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NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

A MONTHLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

VOL I.
JANUARY TO DECEMBER,
1880.

Toronto:
HUNTER, ROSE AND COMPANY.
1880.

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CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

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THE BYSTANDER.

JANUARY, 1880.

EXPERIENCE has proved the difficulty of maintaining a Canadian Magazine in face of the competition to which it is exposed both from the side of England and from that of the United States. Our rivals are supported by an overwhelming amount of capital; our area of circulation is small, and it is cut in two by the French Province. But the same experience seems to show that there is a demand for a monthly survey of current events, Canadian and general, from a Canadian point of view. An English periodical cannot often deal with Colonial affairs, and, if it could, its reflections would call always for a supplement, and sometimes for an antidote. The political press of Europe is under the special influences of its own Continent; and among those influences at present are lassitude and disappointment, the legacies of revolution, and the cynical scepticism engendered in all spheres of thought and action by the rapid decay of religious belief. It is not well that the unwholesome dew of the European reaction should be distilled without correctives on the fresh character and unblighted hopes of a community of the New World.

On the other hand, Canadian affairs cannot be adequately treated by themselves. The influence of nations on each other is everyday being increased by mutual intelligence and sympathy, while the rapidity of international communication has made one audience of mankind.

Our point of view is Canadian, but outside the Canadian Parties. That such a position is at all events possible the most

thorough believer in party will hardly deny. Party, we know, has had and still has its uses. Party won for Canada the measure of self-government which she possesses. Without party the Great Charter could not have been extorted from a tyrant; the House of Commons could not have been founded; the liberties of England could not have been rescued from the Stuarts; Parliament could not have been reformed in 1832. In the Mother Country a great struggle is still going on between aristocracy and democracy, and between their respective policies in Church and State, and the contending masses are divided by a real line: though even in the Mother Country there are symptoms of a decline of the system, and the attempt of Sir Robert Peel to rise above party and govern in the interest of the whole country carried with it the sympathy of the people, and was seconded by the best public men of that day. But what real line divides parties in this country? What are their principles but shadowy reminiscences of the state of things before Confederation, or even before the revolution of 1837? Not many years ago the leaders of both were members of the same Cabinet; and the old lines were drawn again not by any spontaneous movement of the people, but by personal enmity. At the last general election there was an important issue, but it was economical, not political; it was not raised by either of the parties, but pressed on both by an independent movement in the country; and the party which then leaped on the National Policy as the horse that would carry it back to power, had not ridden that steed before. Party, without a difference of principles, is faction; and what the fruits of faction have been in all countries, but especially in free countries, we know too well. All its evils are now plainly visible among us in the blade, if not in the full ear. Among other things, there is a most portentous growth of the class of camp-followers, who, instead of making their bread by honest industry, want to live upon the public. The applications for places since the change of Government are said to have amounted to thousands. What the political profession under

the party system is in its lower grades, the conduct of wire-pullers who have obtained employment in the public service too often gives the community reason to know.

The idea that political party has a universal and perpetual basis in difference of temperament is absurd in itself, because no such sharp division of temperament exists; and it is belied by the whole history of faction, which shows that the bond commonly speaking is one not of temperament, but of interest or connection. A great movement, no doubt, attracts the young and sanguine, while it repels the cautious and the phlegmatic; but great movements are the exception. As a rule, where a State is divided into factions, you will find a mixture of temperaments, as well as of ages and sexes, on both sides; and on both sides you will find violence and roguery in the ascendant, and their ascendancy growing more complete the longer the reign of faction lasts. As a matter of course, each party proclaims, and, perhaps persuades itself, that its public morality is infinitely superior to that of its antagonist; but the onlooker sees that they are all of the same blood, brought up under the same influences, identical in their rules of private conduct; and that, in public life, they pursue precisely the same objects by the same means. The party in power is the more corrupt, only because it has in its hands the instruments of corruption; the party out of power boasts the purity to which an adverse fortune has for the time condemned it.

Politicians of the higher class among ourselves, while they pensively bow to party as a necessity, protest against its narrowness, its tyranny, its unreasonableness, its calumnious virulence. The necessity is imaginary; the protest is the voice of the future. Not division, mutual hatred, exclusion of half the citizens from the service of the country in the fancied interest of the other half, surrender of the political conscience into the hands of unscrupulous wire-pullers for the sake of organizing a party victory; but concord and co-operation for the common good, are the natural and normal state of a civilized nation. Out of government by faction we must in the

end find our way, if we wish to avoid political ruin. From it in the end we shall be delivered, partly through the teachings of dire experience and the reaction of the better mind of the community against the excesses of dishonesty and corruption; partly through the growth of intelligence, the advance of the scientific spirit, and the increasing strength of commercial interests, which faction always threatens with disaster. The leaders of our commerce already have shown a tendency to stand aloof from a game in which they and the industries represented by them can only be the losers, and on all occasions to cast an independent vote for the country.

For the present, however, the system exists. We must take it as it is, and adjust to it our judgments of public acts, and of public men, making allowance for its exigencies, unhappy as we may think them, yet without ceasing to look upwards to a better rule of action, and forwards to the hope of a national government.

In England, and in old countries in which the questions are the same that they are in England, it is impossible to be at once a Liberal and a Conservative. There, the Conservative is trying to uphold hereditary legislation, religious privilege, territorial primogeniture and clerical education, all of which a Liberal must regard as numbered with the past. But in such a community as ours, so far is there from being an essential contradiction between the two principles, that it is impossible to be a practical Conservative without being a genuine Liberal. If you aim at building up the edifice of a Conservative polity here, you must begin by frankly accepting as its foundation the great organic principles of society in the New World. Recognize Equality; put aside, once for all, the thought of class distinctions which, whatever they may be on their native soil, can only be disturbing and corrupting influences on ours. Educate the people, not only in the school, but through the press, and all the good influences of public life. Thus you may induce them to consent to the foundation of institutions destined to control passion, selfishness, and demagogic violence in the in-

terest, not of a privileged few, but of all. This is the genuine Conservatism of the New World; and the social order to which it tends is one really nobler, as well as far more securely founded, and more proof against revolutionary forces, than any which monarchy and aristocracy have produced in feudal Europe. Difficult to win no doubt is the prize before us; it will be great and enduring when it is won.

—The memorable part of the last general election was that the people on that day forsook in great numbers party allegiance to vote for their material interests, whether rightly or wrongly understood. The personal ascendancy of Sir John Macdonald did a great deal for his followers; but it was the National Policy that swept the country. Both the parties were taken by surprise: both hoped to win in the old way, by their wire-pulling, their political cries, and that never-failing spring of false hopes, the Roman Catholic alliance. But the result read a lesson which it is to be hoped some of our rising public men have ears to hear. It is probable that if another general election were held now the lesson would be read again, for the National Currency movement would certainly exercise an influence; some think it might even turn the scale; and it is at any rate a movement independent of political party, having for its object the material interests of the people. Upon the mind of the struggling farmer has dawned the great truth that the "principles" of political office-seekers are of very little consequence to him.

Of less significance, no doubt, yet worth noting, was the adoption of the name National for the policy which the country embraced. National is at all events the adjective corresponding to nation; and if the treason-axe can cut between the adjective and the substantive its edge must be very keen.

Does the new Tariff usher in a commercial millenium or the day of commercial doom? Seldom have good or bad effects so unlimited been ascribed to so limited a cause. All taxation

is an evil. Every increase of taxation is an evil. The increase of taxation embodied in the new tariff was in itself an evil. But there was a large deficit to be filled; new import duties were the only means of filling it, and in laying them on, the attempt was made to consider the industrial interests of our own country and especially to relieve our producers of the exceptional injustice to which in their relations with the producers of the United States, they were unquestionably exposed. The other party might have done precisely the same thing, without violating any economical principle. They had only to clear their mind of abstract names and phrases, by which no one who has studied political economy in its most recent developments allows himself any longer to be governed, to attend to the special grievance brought under their notice, and to adapt their legislation to the actual circumstances of the case. But, in deference to a formula, they chose to be stiff-necked; and they kicked complaining industry into the camp of their opponents. They avowed themselves with disastrous felicity "flies upon the wheel," and proclaimed, in effect, that in framing our tariff no thought ought to be taken of our special interests, but that we might just as well leave our policy to be regulated by our commercial rivals as regulate it ourselves.

People in England chide us as apostates from Free Trade. They are not Free Traders themselves. They repealed the Corn Laws which, by making bread dear to the workman, prevented the development of their manufactures, and their entire view of the subject has been naturally coloured by the success of that measure, from which they fancy they can derive a rule applicable to all countries and all cases. But they raise twenty millions sterling annually by customs. It is true that they have wisely adjusted their tariff to the circumstances of their own case; that they admit the raw materials of industry and the food of the workman free, while they lay taxes on such articles as wine, tea, coffee and tobacco; and they have only to concede the same liberty of adjustment to countries the circumstances of which differ from their own. All duties

interfere equally with freedom of trade; perhaps if we go to the bottom of the matter we shall find that all are equally protective of home products in general though not of those of the special kind. Cobden was a genuine Free Trader. The abolition of all customs duties was the object at which he aimed, and he used to say that the members of an English league formed with that object, were the only people who had real faith in the future of mankind. But while we have armaments we shall have customs duties; and while we have spirited foreign policies, we shall have armaments. The sentiments in the motto of the Cobden Club, "Free Trade, Peace, Good Will among nations," ought to be read in inverted order. We must have peace and good-will among nations before we can have free trade; and England, as an individual nation, is bound under the most tremendous penalties herself to set the example of peace and good-will. While her politicians and journalists are flinging about menaces on all sides, she will in vain call upon the nations, in the name of philanthropy and human brotherhood, to embrace the blessings of commercial union. She will in vain conjure them to secure to her the command of their markets in order to increase her wealth, if they are persuaded that in increasing her wealth they will be furnishing her with the sinews of aggression.

There are in England men both good and wise, who from having played an illustrious part in the repeal of the Corn Laws, and seen the happy effects of their work, are inclined to ascribe too boundless an efficacy to the beneficent influence of trade. They seem to think that if the commercial spirit could only be allowed free course, it would of itself keep the world right. But that spirit has wrought not a few acts of injustice and kindled not a few wars. Nothing will keep the world right but righteousness. Let righteousness prevail in the councils of England and a great step will have been gained towards the universal acceptance of Free Trade.

After all, what produced the deficit which these new duties

of ours were required to fill? What but Imperial aggrandizement? England chooses to have a railroad to carry her troops from Halifax to Quebec, and she chooses that another line should be run across the Continent to take in British Columbia, a province severed from Canada by the most adamantine barriers of nature. The outlay on these objects causes our expenditure to exceed our revenue, and the additional taxes thus rendered necessary are imposed by English ambition on itself.

We shall soon see whether the new tariff will accomplish its direct object by bringing revenue to the level of expenditure. What will be the effect on industry it is too early to say. A revival of prosperity happily there is, but the good harvest here, the bad harvest in England, and the partial revival of the lumber trade are manifestly the cause. Sir Leonard Tilley has been very properly making a tour of commercial inspection. The Caliph Haroun Alraschid, when he wanted to know what was going on in Bagdad, made his tour of inspection in disguise. It is said that when the Empress Catherine visited the wilder parts of Russia, flattery contrived a movable village, which kept up with the imperial progress and satisfied the Empress of the beneficial results of her N. P.

In the city of Quebec it is to be feared no cheering prospect met Sir Leonard Tilley's eye. Beauty and romance remain, but Commerce has waved her wing and will hardly be lured back by tariffs to her ancient seat. For the last four or five years the shipping trade has been very low; silence has reigned along once busy quays, and the observer finds it difficult to understand how some classes of the community make their bread. Sir Leonard would find many of the manufactories and some of the machine shops closed. If, in certain trades, such as those of shoes and rubber, his eyes were gladdened by some signs of improvement, his ears were less agreeably saluted with cries for the reduction of duties. He received proof that Quebec could make good biscuits; but if the makers were not very prosperous, his exhortation to open a trade with the West Indies would sound rather like a knell. He must

also have been condemned to hear complaints of the increased price of tea, coffee, sugar, wearing apparel, and other articles of general consumption. The further east he goes the more he will be brought into contact with the special interests of the consumer, and the greater reason he will have for doubting whether the consumer is a hearty supporter of the N. P.

In discussing the new Tariff and all other fiscal questions, we subscribe, under protest, to the principle upon which the whole of our commercial policy is based. We assume that the commercial interest of Canada is capable of being separated from that of the continent of which she forms a part, and that it is possible and desirable permanently to treat the people on the other side of the line not only politically but commercially as a foreign nation. This is the creed of both the political parties, and those who dissent from it are denounced by both. We dissent from it, notwithstanding their denunciations, believing it to be at variance with the laws of nature. It is our conviction that Canada never can hope to enjoy her full measure of prosperity, devise what fiscal systems you will, till she is freely admitted to the markets of her own continent, till she is opened to the full inflow of its capital, till its commercial life runs unimpeded through her veins. As to a system of commercial isolation, whether it suits other countries or not, it assuredly will not suit her. Her climate is too severe and unvaried, her range of production is too limited, her markets are too contracted, her frontier is too long. The United States are not a country, they are a Continent, so vast in extent, and embracing such a variety of climate, soil and products, as to be almost an economical world in itself. Manufactures are now highly specialized, and without a large market they cannot succeed, while some are so costly and scientific that only a great and wealthy country can be their seat. Our new tariff increases the duty on high-class printing presses, which Canada can no more produce than she can produce tea. Moreover there is no privity of commercial interest between the different provinces of which the Confederation is composed. To

give the Maritime Provinces a stake in the tariff it was found necessary to impose a coal tax, which, to Ontario, is an unmixed evil, and is not unlikely to prove fatal to the whole arrangement.

A motion in favour of reciprocity, made by an individual member of Congress, has created the impression that the new tariff has brought the United States to their knees. We are convinced that this hope will prove unfounded. To a complete measure of reciprocity, such as would abolish the Customs line and constitute a commercial union, we believe the people of the United States are perfectly ready to accede. To a partial measure of reciprocity, such as has already been tried and has broken down, we believe that they are resolved not to accede. But the present experiment must be fairly tried. It is the logical outcome of the general principles of policy now established, embodied in a tariff framed evidently with care and in honest fulfilment of the election pledges of the Government. If it fails, the main question between Commercial Isolation and Commercial Union will present itself with renewed force, and any one who pretends to the name of a statesman will have to be prepared with a distinct answer.

It is scarcely credible that Sir Alexander Galt can be going to England to run his financial reputation on such a rock as an Imperial Customs' Union. How can a Customs Union be practicable without an identity both of commercial interests and of financial situation? These communities not only are scattered over the whole globe, but differ from each other as widely as possible in their productions, their commercial and industrial circumstances, and their financial requirements; New Zealand, for instance, having the largest public debt for its population in the world, while other colonies have scarcely any debt at all. Besides this, there would be difficulties of principle at the outset; Victoria being Protectionist, while New South Wales is Free Trade. What would Canada individually gain by any such arrangement? She would, of course, be called upon to repeal her tariff and to admit English manu-

factures free. This would be the very first condition of the agreement. On the other hand, is it conceivable that the English people would consent in the special interest of Canada to deprive themselves of American food, or even of Norwegian pine? What but altercations and misunderstandings could be expected to arise from such an attempt? The bond of nature which connects us with our Mother Country will remain unbroken for ever, if the politicians will abstain from entangling it with their artificial ties.

It was even announced by the London *Times* that Sir Alexander Galt had accepted the position of a member of the Canadian Cabinet resident in Downing street. Nobody who knew his character and career could for a moment believe the statement. He has been distinguished as a champion of Canadian self-government, and he understands constitutional principles far too well to sit as a Canadian Minister anywhere but in the councils and the Parliament of Canada. He is only to be an agent with a higher name. Still there may be need of watchfulness to prevent Canadian questions from being settled in the purlieus of Downing St., beyond the real control of the representatives of the Canadian people. The chiefs of our government have been drinking Imperialism at the fountain, and an Earldom of Ottawa may not be merely a contractor's dream. Here is an opportunity for the Opposition to do its duty, if it owns allegiance to the principles which tradition assigns to its peculiar care. No excess of nationalism need be apprehended, since there are knights upon both sides.

The day on which the representatives of the English farmers came to see Canada with their own eyes was a happy day in our annals. A fair report on our advantages by competent and truthful witnesses has long been one of our greatest needs. In the absence of it we have been welcoming with somewhat humble gratitude crumbs of ignorant praise thrown to us by any Englishman of rank, and puffs which we knew to be mendacious, and which as they came from official, if not from interested lips, the merest clodpole in England had too much discern-

ment to believe. The report of the farmers will be trusted, and apparently it is good.

Their testimony will convince the world that the North-West is a land of extraordinary promise, barring some special drawbacks—a climate which, though exhilarating, must require a heavy expenditure in clothes and fuel, late and early frosts, grasshoppers, and politicians. Had Nature been left to her course, instead of being cribbed and confined by charters and diplomatic lines, the region would have been opened long ago by spontaneous agencies, which would have cost Canada nothing, and would not have entailed the political dangers incident to the construction and ownership of railways on a large scale by the Government. The second consideration is one which we may expect to see presented to us again in lively colours before this great enterprise is completed, even though the members of the Government themselves may be entirely guiltless of corruption. We are somewhat duped by phrases in thinking of the North-West Territory as the heritage of Canadians. It is, economically at least, no more the heritage of the Canadian than of any one else who chooses to settle there—German, Swede, Iclander, Mennonite or American. If Canada is able to keep the trade of the North-West to herself and to compel it to buy everything it wants in her markets, she will be a commercial gainer by the connection. But it seems not very likely that the North-West, when it is out of leading strings, with a very mixed population, half composed of entire aliens to Canada, will continue to submit to this restriction; and in any other event what Ontario and Quebec will gain by any money they have laid out on this object will be what the Eastern States of America have gained by the opening up of the Great West—the loss of some of their best farmers, the reduction of the value of their farm produce, and the depreciation of their farms. If, in the coming years, the harvests in England and in Europe generally should be good, the production of wheat on this continent will be surely at least equal to the demand. It would be wicked to wish to

prevent, or delay for an hour, the opening up of new and rich territories because land in the old territories may lose its value. But there is no wickedness in wishing that the process could be left to the natural course of commercial enterprise, which adjusts and tempers everything, rather than accomplished by the stroke of a government in pursuit of political objects.

That political objects have been mainly, if not alone, in view, and that the commercial interests of the Canadian people have been almost, if not entirely, left out of sight, is a fact which becomes glaringly apparent when we turn our eyes to the British Columbian portion of the enterprise. Are there many men of business among us who do not regard the construction of this prodigious work for the purpose of opening a way to the ten or fifteen thousand white inhabitants of British Columbia commercially as an act of insanity? If the Pacific Union Railroad with difficulty pays its way, though its terminus is the haven and emporium of all the western waters, what is to be expected in the case of this line of ours, the terminus of which will be a village? When the fatal treaty was made there had been no proper survey, no line had been selected, no estimate of the cost had been formed. Political considerations ruled alone; of the material welfare of our people there was no thought. Yet the consequence of a commercial failure may be political disaster; it may be the forfeiture by Canada of her control over her own political destinies. This is what everybody says out of Parliament: in Parliament not a man has been found to stand up, with resolution and vigour against this great folly and wrong.

British Columbia is not yet morally in the Confederation. She treats Canada as an adverse party whom she is trying to hold to the terms of a ruinous bargain. This being the case, it is unfortunate that the Prime Minister should have been forced by the untoward decision of Kingston to take his seat for a constituency in British Columbia. As a rule, it matters not for what constituency a Prime Minister sits; the safest and quietest is the best. Peel did quite right in sticking to

Tamworth, and Palmerston in sticking to Tiverton. But Sir John Macdonald's constituency is in the moon; not only is it in the moon, it is in the domain of the plaintiff in a suit for a prodigious sum in which we are the defendants. West Toronto will soon open her arms; let us hope not in vain.

—Art may restore the lost bloom to the cheek of beauty: no art can restore it to a peach or to a debutant. The interest that attached to Mr. Blake's appearance as an independent statesman six years ago can never be entirely revived. Still interest attaches to his second start. It is regarded as a victory of the more liberal and national element of a strangely compounded party over the other element, by which his reappearance is received in pensive silence. His election speech was a protest against party bondage. That the spirit in him is strong, we know; and we may hope that the flesh has become stronger. When Louis Napoleon, as a pretender, raised the standard of insurrection in the barrack yard at Strasbourg, the colonel rushed out and collared him; whereupon the aspirant to Empire immediately surrendered. The historian remarks that the appearance of the incensed colonel on the scene when his barrack yard was invaded was precisely the thing for which the Prince, if his enterprise was serious, ought to have been prepared. Mr. Blake has probably made up his mind, this time, to deal with the Colonel. Had he done so before; had he struck, however temperately and cautiously, one straight blow, he would have found that there was no very solid obstacle in his onward path. But at the decisive moment, it would appear, old political associates and timid advisers threw their arms around him. The column, at the head of which he had put himself, no sooner began to advance under fire, than it found itself deprived of its leaders, who had been cajoled or hustled into the enemy's lines. Political grapeshot kills nobody; and the column, by the use of proper rhetorical stimulants may be induced to advance again; but the untoward

record of the past will render more necessary a display of resolution for the future. People will not go tiger hunting if they think they are to be left to the tiger. Daring, in the auspicious hour, would have placed Mr. Blake at the head of the nation. The hearts of the people yearned towards him : they were sick of the stale and unprofitable politics of the old managers. The result of the course which he actually took is too well known ; it is written on a disastrous and somewhat inglorious page of Canadian history. But the sun sets to rise again.

To think freely and see both sides of all questions is a mark of superior intellect which honourably distinguishes Mr. Blake from the factious narrowness or humble fidelity of some of his rivals. But it will not do to act upon divergent lines. One day Mr. Blake is overthrowing a tyranny ; the next day he is setting it on its legs again. One day he is crowning, with his Supreme Court Bill, the edifice of Canadian self-government ; the next he is advocating a resignation of our self-government to the Imperial Parliament under the name of Imperial Federation. Our representation, at Westminster, if proportioned to our numbers, would be nominal ; our submission to the Imperial Legislature, and to the aristocracy which controls it, would be real and complete. Canada would be compelled, as the first consequence of that submission, to conform to an Imperial Tariff, framed in the interest of the British producer. As its next consequence, she would be saddled with the responsibility and the burden of the foreign policy of the Empire, compelled to send her contingent to the army and fleet, and to bear her share of the military taxation. And thus, not only would she be involved in heavy expenditure for objects in which her people have no interest, such as the subjugation of the Zulus and Afghans, the suppression of liberties struggling under the Turkish yoke, the prosecution of opium wars against China ; but she would be in danger of being drawn into what many of us would deem a career of crime. The British aristocracy, as a political institution, is now the last

leaf on the tree; all its fellows have been swept away by the storm of European Revolution; feeling its peril, it obeys the instinct of self-preservation, and tries, not without success, to launch the nation into a course of military aggrandizement, the best antidote, as experience has proved, to political progress. Whatever guilt conquest might involve, whatever enmities and jealousies it might entail, we should share without profit and without excuse. Mr. Blake thinks that the representative of Canada would have voted against the Zulu war: suppose he had, he would have been voted down; his protest would have gone for nothing, and the hand of his country would have been set to the mandate of iniquity. But has Mr. Blake observed the influence of Downing Street and London society on the sentiment of the domesticated colonist? If he has, does he feel no misgivings as to the course which his Canadian representative would have pursued? The practicability of the scheme has been debated to the dregs. Of course it is practicable in a certain sense to form a Confederation of Canada, Tahiti, the Greek Church, and the Freemasons. But such an association could have no common object, and therefore no natural ground of existence, no bond to hold it together. Public men, perhaps, sometimes dally with Imperial Federation as a tribute to political orthodoxy when they have another thing in their minds. But they had better not commit themselves too far, or they will hardly be able to retreat without disgrace.

The largest space in Mr. Blake's programme is filled by the changes which he proposes in the machinery of elections. The Minorities' Clause is a taking plan; but it has been fairly tried in England, and the result where it has taken effect has been a standing compromise based on the relative number of parties at the time of its introduction, which the members on both sides have the strongest personal interest in upholding, but which destroys political life. Another bad consequence is that the minority member is nailed to his seat and disabled from retiring on the ground of infirmity, or taking office, because his seat, if vacated, would be lost. In cities like Glasgow, Bir-

mingham and Manchester, where political life is superabundant, the operation of the clause has been defeated, wholly or in part, by machinery which, like all complex arrangements, harbours wirepulling and diminishes instead of increasing the electors' liberty of choice. What the specific object of compulsory voting is, we must profess ourselves at a loss to say. It could hardly prevent bribery, because the elector, though compelled to vote for one candidate or the other, would still have the power of selling his vote to either. Those who will not take the trouble to vote, have generally not thought about the matter; and those who have not thought about the matter are surely best at home. The contrivers of the machinery no doubt understand its working, which to our apprehension presents some difficulties, especially in connection with the party system. Apparently in case of the most frivolous and vexatious opposition, say to the re-election of a member who had taken office, the constituency would be compelled to turn out to a man, perhaps in the middle of winter, and in a storm, on pain of forfeiting the franchise; and sweeping disfranchisements would very likely be the result. If these questions were at present in season, there is a change which we should prefer to either of the two proposed by Mr. Blake. The grand evil of our system of representation is that the nominations have been engrossed by wirepullers, so that freedom of election has been practically lost. The ultimate source of this evil is faction, and the only effectual remedy is national government. But experience seems to show that the right of the people might be in some measure restored by the requirement of an absolute majority, and in default of it, of a second ballot between the two candidates highest on the poll, all the others being thrown off. Under this system an independent candidate is able to meet the standing argument of the wirepullers by saying to the electors, 'vote for me in the first instance: if I fail, your vote will not be lost; you will have the opportunity of falling back on your party candidate at the second ballot.' It may be said that the snare is vainly set in sight of the bird, and that a Bill

for the repression of wirepulling will never be passed by a Parliament of wirepullers. But, at this moment, inventing new electoral machinery is turning aside from the field of action to spin tops. Our commercial relations and the railway to British Columbia are the subjects now before the country. The man who has not made up his mind upon these points, or is not prepared to act on his decision with vigour, can be no more than an interesting figure on the political scene. In declaring for a reform of the Senate, Mr. Blake touched on a more practical theme, though he propounded no definite plan. A loosening of tongues among the leaders of the opposition on this subject is a salutary and redeeming consequence of their defeat under the banner of obstruction. But their position is a weak one. To confess that you have allowed the whiff of a newspaper to scare you out of such a measure as the reform of a branch of the Legislature scarcely beseems the dignity of men who aspire to lead a nation; yet it is better than saying that you want to change the Senate because of late it has not been on your side. To put a check on the action of the dominant party in the House of Commons was the very object of the institution. The reform is coming. The Senators themselves, even the most Conservative of them, must see the necessity, though they may deplore it. But the Ministers have the advantage in moral position as well as in numbers; and they will be wanting to their own fortunes if they fail to take up the question and settle it themselves, instead of leaving it to be settled by the Opposition.

In the speech to which we have been referring, Mr. Blake once more reverted to the Pacific Railway Scandal. But his feeling being genuine, not hypocritical, was temperately expressed, and he did not apply to Sir John Macdonald the over-painted passage of Macaulay, describing the perfect union of all evil qualities in the diabolical character of Barère. Nor, if the truth must be told, was his mention of the subject needless. Sir John Macdonald unfortunately persists in holding very equivocal and disquieting language on the subject. Between

receiving an ordinary subscription to an election fund and receiving money from the applicant for a railway charter there is, we must say, no analogy whatever. The use of a political club as the receiver on such occasions would only make the matter worse, since, instead of a single corrupt act, there would be a standing machinery of corruption. Of the two great political clubs in England, the Reform has no election fund; and if the Carlton has one, it certainly is not made up by contributions extracted from applicants for railway charters. But let the Carlton do what it thinks fit: we do not want to import into this country the corrupt agencies by which the aristocracy in England carries on its political war against the people. If the United Empire Club were once safely placed on a social basis, as Conservative and as Imperial as it pleases, relief would be felt by many who sincerely desire that the fame of Sir John Macdonald should grow brighter, and not darker, toward the close. The Pacific Railway Scandal is a thing not to be defended but to be effaced, above all by widening the basis of government and tempering, as a minister with a great majority may, the bitterness of the party conflict from which all these calamities flow. The subject is not a pleasant one; but there is still danger of corruption: there is danger in connection with the tariff, there is danger, and imminent danger, in connection with the railway contracts. The country cannot afford to have any misunderstanding as to the rules of honour which bind our public men.

Who are to be the leaders of the Opposition will presently appear. The signs in the Press are favourable to the Liberals, whose organs gain circulation, while those of the Grits lose it. Who is to be the next Prime Minister of Canada will probably not appear for some years to come. The Government has the wind of prosperity full in its sail: unless it scuttles itself with a scandal, it may be expected to continue its course till its railway expenditure runs it into financial difficulties, which may perhaps be aggravated by harvests less good than the last, and when that crisis comes, there will be a general demand for a leader wholly devoted to the material interests of the country.

—The Comedy of *Coups d'Etat* in Quebec has apparently been closed by the secure installation of a Coalition Government and the tranquil division of power and patronage, though the latter is always a matter of secondary consideration in that Province. Here we have another proof of the inanity of party divisions in the case of the Local Legislatures. Men who yesterday fancied themselves severed by an impassable gulf of principle to-day are in each other's arms. The verdict of history, if she deigns to notice our doings, upon this episode, can hardly be doubtful. The dismissal of the De Boucherville Ministry was a party move, and the quarter whence the fatal inspiration came is apparently betrayed by farcical anguish. The fact, stated in Sir John Macdonald's memorandum, that the bargain between Mr. Joly and Mr. Turcotte respecting the Speakership was struck in the presence of Lieut.-Governor Letellier seems decisive as to the character of the transaction. On the other hand the Senate clearly broke the Constitution in stopping the Supplies, which, according to constitutional principle, ought only to be done when a Ministry condemned by Parliament refuses to retire. Lieut.-Governor Robitaille followed an established and most necessary rule in declining to allow Mr. Joly to appeal to the country against a Parliament of his own calling. The dispute between the Houses had been settled, and no longer afforded ground for a dissolution: otherwise, in this case, as in that of the conflict between the Lords and Commons in England respecting the Reform Bill of 1831, the proper course would have been a reference to the tribunal of the people. As to the action of the Dominion authorities, the Prime Minister himself pretty evidently felt that a verdict once delivered by the Dominion House of Commons and the constituencies of Quebec on the Letellier case, whether right or wrong, ought to be allowed to stand; but he could neither convince nor shoot his French followers; and while the system of party lasts, the tail will sometimes move the head. The Governor General naturally demurred, the question being new, the authority of the Crown

being involved, and the alleged ground of dismissal having occurred under his predecessor. The obvious mode of avoiding a collision was a reference to the Home Government, which is at all events the guardian of the British North America Act. The terms in which the adoption of this course was announced to Parliament have formed the pretext for reviling the Prime Minister in language applicable only to convicted felons; but it turns out, as might have been expected, that they had been previously arranged with the Governor General. The Opposition, of course, would have liked a dissolution, which would have given it a chance, and, as public feeling then was, a very good chance, of winning back some seats: but the Government is not bound to provide catastrophes for the benefit of the Opposition. Such, we presume to predict, will be the judgment generally pronounced when the time for a calm review arrives.

This Quebec embroglio is not likely to be the last of the kind. Among the orators of Confederation there was one, and one only, who attempted, in a statesmanlike manner, to forecast the working of the projected institutions. Mr. Dunkin clearly foretold the difficulty of carrying on this complex system, and the conflict which there would be between the powers and parties of the Dominion and those of the several Provinces. The struggle in Quebec evidently has been, at bottom, an attempt of each of the Dominion parties in turn to extend its sway over the Provincial Government and patronage, which, by the theory of Confederation, were to be entirely independent of central influence. Nor are things different in Ontario, where a Dominion party, though that which happens at present to be in the minority at Ottawa, has grasped the Government, having turned out Sandfield Macdonald manifestly on account of his connection with the Tories. A Dominion party has, in fact, been guilty in Ontario of an excess more dangerous than the two violations of constitutional principle in Quebec. We refer to the assumption by the Legislature of another session, when the regular term of its

existence had morally, and, perhaps, legally expired—a proceeding manifestly dictated by the hope that a delay of the elections would give a vantage ground to the Grits on a question of Dominion politics. The resources of constitutional learning have been somewhat superfluously expended in proving that legislatures do not sit till their numbers are complete. It is one thing, we submit, to wait till all your members have come in : it is, morally at least, another thing, when you have reached the end of your term, to devise a technical quibble, founded on an unconstitutional act of your own respecting the date of an exceptional election, for the purpose of prolonging your trust beyond the period for which you have received it from the people. The usurpation is crowned by the assertion that the Local Legislature has given legality to its own act. That the Local Legislatures are not sovereign powers, but assemblies holding limited authority under an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and become nullities when they step beyond the limit, will speedily appear if the validity of any Act of the last session in Ontario should ever be brought before a court of law.

In another way these occurrences in Quebec are instructive. Rueful experience is gradually teaching the enthusiastic nations that the political clothes of England will not fit all the world. It has been assumed on all hands that the British Constitution is something at once perfectly well-defined, capable of exportation to any country, and not less universally salutary than Morrison's British pills. In fact, it is made up of elements all more or less essentially English and incommunicable to other nations ; to wit, three feudal powers, the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, of which the last has nearly swallowed the other three, though their tails still protrude from its mouth ; the Great Charter with its supplement the statute against Tallage, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act, which form the muniments of English liberty ; and a body of unwritten traditions and understandings respecting the conduct of Parliamentary government and the laws of the party game. To the last category belongs the vital rule that

the Crown must call to its councils the leaders of the majority, as well as those to which we have just referred, against appealing to the country from a Parliament of your own calling, or refusing supplies before you have carried a vote of non-confidence. This unwritten portion of the Constitution, even in England, is hardly settled: a recent historian lauds the reign of Victoria as the beginning of really constitutional government. But in England the traditions and understandings are on their native soil; everybody knows them, everybody has been trained to keep them; general opinion enforces them; while they are in the special guardianship of a group of political families, which have long shared among them the offices of state, and are bound, under the heaviest penalties, not to ruin their own perquisites. But with us, constitutional tradition is comparatively faint; in the French Province it hardly exists: the unwritten law is neither distinctly understood by the masses nor irresistibly enforced by public sentiment. Our politicians, taken to-day from the crowd, and to-morrow returning to the crowd from which they were taken, are imbued with no hereditary respect for restraints imposed by tacit compacts. We must expect them, in the heat of the struggle, to use their full legal powers, as they have done in Quebec; and if they use their full legal powers, there is an end of our British Constitution.

We have Constitutional writers no doubt to teach us: but unfortunately on both sides of the water they are unwilling to see the cardinal fact that the House of Commons has asserted its ascendancy over its quondam superiors, and that it really appoints the Government. Hence their works are full of solemn and orthodox figments, which in practice can only delude. One of them tells us that the British Party Cabinet is a Committee of the Privy Council. It is a Committee of the Privy Council just in the same sense as a shark is a committee of the negro whom he swallows.

Let old countries govern themselves, if they can, by feudal tradition and antiquarian sentiment, upholding unwritten un-

derstandings. For us there will be no security but in written regulations, intelligible to the people, clearly defining every function, and limiting every power. For us, the only safe basis of government is the reverence of an educated people for wise, just, and certain law.

—When a million has been spent on an august habitation for the Local Legislature of Ontario, we shall be more firmly saddled than ever with the system of double government. This country, encased in its intricate and expensive apparatus of Constitutional Monarchies, and Parliaments, Central and Provincial, is like the fabled Dutchman in his dozen pairs of nether garments. If one assembly is enough to make laws for thirty millions in England, or forty millions in France, why do our four millions require eight? Old countries, such as England and France, might be able to supply duly qualified legislators for eight assemblies: a country in the stage of development in which Canada is can barely supply them for one. The whole of our civil legislation, even on the most momentous subjects, must inevitably be consigned under the present arrangement to hands, properly fitted only for the management of local affairs. Considering what might happen, we may, perhaps, deem it fortunate that the Local Legislators spend so much of their time in playing at party, and debating the Canoe Couch or the Proton Outrage. The whole of the work done by the Parliament of Ontario, in its last session, might have been much more expeditiously done by a good practical council of Reeves. By the National Parliament, again, a great deal of time is wasted in wrangling, partly because more than half of the legislative business of the nation has been taken out of its jurisdiction, while it has, properly speaking, no Federal functions, being the Parliament of a dependency, the foreign policy of which is reserved to the Imperial government. The jealousy of Quebec concerning its separate Code is the only justification for a system which, upon its general merits, hardly

anybody defends. But why could not the National Legislature of Canada respect the separate Code of Quebec as the British Parliament respects the separate Code of Scotland? However there is little use in talking: the system is now rooted in vested interests; and we shall have a chance of seeing the end of it only when the growing burden of expenditure forces the country to stop the waste.

It is not likely that we shall find government less expensive in the future. Though Canada is young in years, she begins socially to feel the liabilities and to be confronted by the problems of old and crowded countries. Pauperism has shown its ghastly face, and raised the question, as difficult as it is unwelcome, of a permanent provision for the poor. Callings are overcrowded, and an advertisement for twelve teachers in a High School brings three hundred applications. The *Mail* has won renown by a searching exposure of the haunts of vice in Toronto. That cancer, too, has appeared, and is not to be cut out by the knife of penal law: it is in the constitution: and the darker the dens into which you drive the evil, the worse probably it will be. Very little would be gained by substituting abortion for prostitution. The source of the malady is inability to marry, which again arises from the difficulty of finding a livelihood among the men, and the destitution which thrusts women into a horrible and hideous trade. There is no cure but a policy which will promote the national welfare of the people; and to this, when the frisks of ambition are exhausted, the holders of power will perhaps turn. But that day is yet distant. Go to the low quarters of London, to those cities of the wretched where misery, if it is not more intense, is more squalid and hideous in its aspect than any where else in the world,—go to them at night, when the gin palace flares, and vice as well as famine is abroad; or go to the hovel where the British agricultural labourer is maintaining himself, his wife and six children, on three dollars a week, and trace him thence to the penal workhouse, his inevitable receptacle if he has the misfortune to reach old age; then reflect that these people are being taxed for

the destruction of Afghan villages and the extermination of Zulus. Not only so, but such of them in the cities as have votes are generally brought to the poll by beer and other Tory agencies to vote for a spirited foreign policy, and the extension of 'their' Empire.

—The makers of easy philosophy have again proclaimed that the great peril of the United States is the Irish element, which, we are told, is a mass of political crudity too great for the digestive powers of the Republic. It is not wonderful that a race which, through long centuries, had known government only as its enemy, and law only as the cunning engine of its oppressor, should require a protracted novitiate in order to adapt it to Republican institutions, though, as a set-off against his political failings, the Irishman has built the cities and railroads of the United States. But there is a greater peril than the Irish element, or even the foreign element generally, as the best citizens begin already to see. It is Faction, which, unless it can be arrested in its fell career, will soon threaten the very life of the Republic. And that which chiefly lends malignant energy to Faction is the elective Presidency, which, with its enormous patronage, forms the prize of a perpetual strife between two armies of office-seekers, ever growing more numerous, more hungry, and more unscrupulous, while, by means of their unconstitutional organizations, the national representation is becoming irretrievably vested in their usurping hands. Once in every four years every public question is brought by these intriguers to a dangerous head; but the process of irritation, corruption, and demoralization is never suspended; all local elections and interests are swept into the vortex; everything is tainted by the practices and sacrificed to the objects of the general game. Slavery itself might possibly have died a quiet death, if a Presidential election had not brought the question to a violent crisis, which, combined with the treachery of the arch-wirepuller whom

party had placed in the Presidential chair, plunged the nation into civil war. The dispute between Hayes and Tilden, three years ago, brought the country again to the brink of confusion ; and though the immediate danger was surmounted by the almost inexhaustible good sense of the people, a severe shock was given to the integrity of the suffrage, the sole source of legal authority, and the sole foundation of Republican Government. In Maine, and elsewhere, a decided tendency has since been shown to set aside the legitimate verdict of the polls by the abuse of administrative power. A few more steps in that direction and the faction-fight will become anarchy. No reflecting man can look forward without the most serious misgivings to the possibility of another disputed election, with political passion at fever-height, and after mutual outrages which, to infuriated partizans on both sides, will seem to legitimize the use of violence and fraud.

Next to faction, the greatest peril is the solid South. The South, as it does not expand, is rapidly becoming a mere fraction of the Union ; but in the meantime it forms the nucleus of a vast confederacy of mischief, including disturbers of the currency, as well as political marauders of all kinds. The expectation that the white element would split into parties has been belied. The whites are held together by their paramount interest as a dominant race in presence of an inferior one backed by support from without. Yet commercial influences working from New Orleans, might gradually induce a change of temper and restore the South to the Union, were it not for the action, in this quarter also, of the universal bane. No healing process can go on while the Southern States are kept politically under arms for a coming Presidential Election. Had they at the close of the civil war been restored to internal self-government, but excluded for a time from participation in Federal elections, and Federal politics generally, it would have been far better for them as well as for the Union. Among the Southerners themselves there is now on foot a movement in favour of secession from Presidential contests, which is highly significant, though it will no doubt prove abortive.

Commercial prosperity was rapidly reviving, and the finances were in the best train when Congress met. For some months to come the country, with all its great interests will be quaking and quivering in the hands of political gamblers, sent to Washington by the wirepullers, not by the people, who will recklessly sacrifice everything to the objects of their game. Trade will be disturbed, wages lowered, and the bread taken out of the mouths of the people by the tampering of demagogues with the currency. Public money will be thrown away for party purposes, as last session twenty-five millions were thrown away under the pretext of a Pension Arrears Bill, to buy the soldiers' vote. This is not self-government, it is government by Faction; and that government by Faction will in the end ruin self-government is the lesson which all free communities, if they would save themselves from anarchy, must learn.

A gallant and hopeful effort to loosen the party-yoke was made the other day in the State of New York, where the Reform wing of the Republican party scratched Mr. Cornell, the Anti-reform nominee of the Machine for the governorship. Mr. Cornell ran far behind his ticket, and was saved from defeat by an alliance with Tammany, as frail as it is unlovely. The urgent need of emancipation was signalized by the abasement of two members of President Hayes' Cabinet, who were actually compelled by the Machine to take the stump in support of a nomination, avowedly directed against the Reform principles on which the administration is founded, and which the President in his message still affects to uphold. In a very different way the relaxation of the party bond is indicated by the large vote polled in Massachusetts by General Butler, whose supporters were at all events seceders from both the regular parties, preferring local objects, and measures of material relief, real or fancied, for the struggling farmer and artisan, to the issues framed for them by the Federal politicians.

Everything points at present to General Grant as the next President. It is a conclusion to which the best citizens resign

themselves with sadness, because they know too well that General Grant will bring back with him the men who, for eight years, carried on a government of corruption and intrigue, established at the South a domination of scoundrels, as ruinous in every sense as it was shameful, wasted the immense heritage of Republican victory, and tore half the laurels from the victorious general's brow. But Grant, who is, after all, the hero of the war, can carry the whole Republican vote, especially in the indispensable State of New York, so that his nomination affords the best chance of escaping that unspeakable peril—a disputed election. Even at the South the recollection of his generosity as a soldier has not been entirely effaced by his evil policy as a ruler. His firmness in case of need can be thoroughly trusted, and though surrounded by corrupt men, he has never been himself convicted of corruption. His name excites suspicion of dynasticism and military rule, for which the conduct of some of his sycophants has furnished too much ground. But there has been no reason for believing that, in the heart of the General himself, disloyal ambition has ever found a place. There is nothing in him of the conspirator; nor does he appear ever to have lost the simplicity of character and dislike of military display which invariably marked his bearing at the head of the armies of the Republic. We remember his quarters on the James, in no way distinguished from those of a regimental officer, with the rough military chest in which all his belongings were contained. His re-election would probably end in his Presidency for life, the good part of which would be the respite which it would afford from factious strife, while the bad part would be the indefinite retention in office of his highly undesirable friends. Perhaps the evil might be tempered by the growth in Congress of an honest and independent opposition in the interest, not of a party, but of the country.

In spite of his tour, General Grant has probably remained a good American; he passed through the series of Old World influences too rapidly to catch the infection; and he might be

relied on for patriotism in dealing with external relations. Washington's advice was wise, but the American Republic is on this planet; if she takes no interest in the affairs of other countries, other countries, or certain classes in them, take a deep interest in hers. General Grant remembers the time when the Southern Club was sustaining the Rebellion, and Imperialism was at work in Mexico; while his visit to the East may have impressed on him the fact that European cupidity is rapidly making its way towards the seats of American commerce in China and Japan. Of his pursuing an aggressive policy against the neighbours of the Republic there is happily no danger. That spirit was cast out with slavery.

The break-up of the Oneida Community—for a break-up the abandonment of its peculiar domestic system will surely prove—marks the approaching end of that curious group of socialistic and communistic experiments in living, about which many books have been written. Most of the experiments, including those made by the great Socialist Owen, have been total failures. Success, where any measure of it has been attained, will be found, by a careful induction, to have depended on two things, religious enthusiasm and abstinence from marriage. Religious enthusiasm has preserved unity, in some cases under the form of a religious dictatorship, such as that of Mr. Noyes at Oneida; abstinence from marriage has at once rendered life in common possible, and led to the accumulation of wealth, which children would have consumed. In the Oneida Community there was a horrible system of regulated concubinage, which was styled complex marriage; but offspring was narrowly restricted, at least till the community had grown rich. Moreover, all these experiments have been on too small a scale to warrant inferences with regard to society at large. Their feeble lamps will go out without shedding any light on the mighty social problems with which the coming generations will apparently have to deal.

—The state of Europe may be described as a reign of military ambition tempered by deficits and modified by the *Almanach de Gotha*. The hands of the great powers would very likely be at each other's throats if they were not held back by finance; while family ties between the Emperors, especially between the German Emperor and the Czar, cross and perplex the political game. In the meantime, as a consequence of their military taxation and conscription, the whole group are being threatened by an enemy from within, in the form of a socialistic movement, the manifest offspring of misery among the masses, which gathers strength and is apparently destined to be the great fact and the great peril of the future. That this movement has its immediate source in special grievances, is plain from its coincidence in range with the pressure of the military system. But supposing that the special grievances could now be removed by the disarmament for which even Bismarck sighs, or affects to sigh, it by no means follows that Socialism would cease to exist. In the case of the French Revolution, the immediate source of disturbance was bankruptcy. The French Monarchy had been bankrupt before; but now the fountains of the social deep were broken up and a torrent set flowing which no fiscal measures could have stayed. It will be noted that the present movement, both in Germany and Russia, has not only an economical but a philosophic and theological, or rather anti-theological character. Religion hitherto has induced the less fortunate classes to acquiesce humbly in poverty and suffering here by holding out to them the promise of compensation in another world. But religion has been losing its hold: scepticism spreads rapidly among the masses in Europe; they are casting off theological hopes and fears; they demand that their lot shall be made just and materially happy here; they assail the whole social and political structure which has had religious belief for its basis; they question the justice and beneficence not only of earthly governments but of the higher power which earthly governments have hitherto been believed to represent. While Germany was in the springtide

of hope, pushing forward to her national unity, and fancying that it would be the dawn of a new era, Arthur Schopenhauer preached Pessimism without a disciple; now his disciples form no small portion of thinking Germany; and his doctrine, assuming, as all revolutionary doctrines do, a more extravagant form and a darker hue in the mind of the fantastic and unbalanced Slav, becomes Russian Nihilism, and wages satanic war against all existing institutions, political, social, domestic and ecclesiastical, with the weapons of the assassin. In one way or other, by general disarmament or by mutual destruction on a vast scale, the present military system of Europe must come to an end: but it is not so certain that European society will settle down again into its former state. The governing classes of old countries, at all events, have work enough cut out for them in the coming years.

To no one is a larger meed of sympathy and pity due than to a reformer assailed by the dagger of revolution. The Emperor Alexander has been more than a reformer—he has been a reformer on a throne; and his principal reform was the most extensive, the most difficult, and the most perilous ever accomplished by a single legislative stroke. That the emancipation of the Serfs was merely the selfish policy of a despot who wished to depress a powerful aristocracy, is an aristocratic calumny: it was accompanied by other measures of improvement, political and judicial, which abundantly attested the liberal aims of its author. In the opinion of those who know Russia best, Alexander's legislation, as a whole, went at least as far as, with a nation wholly untrained to self-government, it was safe to go; and sharp must be the sting of revolutionary ingratitude. Pius the Ninth, when the movement which he had helped to launch got beyond his control, apostatized from Liberalism and became the high priest of Reaction. If Alexander remains true to Reform he will be a hero. As we write there come renewed rumours of his abdication. Assuredly he has all the reasons for such a step which were ever gathered within the uneasy circlet of a crown.

Not that Nihilism in Russia appears yet to have assumed anything like the proportions of Socialism in Germany. The secrecy which the conspirators have been able to preserve would in itself lead us to surmise that their number must be small, while the visionary character of their creed points to an intellectual, and therefore a limited class. It is probable that the mass of the people of all orders are still faithful to the Czar, and would be satisfied, at any rate, by a constitutional reform of a kind suited to the present stage of national development. No rational Liberal would think of introducing representative government, with the plenitude of popular control over the executive, the finance, and the army, among a people of whom only a fraction can read and write. The assembly of notables which was projected before the last attempt on the Czar's life seems as wise and safe a measure as could be proposed.

The Eastern Question is still the central vortex round which the political maelstrom whirls. Had England thought fit to take a straightforward course at the Conference of Constantinople, and in conjunction with the other Powers, to press upon the Porte the reform of its government in Bulgaria, it is certain that the Turk must have yielded, and it is not less certain that the Czar, weary, care-laden, and utterly disinclined to war, would have accepted and compelled his servants to accept a solution which would have satisfied his reasonable sympathies and saved his honour. Islam, in Europe, would have taken, with Oriental resignation, one more step in the inevitable descent, and all this bloodshed, this devastation, this outbreak of deadly passions, this throng of perils casting their shadows far into the future, might have been averted from mankind. Diplomacy, if it is the art of settling difficulties without war, might have claimed a genuine triumph. But then there would have been nothing for the Music Halls, nothing to awaken the Jingo lyre, nothing out of which to weave the wreath of Tracy Turnerelli. So the English government took its stand on the integrity and independence of the Turk-

ish Empire, and on the perfect ability and willingness of the Turk to reform himself without foreign intervention. Encouraged by the authentic voice of the British Cabinet, which she easily distinguished from the formal utterances of its representative at the Conference, Turkey resisted, and after hideous carnage was laid prostrate, as everybody who knew anything of her state foresaw. Then her faithful and disinterested friend rushed to her rescue, asserted her outraged integrity by dismembering her of Cyprus, and preserved her threatened independence by taking her Asiatic dominions under a protectorate which is fast being turned into a dominion on the plea of carrying out for her the reforms which she is herself unable or unwilling to carry out. Such a plea was not likely to be wanting. It has been said that there are many abuses in Turkey; but in truth there is only one—the existence of the Turks as a dominant race, with an intolerant religion. The reform of such a race means its abdication; and the Turk has sense to see that before presenting his neck to the bowstring he may as well try to set his reformers by the ears. In that department of diplomacy he is a Talleyrand, as the angry and anxious movements of the British Ambassador show.

When the Jingo lyre is mute, sober inquirers will ask what has been gained 'by this policy which would not have been gained by one less costly to England, to Europe, and mankind. Russia has got what, had the Conference of Constantinople succeeded, she would not have got—Armenia, Bessarabia, and Christian nationalities on the road to Constantinople, emancipated by her intervention, and looking to her as their patroness. England has drawn upon herself the deadly hatred of Russia, her firmest friend in the war with Napoleon, and afterwards, till Napoleon's heir, for his own dynastic purposes, brought about the Crimean War. In this the Music Halls exult. But does any reasonable man? With Russia single-handed, England is able to deal; though the truth is that no living Englishman knows what war would be with an enemy able to put even a dozen cruisers on the sea. But if

Russia could find a single ally among the powers of Europe, the case of the empress of India would be desperate; and therefore in the councils of Europe the voice of England will henceforth be weak. It is not unlikely that France, finding the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine hopeless, may seek to indemnify herself by annexing Belgium; and if she does, England can offer no resistance; nor can she offer any resistance if Germany should ever deem it her interest to force Denmark into the Bund. When the Fisheries question comes round, the Americans, in any demands they may make, will feel that they have Russia behind them; and England will fear to provoke the enmity of two nations capable, on a short notice, of becoming formidable to her trade. That such a power as Russia can be prevented for ever from making its way to an open sea, is surely a Jingo dream.

When the Czar withdrew his army from Constantinople, it seemed to be assumed that Russia was extinguished, and that nothing remained to be done but to play The Conquering Hero and turn all the tinfoil into crowns. Yet there she stands, with her eighty millions of people, victorious in her last war, her army increased, and burning to avenge not only hostile acts, but the stinging insults which have been showered upon her. Finance, even in her case, is a restraint; but it is far less of a restraint in her case than in that of a sensitive commercial nation: suspension of payment would ruin the stockholders, many of whom are foreigners, but it would lighten the taxes, and bread and iron would not fail. Internal disturbance, if not more extensive than we believe that in Russia to be, might lead the government rather to desire than to avoid war. The shattered nerves of the Czar have shrunk from the conflict; but his heir is of a different temper, and would probably give the word for action. We take it all very coolly, because it never occurs to us that the very first stroke in a maritime war would probably be struck at Canadian shipping.

Austria, it appears, is destined once more to play her regular part with her regular ally, the reactionary party in England. In

times long past the heterogeneous group of principalities united under the sway of the House of Hapsburg served a useful purpose as a confederation against the Turk. But when Turkish conquest ceased to threaten, Austria, a military power without a nation, became simply a nuisance to humanity. Her office for some time past has been that of Tory turnkey in the gaol of oppressed and struggling nationalities. That office she performed both in Italy and Germany till Italy and Germany won their freedom, to the natural disgust of the courtly and aristocratic party in England who heartily sympathized with Bomba and pursued Garibaldi with intense hatred. Now, apparently, she has accepted the guardianship of the prison-house which holds the oppressed and struggling nationalities of the Balkan. Lord Salisbury hails the tidings of her assumption of the keys in the language applied by the Gospel to the tidings of the birth of Christ; and perhaps some apostle of Agnosticism will point with sarcastic exultation to this specimen of the moral and humane teachings of Christianity. But however glorious and beneficent may be the beginning the end will be the same. Humanity has not struggled so far up its steep and bloodstained path only to have its steps arrested at last in the interest of Lord Salisbury and his confederates. Destitute of life herself, Austria will not be able for ever to preserve herself from dissolution by stifling life around her. She has hitherto failed, as she was likely to fail, in the attempt to fuse Magyar and Slav, Dalmatian and German, into a nation by bringing their representatives together in a jangling Parliament at Vienna. The process has served rather to intensify antagonisms which slept while the Principalities were left to carry on their somewhat torpid lives with no connection but that of a Royal and administrative centre. Everybody divines that the day will come when German Austria will be drawn into the Germanic Confederation and Hungary and Bohemia will go each its own way, while of the territory on the Adriatic a part at least will be united to Italy, and the smaller Slavonic provinces will follow the fortunes of the kindred com-

munities which are gradually emancipating themselves from the Turkish yoke. It is not unlikely that "the next Sick Man" may now have taken a step useful to his political allies, but fatal to himself. A war with the great Slavonic power would probably close his history.

Italian independence, and Garibaldi as its hero, have always been special objects of antipathy to the present Prime Minister of England, whose darling aim it is to identify himself with Courts, and to clothe himself in the radiant vesture of their attendants. The feeling is now extended with undiminished intensity to Greece, whose resurrection half a century ago kindled in England the passionate enthusiasm which sent Byron to die in her cause. It is true that in those days there was no overland route to India, and the chill of suppressed interest had not come over the native warmth of generous sympathy. Greece, however, like Italy, finds friends; and once more the petty objects of a particular government or class will succumb to the great objects of humanity.

—From South Africa still come tidings of disturbance, the malcontents now including the Boers, a rough race, who went out into the wilderness to live after their own fashion. So the "peace policy" is pronounced a failure, and troops may soon be on their march to chastise the perverseness of these races, which refuse quietly to blot themselves out of existence, that the Jingo may inherit the earth. Through one more river of blood South Africa is to wade to the reign of felicity designed for her by the beneficent genius of Lord Carnarvon. South African Confederation is a Downing Street dream, and a dream from which Downing Street itself appears at last to be awakening. Such a group of Provinces as the Cape Colony proper, Kaffraria, Basuto-land, Fingo-land, No-man's-land, Griqualand and the Transvaal, with their motley population of English, Dutch, German, French, Afrianders, Hottentots, Malays and Kaffirs, the native element in some of the Provinces

vastly preponderating over the European, are incapable of Federal Union. The difficulties which we encounter even here would there be multiplied fourfold. But it was to fulfil this vision, plainly enough, that the annexation of Zululand, which a glance at the map will show to have been a Naboth's vineyard, was decreed. The Zulu King was summoned to change all the customs of his country, and to put down his army, which is called a body of "celibate manslayers," as though that were not the exact description of the standing army of the conquerors. He knew what was coming at the back of that demand, and he was attacked, as informants at the Cape tell us, before the period assigned in the ultimatum had expired.

The victor tramples down the vanquished; sometimes he even tramples down opinion for the time; but he does not write history. In history Cetewayo will stand by the side of Caractacus, Arminius and Boadicea, as a brave barbarian who in fighting for his land and his simple rights, fought, though unconsciously, for the hope of a race, selected by nature, perhaps, as the vigorous stock of a great nation—for a wild vine, which, under kindly culture, might in time have borne rich fruit to humanity. If to the Angles, Jutes and Saxons there had come, instead of the missionary, Jingoism with its arms of precision, would the name of the Jingo have been blessed? Yet the Ethelberts and the Edwins were in civilization little above the level of Cetewayo. As to the Zulu people, with equal arms, they would evidently be a match for their destroyers. They charged upon the fire of breech-loaders with a valour not displayed by any troops in the Franco-German war.

"The next day our coloured brethren came on and attacked the camp in numbers from 20,000 to 23,000, and after six hours' hard fighting they bolted. We killed a little over 2,300, and when once they retired all the horsemen in camp followed them for eight miles, butchering them all over the place. I told the men 'No quarter, boys, and remember yesterday.' And they did knock them about, killing them all over the place." "For fully seven miles I chased two columns of the enemy,

who tried to escape over the Umvorlosi, but I came before them and pushed them off the road. They fairly ran like bucks, but I was after them like the whirlwind, and shooting incessantly into the thick column, which could not have been less than 5,000 strong. They became exhausted, and shooting them down would have taken too much time; so we took the assegais from the dead men, and rushed among the living ones, stabbing them right and left with fearful revenge for the murders of the 28th ult. No quarter was given." What effect are this work, and the derisive and exulting pictures of torture, death, agony, and hideous carnage, which are now common in English illustrated journals, likely to have on English character? And what but her 'character makes the connection with England dear and precious to us?

—In the early part of this century the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone visited Afghanistan as a British ambassador, and his book is a standard work upon the subject. He contrasts the state of the gallant clansmen with that of the despotisms around them. "In Persia or India, a tyrant, or a disputed succession, reduces the nation to a state of weakness or decay, from which it cannot wholly be released before its recovery is checked by the recurrence of a similar calamity. In Afghanistan, on the contrary, the internal government of the tribes answers its end so well that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organized and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant, and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in a civil war. Accordingly, if we compare the condition of the two kingdoms, we find Persia in a state of decay, after twenty years of entire tranquillity; while Afghanistan continues the progressive improvement which it has kept up during twelve years of civil warfare." New aqueducts, Elphinstone says, are being constantly made, and new lands are being brought under

cultivation in all the districts not immediately within the range of the struggle between pretenders to the throne of Cabul. The observer finds in the Afghans, the clansman's faults, but he finds also, the clansman's virtues. "They are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigues and deceit." Their women are chaste, and are well treated. They are not without culture, and great lovers of poetry of a simple sort. Their great patriot leader was a poet. In them apparently there is promise as high as there can be in any wild stock of humanity. But they are undisciplined and comparatively ill provided with arms, while their independent spirit renders a permanent union of their clans difficult, as will probably soon appear. They will be conquered and crushed into the mass of helpless and degraded misery upon which they have hitherto looked down from the mountain home of freedom.

The Afghan clansmen are styled "rebels." As rebels they are being slaughtered, and their villages are being burned, while their wives and children are driven out to die on the wintry hills. They are rebels just in the same sense as the Scotch were when they rose under Wallace against the vassal government set up by the conqueror's power. A pretended insult (for the most trustworthy authorities say that none was ever really offered), was the pretext of the war: the cause, soon and frankly avowed, was the desire of a scientific frontier. At the back of that desire was the ambition, long cherished by a party in the conqueror's councils, of annexing Afghanistan. We have had all this before. In 1837, Sir Alexander Burnes was sent to Cabul by Lord Palmerston to unveil Russian ascendancy, and to make a report which would countenance invasion. Being an honest man and a faithful public servant, he made a report which did not countenance invasion. The invasion, nevertheless, took place, and the result was an Afghan Bannockburn. Papers were called for, and the des-

patches by Sir Alexander Burnes, which, if produced in their genuine state, would have condemned the government, were laid before the House mutilated so as apparently to justify its policy. Burnes had perished, and could tell no tales. Many years afterwards the authentic despatches came to light and the forgery, for that was its true name, was exposed. If any one doubts our statement, let him refer to Hansard for March 19th, 1861.

An embargo has been laid upon correspondence by the Indian Government, and the curtain has fallen between us and Cabul. But we can guess what has been going on behind that curtain. The English reign of terror in captured Delhi according to witnesses, whose authority seemed good to Lord Elgin, was more cruel than the three days massacre of Nadir Shah. Do we fancy that Englishmen cannot be bloodthirsty? Spaniards were not bloodthirsty till they were launched in a career of blood. By evil work the nature is turned to evil. But the Englishmen does not enter Afghanistan alone; with him march Sikhs and other native mercenaries, compared with whom the Cossack is civilized and merciful.

On the question of mere policy, the opposite views were represented by the late Lord Lawrence and Lord Lytton. Lord Lawrence, an illustrious man of action, was naturally inclined to a policy of moderation. Lord Lytton, a poetaster and a dandy, is as naturally inclined to a policy of thunderbolts. That the Hindoos like other races hate alien rule, and prefer that even of the worst of their native Princes, is well-known, and was proved by the rising of the peasantry in favour of so vile a dynasty as that of Oude: yet they have submitted, because they are disarmed, and because, look where they would, there was no hope of deliverance. But now the spears of a deliverer will gleam in the sight of the Sepoy. We strangely forget the radical difference between the two Empires, which will henceforth touch each other. The Russian Empire, though vast, is in a ring fence: it is formed by the extension of a comparatively civilized power over an adjacent territory which is a sort

of political vacuum sparsely occupied by semibarbarous tribes. What Russia annexes she incorporates; what she incorporates she, in time, assimilates; all the more easily because the conqueror is in civilization not so much above the level of the conquered. She has apparently no reason to fear disaffection among the races under her settled rule in the East. But British India is a distant possession, the communication with which would be almost cut by a war with any one of the maritime powers of Europe. Its rulers are a race not only of aliens, but of mere sojourners, who have not even a life interest in the country, the spoils of which they bear off to another land. The social line between conqueror and conquered is as sharp and cruel as ever. If the natives were dogs, says Lord Elgin, you might at least caress them, and whistle to them; but as it is, you have no kindly relations with them of any sort. That mutual ignorance is complete as well as mutual estrangement, the sudden outburst of the mutiny was a fearful proof. Here lies the peril of the Indian Empire; here and in those ever growing difficulties of finance, which compel a Christian government—a government, at least, which establishes Christianity, and patronizes missionaries—to raise annually eight millions sterling by forcing opium, at the point of the bayonet, on the Chinese, whose rulers have tried in vain to save their people from the physical and moral poison.

That Russia as well as England has been playing her game at the Court of Cabul may well be believed; of course she would look out there and everywhere else for allies when England threatened her with war. That she was actually standing behind the Afghans seemed to be disproved when the English, on their first entrance, found no traces of her assistance—above all when they found no Russian guns. To supply the clansmen with good firearms would have been her most natural move. Now two or three thousand of them are said to have Snider rifles, and they are evidently making a stand for their homes, which, though it will be overcome, will add considerably to the financial difficulties and somewhat im-

pair the prestige of the Empire. It is singular that even the Government with all its experience seems not to have distinctly seen that the conflict would be not with a monarchy which one blow might prostrate, but with a number of high-spirited, warlike, and virtually independent clans defending a country singularly suited to irregular warfare. The late Ameer, supported by the judicious friendship of Lord Lawrence, had made some progress in centralization: but his work was quite incomplete; a blow has laid it in the dust, and the occupation of Cabul is not the possession of a seat of government but of a city surrounded by tribes which care no more than Highlanders in the Middle Ages for the claim of allegiance or the epithet of rebel.

—By the ascendancy of Jingoism in the central orb the same fire has been set glowing in all the satellites. In addition to Lord Lytton's war in Afghanistan and that of Sir Bartle Frere in Zululand, the ground is apparently being laid for a spirited policy in Burmah, Siam, and possibly Abyssinia. These miserable races are all unprovided with improved arms, and therefore they will all be slaughtered with ease. We are told that if certain measures now in contemplation take effect, Canadian soldiers may have the privilege of taking part in the work, as the comrades of the Sikhs and the Ghoorkas. There are some among us whom that thought fills with pride; there are others whom it does not fill with pride; and as both parties are sincere, they must respect the sentiments of each other.

One after another these vast fabrics of iniquity are reared by cupidity and ambition; one after another they are cast down. There is a power in the world, be it Deity or be it Ozone, which forbids man to build his happiness on the misery of his fellows. But in this Jingo and Music Hall Imperialism what strikes us most is not the iniquity but the vulgarity. A new member once rose to address the House of Commons "very showily attired, being dressed in a bottle-green frock-coat and a waist-

coat of white of the Dick Swiveller pattern, the front of which exhibited a network of glittering chains; large fancy pattern pantaloons and a black tie, above which no shirt collar was visible." That costume, translated into a foreign policy, now dazzles all whom nature has made susceptible of such influences. But let the trumpets blare as loud as they will, these fillibustering raids with Gatling guns and Martini-Henry rifles on wretches who have no defence but their naked valour, bear no relation to the famous wars waged by England in defence of right against the great powers of evil, Philip II., and Louis XIV., and Napoleon.

"My country, right or wrong"—to say this is to renounce humanity and to defy God. When the demagogues of the United States drove their country into an iniquitous war with England, the opponents of that crime were denounced for want of patriotism, just as the opponents of Jingo crime are now. Webster replied, "With respect to the war in which we are now involved, the course which our principles require us to pursue cannot be doubtful. It is now the law of the land, and as such we are bound to regard it. Resistance and insurrection form no part of our creed. The disciples of Washington are neither tyrants in power nor rebels out. If we are taxed to carry on this war, we shall disregard certain distinguished examples and shall pay. If our personal services are required, we shall yield them to the precise extent of our constitutional liability. At the same time the world may be assured that we know our rights, and shall exercise them. We shall express our opinion on this, as on every measure of government, I trust without passion, I am certain, without fear. We have yet to learn that the extravagant progress of pernicious measures abrogates the duty of opposition, or that the interest of our native land is to be abandoned by us in the hour of her thickest dangers and sorest necessity. By the exercise of our constitutional right of suffrage, by the peaceable remedy of election, we shall seek to restore wisdom to our councils and peace to our country."

That the policy of the English Government is that of the country, however, is an assertion which the Government itself seems greatly to doubt. Again and again the Ministers have been on the very brink of a dissolution ; again and again they have shrunk from it, though they would most gladly have renewed their seven years' lease of power. Mr. Gladstone's triumphal progress has only placed in a striking light that which was well known before—that the moral sense and intelligence of Scotland and the North were opposed to Jingoism, which has its seat among the Southern aristocracy and the populace of London and other cities enfranchised by the Tory Reform Bill of 1867, and organized under Conservative Working Men's Associations, of which an important agency is beer.

What the result will be when an appeal is at last made to the country, no one who is really well-informed as to the balance of parties in England would presume at present to decide. The scale may be turned by events, the course of which shifts from hour to hour. The result of the election at Sheffield is an important sign. For Sheffield, though a centre of industry, is an outpost of Jingoism in the North, as it showed by giving a large majority to the ultra Jingo, Mr. Roebuck : a large element of roughness and violence, not to say of rowdiness, is generated by its dangerous trades. Moreover its industries are to a considerable extent war industries, and they are specially feeling the revival. Big with fate will be the day in which England decides between industry and conquest. This is the grand issue : County franchise and disestablishment, important as they are, sink into a secondary place, compared with the question of the hour. The Liberal Party, if it is wise, will set them entirely aside. Hypothec, in Scotland, it must take up ; and it may perhaps do well by taking up the land question in England if it can get its Whig leaders to face the subject.

In the meantime the very basis of aristocracy is being sapped by those economic forces which have almost always played a great part in political revolutions. Brighter suns will bring better

harvests, but American competition will always keep down the price of British wheat. Even meat and dairy produce, to which the English farmer looked as his last rampart, are now imported almost with the same facility as grain. The revival of the Corn Law is out of the question; it would raise a rebellion in the manufacturing North. Rents and the value of land must fall. The incomes of the landlords must be reduced, and many of them, already deeply sunk in incumbrances, will hardly escape ruin. Their case will be the worse because land in England, having a social and political as well as an economical value, has been largely bought at a fancy price. Henceforth indeed it will be scarcely possible for English land to carry three—the landlord, the tenant-farmer, and the labourer. Tenants being difficult to get will become independent, they will demand leases instead of tenancies at will; and the hierarchy of rural society will be subverted. Then it will be seen that aristocracy, whatever it may have been in Norman times, is now merely plutocracy with a coronet, and that when its wealth departs, it is a thing of feudal shreds and patches that can neither rule nor dazzle any more.

The enthusiastic reception of Mr. Gladstone by the people, has been a revelation not only to his opponents but to the politicians of his own party. The same thing happened before: in 1867, when he had been out-manceuvred by Mr. Disraeli on the suffrage question. The politicians were inclined to desert him; but they found that the people were faithful to him, and that to be elected for a Liberal constituency it was necessary to conjure with his name. Errors in tactics, which to Parliamentary strategists seem fatal, affect the masses not at all; a lofty, pure and simple character, combined with commanding eloquence and great general force, retains its hold on their affections, and if its possessor is defeated by strategy, instead of deserting him, they only want to crush the strategists. A brilliant leader has become more than ever necessary in England, since the extension of the franchise has immensely increased the size of the constituencies, and included numbers who have not political know-

ledge enough to attach themselves to a great cause unless it is embodied in the form of a great man. This renders the arrival of Mr. Gladstone's seventieth birthday a very serious element in the horoscope of the future.

Commerce in England begins to revive. The causes of the depression unquestionably were over-production and over-multiplication of the means of production, especially in the textile department, stimulated by ten years of extraordinary prosperity. It happened that at the same time there was a pause in the construction of railways, and a consequent reduction in the demand for iron. Of money there has all along been not only abundance but a superabundance, so that the rate of interest in England on deposits became almost nominal: it was of profitable investments that there was a lack. The market has now been pretty well unloaded, and the construction of railroads has recommenced. But England can never recover the lonely pre-eminence in manufactures which was hers on the morrow of the great French wars. Other nations are coming up with her in the race. Still she has a vast mass of accumulated wealth; she greedily takes foreign and colonial investments on all sides. The New Zealand loan is subscribed for twice over, though it can hardly be the very safest of securities, considering that New Zealand has, with this addition, a public debt of twenty-five millions sterling, for a white population under half a million. The number of matriculations at the English Universities has not fallen off; and the watering places have been crowded throughout the depression.

Mr. Delane, the thrice-famous editor of the *London Times* is dead, and Journalism is called upon to give him a royal funeral; Our response must depend upon our notion of a journalist's duty. Ought he write from conviction, or ought he to write simply what will sell? Mr. John Delane was what is called in gentle phrase "an opportunist," that is, he wrote what would sell. His art, which he carried to the highest pitch, was that of divining the tendency of opinion and, by anticipating, appearing to lead it; such an art, however, like other kinds of legerde-

main, loses its magic, when its secret is once revealed. Moreover, the opinion which Mr. Delane's *Times* skilfully reflected, in later years at least, was not that of the nation, but that of the Clubs. With the Clubs as his oracles he went right on most small questions: on the great questions, from the repeal of the Corn Laws down to the American Civil War, he went egregiously wrong. He had never studied; he had no information but that which he picked up from day to day; and the great forces which work beneath the surface, and in the upshot govern the course of events were to him unknown. But when destiny declared against him he went round at a moment's notice: the Clubs, which had shared his error, easily overlooked it; and his infallibility, though destroyed by the news of the evening, was renewed with the tea and muffins of the morrow. When he was first installed in the editorial chair, his journal was the paper of the people: it gradually became what it now is, exclusively the paper of the rich. Its sphere of influence has also been narrowed since the repeal of the paper duty by the development of the great Northern press. It speaks for nobody north of Birmingham, and only for the Upper Ten south of it. We only wonder that a vestige of the old Liberalism remains. As a newspaper in the strict sense of the term the *Times* is still supreme, but its editorials are the regulation column and a half, old style.

When the "society journal" and the "professional beauty" fall out, morality is not likely to be the loser. On the society journals the vials of righteous indignation have been copiously poured. But who supports society journals? Where are they seen—only in pothouses and gambling hells like the *Age* and *Satirist* of former days, or on the tables of the people who denounce them? The society journal, the professional beauty, Baron Albert Grant and the dominant political morality are four kindred products of the same era.

—In Ireland the immemorial quarrel seems to have broken out once more. The war of religion has been secondary though

intensely embittering; the main struggle was always for the land. The Irish have been charged as a people with lack of patriotic courage and pointed out as proper prey for the spoiler by the most untruthful writer who ever profaned the calling of a historian. They were uncentralized and therefore unorganized as well as inferior in arms and war material, when the Norman robber came upon them. But they did in their separate septs fight long and hard for their country: at the end of three centuries they had reduced the territory of the conqueror almost to the frontiers of his capital. It was not without a desperate and protracted struggle that their resistance in the field was crushed even by the powerful monarchy of the Tudors, and it was renewed with fearful energy in the reign of Charles I. and again at the end of the last century. Of late, however, the war between the descendants of the confiscators and the disinherited people has taken an agrarian form. That is the true presentment of the case: the districts where agrarian violence has most prevailed have been singularly free from ordinary crime. The Irish farmer has clung desperately to his homestead: for him there were not as for the suffering Englishman great manufacturing cities to which he might turn his steps for bread: eviction has to him been destitution. And now threatened with famine by a bad harvest he turns once more to bay. In the political part of the Home Rule movement there is comparatively little force; it lacks, above all things, definiteness of aim. Yet Irish Nationality is not dead: the sentiment is still strong though it is vague; and the long struggle has produced a great body of patriotic poetry, oratory, history, and biography which forms the only literature of the people, as the portraits of patriot martyrs form its art. How deep a root the feeling has we see by the passionate constancy with which it is cherished by Irish exiles in distant lands, who force their detractors to confess that in undying love of country at least they are by no means inferior to the conquerors. Had the wearers of the English crown done their duty graciously

to Ireland, they too might have found a place in the Irish heart ; for the Irish, thanks to their calamitous history, are only too susceptible of attachment to persons and too little of attachment to institutions. But no English king set foot in Ireland from the Battle of the Boyne to the accession of George IV, and in the present reign there have been only two Royal visits, one of them so brief that it seemed like a manifestation of dislike, though the reception on the first occasion had been everything that could be desired.

The Tory Government of England fancies that it has bought the Irish nation with a Catholic University. The bishops, perhaps, it has bought, and a part of the priests, but not the Irish nation. A change has of late been coming over the scene. Once completely identified with the national cause, the clergy, their own ends having been gained by disestablishment, have now begun to pass over to the side of reaction, while the laity are still pressing forward to their mark. The hierarchy especially have been turning against the people. But the consequence is that the eyes of the people are opened. Without losing their attachment to their religion, they are beginning to draw the proper line between the things which belong to the priest, and the things which belong to the citizen. There are countries, perhaps, in which a politician can still go to an Episcopal palace and buy the Irish vote as he would buy a sack of potatoes ; but in Ireland he can do so no longer. If the priests do not confine themselves to their own sphere, they will some day teach the Irishman to regard the Church as the enemy of his country.

It is needless to say that armed resistance on the part of the peasantry would be easily put down ; but it is an awkward employment for a government to be collecting rents with bayonets. The English Ministers have shrunk from acting with vigour against the leaders of the agitation, as in the House of Commons they shrank from acting with vigour against the Irish Obstructionists. They have the fear of the coming election and the Irish vote before their eyes. A Tory government, like

the Papacy under its present conditions, is stronger at the extremities than it is at the heart.

In France the barque of moderate Republican Government labours heavily in the boiling sea that rolls in upon it from all quarters of the political compass, as it were in the heart of a cyclone. Any moment may bring its catastrophe. Among the immediate causes of the crisis, the principal is the return of the amnestied Communists, which has stirred up from their depths all the Communistic feeling on the one side, and all the antagonism to it on the other. Of the hour, Gambetta is probably master; that is, he can say whether the present ministers shall retire, and whether he shall himself take the place for which, with a patient and wary ambition rarely found in a great popular leader, he has been reserving and preparing himself all these years. What will happen afterwards no Frenchman ventures to predict, nor would a forecast be possible without an almost miraculous power of reading, not only the superficial phenomena of politics, but the deepest workings of the national mind. Two great bodies of opinion are forming themselves like two thunderclouds, big with the explosive elements of a tremendous storm. The difference is now social rather than political. On one side are those who desire to preserve the present social order, the present relations between classes, between capital and labour, between employer and employed, and the ecclesiastical system as a guaranty of the social. On the other side are those whom Conservative fear and hatred paint as fanatics thirsting for "the regeneration of society," and for "the abolition of capital, funds, taxes, the army, the judiciary and religion." In a word, on the one side are the enemies, on the other the children, of the revolution. Purely political questions as to the form of Government, have for the present, rather receded into the background. The Republic is accepted by those whose wish is peace, and no attempt to substitute a monarchy for it is at present being made in an organized

and active form. Of the dynasties, for the moment, little is said. Bonapartism has been stunned by the loss of its pretender, while his collateral heir, though now regularly in the position of a claimant, is at once personally odious to a large section of the party, and unwilling to risk his ease and safety for the purpose of plucking a pear, which he probably thinks will, when ripe, fall into his mouth. The Comte de Chambord is a perfectly honest believer in the divinity of kings, and of the priest as the associate of the king; and he never opens his lips without making himself an impossibility for all who are not prepared to go back to Louis XIV. A sort of haze has come of late over the House of Orleans; the Duc d'Aumale, eminently fitted for the part of a Liberal-Conservative head of the State, has gone off the political scene; the Comte de Paris, a man of quiet, amiable character and literary tastes is evidently not disposed to strike or conspire, while the relations into which his House has entered with the representative of the elder branch make it impossible for him in the lifetime of the Comte de Chambord to appear as an avowed pretender. A natural rallying point for all the Conservatives, Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists is found in the Church, which is now the great bulwark of Conservatism in Europe, and is, for the same reason, the object not only of philosophical disbelief, but of political and social hatred among those who look forward to a new order of things. Once more parties seem likely to be divided by a religious line. Not that the Bonapartists as a party are religious; if they have a deity it is Napoleon I., if they have a faith it is in the star that guides to plunder; but like Napoleon I. himself, the most thoroughgoing of Atheists, they see in the church a political power which it is desirable to secure as a subordinate ally. The same thing may be said in a modified form of the Orleanists, whose great statesmen Guizot, though himself a Protestant and a rationalist, became in his later years a strong supporter of the Papacy as a Conservative institution. In the so-called religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there

was in like manner a large political element, for the crimes of which religion has been held responsible, though no one can be so ignorant as to suppose that religion had any share in the action of the Guises, or of Catherine de Medicis. The education question—the question whether the mind of the citizen shall be formed by the Priest, or by the Republic, is the field upon which battle will speedily be joined by two hosts more radically opposed to each other in all beliefs, tendencies and aims, than perhaps were ever before two sections of the same nation. The same war has long been raging in Belgium, and seems to be on the point of breaking out in the United States.

On the other hand, in every country, however divided, the number is always large of those who belong heartily to neither party, but are swayed in the main by their material interests; and this is sure to be specially the case in a country wearied with revolutions. It is not unlikely that this neutral mass may now throw its weight into the Conservative scale. All the timid, and most of the property-holding, citizens must have been scared by the Red Spectre raised again by the return of the Communists.

As to the Church, whatever her power may be, her fidelity to the cause of reaction need not be doubted. From the language of her champions it is plain that she has lost, and knows that she has lost, her hold on the intellect of the world; her domain, as her chiefs must be conscious, now nearly coincides, so far as simple and sincere belief is concerned, with the absence of popular education. But in two characters she is still strong, and knows that she is strong; as the asylum for minds which seek in blind submission a refuge from religious doubt, and as the patroness and oracle of resistance to progress. In progress of any kind, political or social, as well as intellectual, is her bane: of that she is doubly convinced since the ill-starred attempts of Pio Nono to lead reform in Italy, and of Lamennais and his school to unmoor her from the social past and set her afloat on the rising tide of democracy to the tune of "*L'Avenir vaut bien le Passé.*" Even Montalembert, her great champion

and orator, died under her displeasure because he was not wholly devoid of sympathy with liberty. It is quite as much political reaction as mental infirmity that gives her so many converts among the aristocratic class in England. On our continent it is only in the character of a saviour from religious doubt and perplexity that she is likely to win converts among the educated. Here she will always have a hard life. Miracle and relic have hitherto been very wary in visiting the New World; and the recent incursion of St. Emilius with his bones has produced results which must have led the Saint to doubt the wisdom, though he may glory in the boldness, of his enterprise.

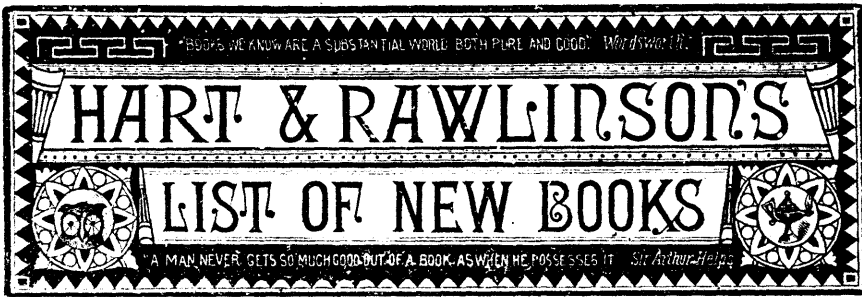
In Germany, also, the concentration of the Conservative forces to resist the advance of Socialism is the leading feature of the situation. But in Germany the powers of political and religious reaction, before they can take the field against the common foe have to make up a deadly quarrel between themselves. The Roman Catholic Church has been in fierce collision with the Prussian bureaucracy on that very subject of education which presents a field for the united action of political and religious Conservatives in France. Antagonism is now giving way to a sense of common interest and mutual need; but when the dispute has been carried to such a height, after the heavy blows which the iron hand of Prussian secularism has dealt on one side, and the Papal thunders which have been hurled upon the other, to devise a mode of reconciliation is not easy even for a statesman so entirely free from prejudice and so thoroughly opportunist as Bismarck. Hitherto diplomacy has done its best without much result. Rome cannot abide the education laws and Bismarck "will not go to Canossa." A fundamental community of interest, however, may be expected, in face of growing danger, to prevail over mutual hatred. Leo XIII. is evidently far more of an Italian Statesman and less of an Ultramontane Infallibility than his self-martyred and hysterical predecessor; though even he, when it comes to such a question as that of the Education laws, is obliged to remember that his trade is to be Pope.

—The contemptuous, not to say contumelious, language which has been applied in certain quarters to the productions of the Canadian pen, has called forth some indignant replies. Supposing that Canada has no literature, this does not prove that her sons have no literary faculties, nor is it a disgrace peculiar to her. What dependency ever had a literature? The whole history of mind shows us that there is a close connection between the intellectual fruitfulness of a nation and its general life. The stirrings of literary activity appeared in this country simultaneously with a faint beating of the pulse of nationality. But Canada has what we are bound to regard as a literature better than any which she could herself hope to produce. She has the gracious speeches of flattering Earls and the precepts of a Lord Chamberlain on the subject of court etiquette embodied in the treatise of Professor Fanning. Nor has she failed to make some progress in art. We remember that some time ago the writer of an editorial on one of our art exhibitions, directed particular attention to certain photographs as having received the special approbation of the Duke of Manchester. There are some things which, to the uncourtly taste, are more repulsive than "literary hog wash" itself. That Canada has writers, capable, with fair treatment, of producing for her something better than either, is the conviction of judges who, if long experience can teach them, ought to know good writing from bad.

It falls within the scope of our design to notice books, not as literary works, but as events and landmarks in the history of opinion; preserving in this department, as in our survey of events generally, the Canadian point of view, and giving priority to Canadian publications. But in this opening number literary occurrences have been excluded by political arrears.

We have merely to add in laying the BYSTANDER before the reader that we have endeavoured to secure good assistance in different parts of the Dominion; so that if we fall into error, with regard to matters of fact, as it is too likely that we often shall, it will at least not be through wilful neglect of the

proper means of information. With regard to matters of opinion, we can only say that it will be our endeavour always to write honestly and frankly; and that when called on to express our sentiments on controverted points, we will give the reasons of our convictions to the best of our power.



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