts of morality, including, we presume, that which forbids murder. In place of ethics Dr. Denslow would have, as the rule of human conduct, and of any system that is framed to regulate it, an analytical account of the passions or propensities which demand gratification after the manner of the phrenologists or Fourier. We confess that if we stood on the ground on which Mr. Spencer stands, we should find it difficult to prevent ourselves from being pushed by the stalwart arm of Dr. Denslow's logic into the gulf of

Ethical Nihilism. Looking at the subject from Mr. Spencer's point of view, we fail to see why one human tendency is to be deemed higher than another, or the set of men in whom a particular tendency prevails to be called better than those who obey its opposite. Superior strength is the only ground of preference which to us is distinctly visible. That morality is the law imposed by the strong upon the weak,—the law of the "upper dog," to use Dr. Denslow's homely phrase, is a doctrine by no means new. It was preached with equal plainness by the Sophists amidst the general dissolution of public morals which attended the frenzied strife of faction in Greece at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and was met by Socrates and Plato with a moral idealism founded on belief in a Deity. It is a little startling to find at the end of Dr. Denslow's volume an essay in which he vehemently and almost fiercely defends large fortunes and their possessors against what he supposes to be the communistic teachings of the Gospel. He charges the founder of Christianity with leaving us only "a weak basis on which to resist the class of *crimes* which, like forgery, robbery, larceny and burglary, and certain phases of social vice, take from the rich to give to the poor." The phrase which we have marked with italics seems scarcely consistent with the theory that moral law is merely the law of the upper dog. Dr. Denslow is particularly offended by the saying about the Lilies of the Field, which he denounces as scientifically false, inasmuch as botanists know that lilies do spin, and economically vicious, because it incites to idleness and beggary. We venture to think that we could prove to him that the Gospel rightly read enjoins not idleness, but honest industry, which, combined with general morality, is sure to produce wealth; though the Bible bids you when riches increase not to set your heart upon them, a precept which some of the greatest captains of industry have obeyed without any sort of detriment to their efficiency as servants of civilization. A begging friar can hardly plead the example of Paul, who, while he was preaching the Gospel, maintained himself by the labour of his own hands.

As to the Founder of Christianity, though he did not labour with his hands he was not idle, even if we leave theology out of view—his work is Christian civilization. It must be owned, however, that Atheistic Plutocracy is not the Christian ideal. There will be a grand battle some day between the Scientists of the School of Proudhon and those of the School of Colonel Ingersoll and Dr. Denslow.

—Greek and Latin are called dead languages and coupled in Mr. Bright's epigram with undying prejudices, which, however, they did not foster in the breasts of the great men of the Renaissance or the English Commonwealth. But we are not so sure that they are dead: in the struggle of languages for existence they may yet have a part to play. Modern Greek as a literary language has now been brought back nearly to the ancient form, and it will soon be the tongue of a revived Greek nation. It is, without question, the finest instrument of human thought, and is admitted so to be by Science, who borrows from it the immense majority of her terms. Latin, though it has ceased to be the international language of Europe, has hardly ceased to be the academical language, and it is still the religious language of the largest of Christian churches. As an international language, it would have advantages over the French, not only on account of its superior strength and terseness, but because it is neutral, and does not disseminate the special ideas and sentiments of any one nation. We watch, therefore, with an interest not exclusively connected with classical antiquity, anything that concerns the study of Greek or Latin. Professor Tracy Peck, who has just been transferred from Cornell University to Yale, to the great loss of the former and gain of the latter, announces his intention, it seems, of introducing what he calls the Roman pronunciation of Latin. Fully appreciating Professor Peck's scholarship, we doubt his power of telling us how Latin was pronounced by the Romans. Who will undertake to tell us how English was pronounced by Chaucer?

The history of the editions of that poet shows how much uncertainty there is upon that point. Yet, from Chaucer's time to ours, the general structure of the language has remained unchanged; there has been an unbroken succession of writers; nor has the English race been alloyed, or its vocal organs modified, by any large admixture of alien elements from abroad. It is needless to say how entirely these conditions are reversed in the case of Rome, or how vast a chasm, ethnographical, literary and linguistic, divides modern Italy and the other Romance countries from the Rome whose language Professor Peck undertakes to reproduce. It is a thousand to one that to the ear of Cicero or Virgil the Professor's "Roman" would appear an unearthly brogue. Our present mode of pronouncing Latin, as well as our mode of pronouncing Greek, is simply a confession that the ancient pronunciation is lost. If it is proposed, on the ground of international convenience, to adopt a common pronunciation, well and good; and we have nothing to say against the selection of the Italian pronunciation for the purpose. But the revival of Roman pronunciation we believe to be a chimera. Great inconvenience would be caused to scholars by rendering them unintelligible to each other, just as great inconvenience is caused by the fidgetty fancies about ancient orthography, which are setting half the volumes in our classical libraries by the ears with the other half, without adding a particle to our power of appreciating the classics. The Roman pronunciation was the only thing wanting to the banquet given after the manner of the ancients in "Peregrine Pickle." The sow's stomach, filled with a composition of minced pork, hog's brains, eggs, pepper, cloves, garlic, aniseed, rue, ginger, oil, wine, and pickle, which produced such dire effects upon the guests at that memorable entertainment, was probably as accurate a reproduction of the dainties which graced the board of Vitellius, as *wany*, *weedy*, *weechy* is of the proud utterance of the first Cæsar.

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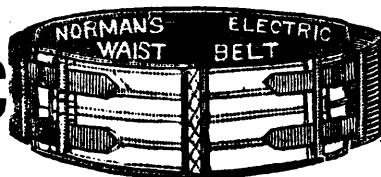
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