

THE WEEK:

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AGRARIAN SOCIALISM AND PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.

In respect to the Land Question, the cases of Ireland and England are peculiar, and can afford no ground for general conclusions on the subject of property in land. Ireland has, in the first place, suffered from the Absenteeism of landlords, which, if its economical effects have been over-rated, has socially been the bane of the country; and, in the second place, from the abnormal raising of rents by the desperate competition for land among an overcrowded population. Ireland and England alike have suffered from the retention of feudal laws and customs respecting succession to real estate, which have led to the undue aggregation of land in the hands of a few great owners, and which the Gracchus of the Irish Land Act has strangely enough allowed to remain in existence by the side of his agrarian legislation. We have nothing in this country answering to these grievances, and as the Torrens system is in course of adoption among us, we shall soon have nothing answering to the cumbrous and expensive conveyancing which in the Mother Country is practically almost as great a bar to the division of estates and the existence of small properties as primogeniture and entail. We have a numerous landed proprietary, and to this, combined with other causes, we owe it that ours is now the conservative side of the Atlantic. Yet the ashes of the British eruption have been wafted over to us; and agrarian fancies are beginning to take hold of some minds which have been prepared for their reception by imperfect education and industrial discontent. A correspondent of one of our leading journals the other day complained that he was paying a higher rent than he could afford for his house, which was near Toronto, and suggested the expediency of legislation which would compel landlords to reduce their rents. It did not occur to him that he might take a house at a lower rent in a less expensive situation; nor did he seem to have asked himself whether the landlord was receiving more than a fair interest on the money which he had laid out, or, if legislative spoliation of landlords commenced, what would be the effect upon the investment of capital in houses, and consequently upon our house accommodation.

The land is the dwelling-place of the nation, and of course nobody can be allowed to spoil it. But it is difficult to see what temptation to spoil it any holder of real estate can have. Under the British system too much land has perhaps been devoted to parks and pleasure grounds, though, as beauty and salubrity are valuable to the inhabitants of a country generally, it is doubtful whether by driving the plough over every park in England, as Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Joseph Arch, and Mr. Bradlaugh propose, the happiness of the nation would be much increased. Otherwise property in land stands upon exactly the same footing as property of any other kind. Equally with property of any other kind, it has in its favour the testimony, at once independent and unanimous, of civilized nations, all of which have adopted, and the more definitively the further they advanced in civilization, the system of private ownership in preference to that common

ownership which prevailed among primeval men, and of which traces still linger in half-barbarous communities such as Russia, India, and Afghanistan. Equally with property of any other kind, it is indispensable as a motive to production, which would cease if the husbandman were not allowed to reap where he had sown, and if private capital could never be invested in the improvement of the land. That they are in danger of destroying the motive power of production, and thus producing famine instead of felicity, does not seem to enter the minds of the Agrarian Socialists. Yet they have had a tremendous lesson on this subject. France at the time of the Revolution was thrown into the hands of men who were the moral counterparts of the Communistic Agitators and Labour Demagogues of the present day. These men wrought their perfect will; they destroyed, by fiscal rapine and sweeping confiscations, the security of all property; and the result was that the farmer refused to till the soil, production ceased, there ensued a national famine of which multitudes died, and at last the nation in despair sought, by an overwhelming vote, the restoration of order and property at the hand of a military despot.

Land, we are told by the Agrarian Communists, ought not to be appropriated, because it is the gift of Providence to the people, not the product of individual labour. Precisely the same may be said of the raw materials and the natural forces which enter into any other production. Stone, wool, water power, or the power of steam, are all as much the gifts of Providence as the soil, nor is the labour which works them into the house, the bale of cloth, or the engine, more individual than that which is expended in the cultivation of land. Investment in land has been recognized and is guaranteed by the law of every civilized State just as emphatically as investment in goods or stocks. Rent, which Agrarianism depicts as something portentously criminal, is nothing more than the hire of land, or rather of the results of the labour and capital by which the land has been reclaimed and made fruitful; nor is there anything more invidious in taking rent for the farm which a man or his father has tilled than in taking hire for the ship which he has built, or for the horse which he has bred. Rapine once let loose cannot be arrested at the line of landed property; it will go on—proof has already been given that it is actually going on—from land to houses built upon land; nor is there any logical limit to its progress. The owner of goods or of stocks need not think that by throwing the landowner's head to Socialism he will save his own. Of the wealth of the community the bulk is traceable to the products of land, which must fall under the same law as the land itself. Nor would the portion of land to which, according to the Agrarians, every child born into the world is entitled be of the slightest use without the capital and tools necessary for cultivation. Mr. Chamberlain, who, being himself the owner of a great commercial fortune, cultivates popularity by inciting to the plunder of landowners, is frankly warned by Socialists that he must not expect to preserve his own house from looting by setting the mob of economical freebooters against the house of his neighbour. His own wealth is just as obnoxious and criminal in the eyes of Mr. Hyndman as that of the man of acres. If landed property is distributed unequally, and not in just proportion to industry, it here again only shares the general defect and reproach. The social organism, like the organism of the body, like everything that we see in the universe, is full of imperfections, or what appear imperfections to us who are ignorant of the grand design. When the eye sweeps over long reaches of the stream of time, improvement is discernible in the distribution of wealth as in other respects; it is clearly discernible in the passage of the race from the Old to the New World; and its pace, as the statistics of wages and of ownership clearly show, has been greatly accelerated of late years. But the social organism cannot, any more than the bodily organism, be suddenly transformed, though it may be torn and tortured by socialistic violence. Such is the moral of violent revolutions, by which none have suffered more than those in whose interest they were made. Any convulsion which disorganizes trade must be felt with the greatest severity by those who depend on daily wages for their bread.

The cry in England is now for creating by main force a body of peasant proprietors. The scheme would deserve rather more serious attention if it were propounded by disinterested economists and not by demagogues in quest of the peasants' vote. It is obvious that it can confer what is imagined to be the special bliss of landowning only on a very limited number of people; not even Mr. Jesse Collings would propose to take the factory operative from the loom and the mariner from the ship and to turn them

into small farmers. To the bulk of the population the land must continue to be simply the provider of food, and their highest interests in relation to it must continue to be that it shall provide as great an abundance of food as possible. That peasant proprietorship leads to an increase of production is very far from being an admitted fact. The peasant has no capital; he cannot afford to try experiments; he can make little use of machinery or chemicals; he must often waste labour in doing everything on a small scale. In Austria, Lady Verney, whose "jottings" on this subject are extremely instructive as well as extremely pleasant reading, counted nineteen ploughs with two horses or bullocks each, all at work in the space of a moderate English farm on which eight or ten horses might be employed. Thirty-six draw cattle and horses, nineteen men and a great number of women and children were doing the work of eight, and the waste was of course tremendous. Even on this continent, where the farms are comparatively large, there is little improvement in agriculture, except what is due to mechanical invention, and there is hardly any high farming. Improvement and high farming seem to have been mainly the work of landlords. The rate of cereal production in England is on the whole far higher than in any other country; it is double that in France; and therefore for all who eat bread the English system is practically twice as good as that of France. As to the condition of the peasant proprietor, Lady Verney reports from personal observation that in the principal countries of Europe it is decidedly below that of the English labourer. Unremitting toil, ceaseless anxiety, bad food, poor clothing, a squalid habitation, hardships of all kinds, a perpetual struggle with debt—these, together with the degradation, intellectual and social, which wretchedness begets, appear, from Lady Verney's report, to be its too general characteristics. In support of her own observations, Lady Verney is able to cite the testimony of high native authorities. Mr. Malo, a French engineer, and for many years mayor of his district, thus describes the lot of the French peasant proprietor: "Fearful labour; an enormous amount of physical force spent, too often wasted, by the fault of hereditary routine; a diet approaching that of his own cattle; the necessity of making his wife and children work as much or more than the beasts of burden; the incessant fear that one of a thousand mishaps may destroy in a day the harvest and the fruit of the labour of the whole year; the crushing misery of debt which so often tortures him, renders him low and servile, and against which he must fight under pain of being devoured by it. All this labour, all these miseries, all this harrowing anxiety, to leave the inheritance of this rock of Sisyphus to his posterity; an inheritance most grievous but accepted without murmur from father to son, without interruption, and with little hope that the terrible weight will diminish. And on the day when this galley-slave is worn out, when at last his muscles refuse service, when he has become a burden for his family, it remains only for him to hope that his uselessness will not be of long duration." Of the German peasant proprietor, Professor Volcher says: "Man, wife, sons and daughters, on a small peasant property, have all to work hard from early morn till night to gain enough to keep body and soul together. They exist upon the most frugal fare and live in dirty, crowded hovels; as regards food and housing, the English labourer is unquestionably fifty per cent. better off than they are. . . . The peasants have no money to cultivate their little fields or to buy stock: the application of artificial manure and the use of labour-saving machinery are impossible in *petite culture*. The results are everywhere the same—poor crops, bad earnings, extravagant value put upon the land, and a hard and miserable existence." In Prussia the fiscal statistics cited by Lady Verney show that there are seven millions of heads of families earning less than two dollars and a half a week. Not a labourer in England would touch the black rye bread which is the German peasant's food. If Ireland is miserable, it is not for want of small proprietors, inasmuch as there are 150,000 holders of lots too small for their owners to subsist on. To the argument that the possession of land has an ennobling effect, Lady Verney replies with force that degrading drudgery, from which the wife and children are not exempt, with servile dependence on the money lender, can scarcely be very ennobling. All these considerations, however, will find their true level, and commerce will take, in agriculture as well as in every other department, that which is practically the best course for all, if only there can be free trade in land. What is wanted is the Torrens system, together with the abolition, in England, of primogeniture and entail. If, that system having been established, and when it is in the power of anybody who wishes to take to farming to buy a farm as easily as he can buy a bale of goods, farms still remain large and aggregations of land continue, we may be sure that it will be because such is the true interest of the community at large. An attempt to force agriculture into a particular mould for political or sentimental objects will as certainly be an economical failure and a loss of bread to the community as would an attempt to deal in the same fashion with production of any other kind.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

GOVERNMENT AND THE C. P. R. MONOPOLY.

In referring again to the statements made by Sir Charles Tupper as Minister of Railways respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway (5th February, 1884), we find that in saying that "he let fall words which were taken to import a renunciation of disallowance," we greatly understated our case. His words amount to a distinct renunciation of disallowance and a positive promise to the North-West of free railway construction and competition. He said:—

I showed on a former occasion that the present Government had adopted the policy of their predecessors in regard to what is called the monopoly in the Province of Manitoba; that when the late Government undertook to carry on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a Government work they felt bound to protect the traffic of the road from being drawn off to lines to the south of us in the adjoining Republic, and had consequently refused to issue a proclamation which would charter lines within the Province of Manitoba to connect with American lines to the south. I said that the present Government, when we came into power, adopted that policy; that we felt, as our predecessors did, that, grappling with so gigantic a work as the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, we were bound to adopt every possible means of protecting our own line against having its traffic drawn to lines to the south—and, mark you, this was at a time when we did not contemplate at an early day carrying the Canadian Pacific Railway further than Port Arthur. I said further that when we made it obligatory upon the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to extend at once the line north of Lake Superior, giving us an all-rail route from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, or from Callender to the Pacific Ocean, we felt obliged to give to that Company, upon which we imposed such onerous obligations, all the security that we had considered necessary, and that our predecessors in the Government had considered necessary, for the protection of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But I am glad to be able to state to the House that, although true to that policy, the Government refused to give assent to the construction of lines within the Province of Manitoba to connect with American railways to the south, such is the evidence presented by the operation of the line so far as it has gone, such is the conclusion arrived at by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company itself in regard to the ability of a through line of the Canadian Pacific Railway to take care of itself, and by the inherent power of its own advantages to maintain its position—notwithstanding any competition to which it may be subjected—we are now in a position to review and to reconsider the policy of the late Government, and the policy of the present Government, as to the continued necessity for any long period of protecting the Canadian Pacific Railway against competition within the Province of Manitoba, and I am glad to be able to state to the House that such is the confidence of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in the power of the Canadian Pacific Railway to protect itself, that when the line is constructed north of Lake Superior the Government feel it will not be incumbent upon them to preserve the position they have hitherto felt bound to preserve, that of refusing to consent to the construction of lines within the Province of Manitoba, connecting it with American railways to the south. I can give no better evidence to the House and the country of the advanced position which we consider this great enterprise of the Canadian Pacific Railway has attained than when I say that I feel it is consistent with what we owe to the people of this country and to that great national work that the Government should not deem it incumbent on themselves to pursue the restrictive policy within the Province of Manitoba which we have hitherto been obliged to maintain.

This, we repeat, is a distinct and positive promise, and in the face of it, it is difficult to understand how the Government can deem itself at liberty to exercise the power of disallowance.

GOVERNMENTAL PARALYSIS AT WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1886.

WHAT is the real depth and breadth of Canadian interest in the Fisheries and Reciprocity questions? Would any considerable industry or investment in the Dominion yield to despair or actual disaster if the commercial relations of Canada and the United States should remain as they are for another decade? That they will so remain for that period, unless indirectly changed by the operation of some large scheme of polity forced upon this country by its own circumstances, seems reasonably certain. I will endeavour to explain the grounds of this opinion.

The question of the Fisheries or of its multiple, Reciprocity, might be settled by a treaty. So far as such a treaty depended upon the President, one might be negotiated upon just and rational bases by a reasonable expenditure of time and effort. The necessary concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate would hardly be beyond the bounds of a moderate expectation. The agreement of President and Senate is all that the letter of the constitution calls for to give validity to a treaty on the part of the United States. But after a long, and on one part somewhat bitter, struggle, a gloss has been imposed upon the words of the constitution in such wise as to make them read that the consent of the House of Representatives is necessary to the operations of a treaty whose provisions affect the revenue. I believe this construction to be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and that

it is destined to introduce enormous delicacy and difficulty into the future intercourse of this country with foreign powers; but, for good or evil, it has come, and has come to stay till that uncertain day when it shall be reversed, if ever, under the spur of a national danger or disgrace.

We have now reached the first conclusion from our exposition of facts; which is, that Canadians who, officially or personally, may desire reciprocity in fisheries or commerce should look to direct legislation by Congress, rather than to necessarily abortive treaties, and should train the legitimate influences at their command upon the House of Representatives, in preference to wasting them upon the always agreeable but utterly impotent diplomatic representatives of the Government.

Granted, then, that it is to the House of Representatives we must look for any real settlement of the commercial relations of the Dominion and the Union, in whole or in part, what is the outlook when we turn our eyes toward that body?

The House consists of three hundred and twenty-five members, and of nine territorial delegates having the privileges of debate and committee-service. The extra-constitutional duties and powers of a Representative engage the greater part of his time, strength, and effort, and are of such a character that the modes of reaching a seat in the House, and retaining it after it has been won, are, in general, repugnant to men of a reasonably fine sensibility; whence it results that the average tone of the House, intellectually and morally, is below that which would be apt to be found in an equal number taken from all classes—criminals and paupers, of course, excluded. The frequency with which a Representative has to stand for re-election is destructive of his independence, as he fears to take any action which he cannot immediately vindicate to a majority of his constituents.

The House is provided with standing committees, many of which are obsolete or obstructive, but are retained in order that the Speaker may have the more chairmanships, with their petty patronage, to distribute among his supporters. Capacity for service and the sense of responsibility are weakened by a practice of assigning each member not provided with a chairmanship, or a place on Ways and Means, to three committees, and the committees are swollen to unmanageable numbers in order to provide the three places. Maimed and shackled as the committee system is, it produces more projects of legislation than the House can deal with. This impotency of the legislative chamber results, first, from the waste of time due to the license accorded individual members in the introduction, reference, and printing of bills and resolutions; secondly, from the waste of time due to adjournments had for the purpose of enabling members to ply their non-legislative functions before the executive departments; thirdly, from the shortness of the alternate yearly sessions; fourthly, from the scattering of three hundred and thirty-four men behind as many desks occupying an unmanageable area of floor-space; fifthly, from the custom of reporting the proceedings of each sitting *verbatim*, whereby an eagerness is bred in the members to be perpetually engaging in debate; sixthly, from the absence of any recognized or responsible leadership, either of the majority or minority; seventhly, from the exclusion from debate of the heads of the executive departments, who might otherwise inform the House of the true state and bearings of a measure under consideration, and give some choice and direction to the course of affairs. It has a bearing upon the conduct of the international business between Canada and the United States to reflect that, for all practical purposes, Mr. Cleveland and his Cabinet are almost as far removed from the House of Representatives as are Lord Lansdowne and Sir John Macdonald. The President can put a drag upon legislation actually enacted, but his power to influence the enactment of laws is less than that of any of fifty members of the House who might be named, while there is hardly a member of the Senate who would not feel himself disparaged by the denial to him of greater control over the positive side of legislation than is possessed by the President. During the Civil War the dire need of the nation conferred an almost despotic influence upon the Executive, and under the Presidency of General Grant the patronage of the Government, unscrupulously used, supplied the leverage by which the action of Congress was bent to the administrative will; but the present President seems not to have the wish, if he had the power, to pay such a price for control.

Given a legislative body in which the individual tone is at least a little below the average standard, and the organization and environment of which are obstructive of legislative action, it follows inevitably that the legislative product will be scanty in volume and of uneven and, on the whole, dubious quality. Supply being the life-blood of governments everywhere, the annual appropriation bills have been usually passed by conferring despotic powers upon the chairman of the committee in charge of general appropriations, and a practice grew up, and was followed for several years, of tacking urgent legislation upon these appropriation bills as the only way

of getting it enacted. This practice accumulated nearly the whole power of legislation in the hands of the chairman of the committee named, and Mr. Randall used this authority, on its veto side, so tyrannically in the last Congress that a revolt followed, which swept away tacking as a legislative expedient, and at the same time abolished the more or less wise restraint of a single despot over the public expenditure. This revolt was a deeper plunge into chaos, but the very badness of the situation induces hope of gradual improvement.

Besides the annual appropriations for the support of Government, a yearly combination among the less scrupulous takes from the public coffers a great sum to be spent upon public improvements which are really improvements of the chances of the conspirators for re-election. All other important legislation is of the dynamic sort. A combination is effected by some part of the public, a rush is made upon Congress, and the startled members, whose electioneering experiences habituate them to reverence numbers and to account only the present moment, hasten to enact what the mob demands, without deliberation and often without opinion. The pension laws, which threaten to engulf the resources of the Government, and are a standing menace to the right conduct of the finances and the revenue system, are a case in point. Strange to say, relief from this danger is promised through the growing strength and confidence of organized labour, which holds just now the ear of Congress. For decade after decade the Committee on Education and Labour, originally the Committee on Education alone, went begging for members. Now the chairmanship is considered a promising start for the Presidency. As the labour vote comes to the front the soldier vote recedes, and thus one form of demagoguery succeeds another in the incessant struggle between reason and unreason.

But what of the Fisheries and Reciprocity? Simply this, that if the time should ever come that our Gloucester fishermen must fish in Canadian waters, and they find the preventive service too efficient, Congress will secure to them a free ground and to the Canadian fishermen a free market; and an analogous state of things in our manufacturing industries will produce Reciprocity, so far as our side of the question goes. In other words, whensoever either question reaches the explosive stage, our semi-paralyzed legislative machinery will act; meanwhile there will be nothing but smooth palaver among officials who have to make a show of doing something for their honours and emoluments, and speculative and aimless mention and discussion in the daily prints. We have at this moment crying need of legislation touching the currency, the tariff, the shipping, the navy, the coast defences, heavy ordnance, bankruptcy, and the public domain; but nothing will be done about any of them, in all probability, unless unexpected external force should suddenly be applied to this or that among them. The President's message, year after year, is a rehash of old needs unsupplied, forever lengthening by the addition of new demands to the old arrears.

A word of explanation may not be out of place as to why Congressional inefficiency is so disastrous. The answer is that without Congress the Executive is almost powerless. Independently of legislative action, the President can only receive foreign ministers, pardon and reprieve offenders against the United States, convene Congress or either House in special session, adjourn Congress if the Houses disagree, and recommend legislative measures. He can make treaties with the concurrence of the Senate, but not treaties affecting the revenue. Soberly speaking, the House of Representatives has become as the breath of our nostrils, and we find our life-giver grown stagnant if not impure. B.

THE LONDON RIOTS.

(From an English Correspondent.)

THE West End of London has had a rude awakening; "You are too damn comfortable," was the significant remark made by a foreigner on the prosperous social life in this huge city. I have just concluded a melancholy survey of the havoc wrought yesterday, closely following the devastating route taken by King Mob. There seems to have been no discrimination in the window-smashing. Baroness Burdett Coutts's house, in Stratton Street, before which the Hyde Park Railings mob of 1866 halted and cheered, suffered equally with the Devonshire Club—the chosen resort of Mr. Arnold White, and many other real friends of the suffering poor; whilst the aristocratic White's, exactly opposite, escaped intact. Messrs. Hyndman and Co. had plainly been at considerable pains to amass the lowest ruffianism of London to accentuate their villainous propaganda. The fact that so many jewellers' shops were wrecked points to the presence of expert professional thieves. For all that, Socialism is a very minor power in England, and the disgraceful events of Monday have dealt it a

staggering blow. No sensible man attaches blame to the real unemployed working classes for these wanton acts of violence, and the vain desire very generally expressed by Tory journals to saddle them on the new Government—practically not yet installed—is not worth commenting upon. But we have all, irrespective of party or status, a real grievance in the deplorable want of prevision and utter incapacity displayed by those in charge of our Metropolitan Police at this crisis. Incredible as it may appear, one of the chief officials first learned in Pall Mall, within a quarter of an hour of its occurrence, what had happened in the adjoining St. James's Street. Large bodies of police were held in readiness in Scotland Yard and at Buckingham Palace, and were never called out at all. That the whole affair might have been checked by the determined attitude of fifty constables when the mob left Trafalgar Square, is a very cold comfort to us now, but we can at least hope the lesson will not be lost, and that steps have already been taken to prevent its recurrence being again possible in our lifetimes.

PARTIES IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE camp within the national Church may be for greater convenience divided into three well-known parties of High, Low, and Broad Church.

The High Churchman in doctrine may not in all cases correspond to what is called the Ritualist, but in several he does. They at least have given back to the Church the "beauty of holiness." They, like the Radicals, have a keen appreciation of liberty, but—shall we say also like the Radicals?—they have not a vivid sense of humour. Recently, at the administration of the Holy Communion at a church in Cornwall, the non-celebrant priest was to be seen during the greater part of the Communion service grovelling on the floor, so that, to the congregation, he appeared like unto a four-footed beast, "clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful." It may be said that at such a time the attitude of the body matters little, that the devout have no thought for such things as the posture of this or that person. Yet nature will return, however so much expelled by a proper and becoming form; and surely a congregation following such a lead would present a truly appalling spectacle. This party—the Ritualists—pay little attention to the injunctions of such Bishops as may run counter to their own desires; they attach absolutely none to the admonitions and menaces of civil jurisdiction. In their congregations you will find, taken all through, a very large percentage of young people: this is natural, because the movement has not been of very long growth. You will find also a considerable mass of women; and this also is natural. Ever since women gathered round the Cross, their sex has strongly supported religious causes; and their far greater leisure, and hitherto more untutored reasoning powers, have contributed to make them fill the seats of churches. It will be curious to see if, under this new and so-called higher education of theirs, they will continue equally loyal to the call of religion. Without expressing a strong opinion on any side, it may be safely affirmed that if once the mothers of England become careless of religion, it will be the worst blow for English character that could possibly be struck. It is a particular misfortune of this body that its members, and especially its younger members, in their devotional books, in their gestures and demeanour in church, in their whole religious attitude, sail as near the Romish tenets and method of service as they can. The weaker ones, who possess less common sense and temperateness, are apt to get on to an inclined plane, and hardly know where to stop. Their vows of ordination are understood with much mental reservation and elasticity of meaning; the authority of "The Ordinary" is an excellent expression in its way, but not one to be too strongly dwelt upon, or kept in inconvenient memory. It would be, however, extremely unfair to this large and important branch of the Church not to recognize to the full the immense vitality of the whole section, and the never-tiring work which is done by great numbers of Ritualist clergy in the dark places of great towns. It is always an easy matter for an outsider, who has taken no trouble to ascertain the meaning of certain formulas, postures, or demeanours, to raise a cheap laugh. It is natural that people who live outside a religion, and especially if their inclination has nothing of sympathy with it, should fail wholly to appreciate its symbols. The mind which struggles to be calmly philosophical insensibly imbibes prejudices, itself blind to its own partiality. "Philosophers," says M. Renouf truly, "who may pride themselves on their freedom from prejudice, may yet fail to understand whole classes of psychological phenomena which are the result of religious practice, and are familiar to those alone to whom such practice is habitual." To the outside world the Egyptian worship of a dog, an ibis, or a goat, seemed ludicrous, and even monstrous. "The god of the Egyptians," says Clement of Alexandria, "is revealed; a beast, rolling on a purple couch." And yet it may be worth while to remember that once Christianity itself was held to be a "damnable superstition (*exitiabilis superstitio*)"; and men believed popularly that its followers worshipped the ass, a form of religion derived from the Jew. To the outer world the worship of the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes, adored by four beasts, can hardly have appeared other than a "damnable superstition."

A portion of this branch would desire Disestablishment. Rejecting all outer authority they would naturally wish the Church to be a law to itself. If the Church were disestablished according to their wish, it is difficult to say to what excesses they might run, or how far they could coquet with the blandishments of Rome without fear of breach of promise. It is dangerous to play on the verge of precipices; it is especially dangerous

when the player is young, inexperienced, backed by an excited crowd of fervid worshippers, and a little intoxicated by the odours of incense and feminine flattery. What Pusey could hold and do, with apparent impunity, may not therefore be carried out and on with equal impunity by those who have not also imitated Pusey in a careful scrutiny of cause and effect.

Nothing more beautiful can be imagined than the frame of religious spirit which permeates the saintly Pusey in all his writings—a spirit of love, of the deepest and most pure religion. But this spirit is temperate if firm, understanding if dogmatic. This is the innocence of a child combined with an unswerving faith. "I believe *explicitly* all which I know God to have revealed in His Church; and *implicitly* (*implicitè*) any all which the Church believes." This spirit can hardly be reached; it must be born, possibly in some cases born again. A spirit so bathed, so totally immersed, in thorough communion with the Church as the sole representative of God Himself, is one which no outsider can fathom, no system of philosophy explain, no argument reach. It may be inconsistent with a degree of liberty; it may lack the fresh play of the keen outer air so wholesome, so bracing; yet it possesses the supreme peace which passes understanding. No; the name of Pusey is revered among the Ritualistic branch of the Church, but his spirit is too often absent from it.

The Low Church party have not gained ground. They have been obliged in many instances to yield to the prevailing tendency of the age, and to allow greater ornateness of service, and more colour in the conduct of their forms of religion. The particular views of such men as Dean McNeile, Dean Close, and Canon Stowell, are not the views put forward popularly by the modern Low Church party, though the older men, such as Canon Hoare, would probably adhere to them. At the present day it can hardly be said that any of the great preachers or writers of the English Church belong to this school. Such names as Liddon—pre-eminently the first *teacher* of the day—Magee, Lightfoot, Church, Woodford, Vaughan, are not enrolled in what are called Evangelical annals. There is, it appears, a certain strait-waistcoat of thought to be worn by the disciples of this school, which cribs and confines overmuch the men of wider sympathies and bigger hearts. Their predecessors in the country parts were men of a different stamp. George Eliot's Mr. Irwine is not a Low Church clergyman; his service was the usual service of his day—unadorned, simple, homely. He was not what would be called "advanced"; but he was not the man who would call the Pope "Antichrist" every Sunday morning from his cushioned pulpit. He "dwelt among his own people," and was equally interested in their baptisms, their fields of potatoes, their dairies, and their first communions. The modern type not rarely lack this geniality, if he has more salvational virtue in him. As he is seen at times out for a holiday on the seashore he does not always show to much advantage. But we all have our weak points, and outward appearances have always been deceitful.

The Broad Church party has advanced while the Low Church has decreased. This is natural. The Low Church party has done great good in missions and in putting the Bible into people's hands. The savage has more often had a Bible put into his hand by an Evangelical than by all the rest of the Church put together. The Broad Church party must swell with the increase of free thought. It has no exact horizon; a convenient haze ever floats over the valleys beyond. Maurice, Hare, Kingsley, Robertson, Stanley, Pearson—where are now the shoulders whereon their mantles may fitly rest!

The movement has enlarged its mouth: it now aspires to unite revelation and science. The error of this school is subtle, but yet manifest. People who have no especial "views" on religion, who pride themselves on being "large-minded" and "broad-minded," who like to hear some new thing; men who are scientific, and not appreciative of dogmatic religion; people who like to appear to go to church but "can't stand orthodoxy"; ladies who have read a little—a very little—Strauss, and are inclined to think "there is a great deal in what he says"; together with the sincere believers in the elasticity of religious faith—form a congregation which requires to be interested. With some of these pastors and spiritual instructors "sacerdotalism" is the red rag. They exhaust the epithets of the English language, they bring up all their artillery of sesquipedalian words, their big guns of sarcastic, scornful, denunciatory speech, against the exaltation of the *man* into a *priest*. And when not engaged with "sacerdotalism" they are at the throat of *dogma*. Dogma, they assert, is the root of all the evil which retards the Church of England from being truly and really national. Dogma interferes with and maims liberty. "Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas."* The sentiment of M. Ernest Renan is theirs, enlarged and writ plain: "Le devoir du savant est d'exprimer avec franchise le résultat de ses études, sans chercher à troubler la conscience des personnes qui ne sont pas appelées à la même vie que lui, mais aussi sans tenir compte des motifs d'intérêt et des prétendues convenances qui faussent si souvent l'expression de la vérité."†

It is the cry of reason struggling up to the higher air, while faith stands staring below. It is—so they of this school will tell you—but the repetition of Prometheus bound, impotent, yet potent to hurl defiance at the presiding Zeus. The old bottles are worn out, the new wine of our vintage will be spilt: let us have those of new make. Forgetful are they that old is better.—From "THE KING'S DAUGHTER IN DANGER," in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

* "Piety is a duty, Superstition a crime."

† "The duty of the man who knows is to express with freedom the result of his studies, without seeking to trouble the conscience of those who are not called to the same life as himself; but also without considering interested motives and feigned conveniences which so frequently assume the guise of truth."

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

All communications intended for the Editor must be addressed: EDITOR OF THE WEEK
5 Jordan Street, Toronto.
Contributors who desire their MS. returned, if not accepted, must enclose stamp for that purpose.

THE LIQUOR LICENSE QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Week :

SIR,—Under cover of the proposition submitted for discussion by Mr. Cattanach in the last issue of THE WEEK, I may advert to a phase of the liquor business to which public attention must be directed before it may be profitably considered as to whether it would be advisable to confer on liquor dealers, as a class, a statutory power to assist in enforcing the laws regulating the trade. It is obvious to all that the provisions of the Liquor License Act prohibiting the sale of liquor during certain hours are generally unobserved; and this, too, notwithstanding Mr. Gibson's amendment making it an offence under the Act (certain classes excepted) to buy or obtain, or attempt to buy or obtain, intoxicating liquor during the time prohibited by the Act.

If the provisions of the Liquor License Act referred to are unenforceable by reason of public opinion countenancing their infraction, they should be repealed; for a law which may be treated with indifference, with impunity, has a very demoralizing effect upon the community. On the other hand, if sound public opinion is in favour of having the law as it is enforced, those in authority should find means of enforcing it. But until this Parliamentary question is settled, I submit that it is unreasonable to suggest that specific power should be conferred on law-breakers, as a class, with the purpose of securing their aid in compelling their observance of a law which by them is systematically broken.

Toronto, February 27, 1886.

M. J. F.

HOME RULE IN IRELAND.

To the Editor of The Week :

SIR,—Independently of the oppression of the Loyal and Protestant minority and of all who own property, whatever their religion or politics may be, and the driving capital out of the country, the financial side of the question has been generally overlooked.

The *Economist*, in a temperate article in its issue of Feb. 6, shows that one result will be that, at the very lowest estimate, Ireland will have to raise £2,500,000 more in taxes than at present, exclusive of the cost of collection. This will be a large sum for a poor country. The population of Ireland is about equal to that of the Dominion; what should we say to a proposal to increase our taxation by twelve and a half millions of dollars? It is not generally known that Ireland has been specially favoured in matters of taxation and expenditure, and that many large disbursements which in Great Britain are paid by local taxation, in Ireland come from the Imperial exchequer: in other words, out of the pockets of Englishmen and Scotchmen. The very low estimate of two and a half millions sterling is supposing that Free Trade is adhered to. But, as one object of Home Rule is to artificially foster Irish manufactures, additional indirect taxation will take place. They will have to pay extra large sums for articles of daily use, which is taxation under another name. Producing at an artificially increased cost, it will be undersold by Great Britain in the markets of the world.

And, as Dr. Goldwin Smith has truly observed, Home Rule will not do away with the crying evil of too many people trying to get a living off the land; on the contrary, it will make it worse. All over the civilized world, for many years past, there has been a steady progress of large establishments forcing smaller ones to the wall; and so, if economic laws were not interfered with, it would have continued to be the case with the land in Ireland. There are five hundred thousand holdings there. In 1881 there were 231,000 of fifteen acres and under, upwards of 70,000 not exceeding five acres. The encouragement by the priests in past times of improvident marriages has produced evil results. Ask any farmer what would happen if the hundred-acre farms of Ontario were divided up into five, ten, and fifteen-acre farms—say, eight families trying to make a living off land now supporting only two. The universal answer would be that they would starve. Gladstone's Land Bill (apart from its injustice), by hindering the working of economic laws, has increased the evil. All the eloquence in the world will not make rations for two suffice for eight.

In two painstaking communications in the *Economist* of Aug. 8 and Jan. 23, it is shown that the net saleable value of agricultural produce in England and Ireland—including therein the amount consumed by occupiers, but after deducting for agricultural horse-keep and seed—averages £4 2s. 5d. per acre for English farmed land, and £2 5s. 3d. per acre for Irish farmed land. In other words, the land in England produces eighty per cent. more net saleable value than that of Ireland, and with considerably less labour. Parnell claims that land there is ten per cent. more fertile than that of England.

The *Economist* shows that the average rent in Ireland is about 10s. 10d. sterling per acre. In Ontario, on leased cleared farms, it appears by the Official Report on Agriculture in Ontario for 1882 to be 11s. 3d. sterling. It is doubtful, if calculated as in the *Economist*, whether the net saleable value of produce per acre in Ontario averages over \$12.

The annual loss on the farmed acreage of Ireland, comparing with England, is therefore £29,283,000. How is it possible for any nation to flourish under such circumstances? It is impossible to have stronger con-

demnation than this of the system (now made permanent by Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill) of small holdings in Ireland.

Those who wish to understand the Irish problem should read Trench's "Realities of Irish Life," sold by Toronto booksellers for twenty cents. The evil results of subdivision of the land, the murderous war waged against improving landlords, and the wretched state of insecurity, are there graphically shown. But now matters are very much worse. A majority of the victims of the present outrages are Catholics, many being quite poor people. By the last accounts even children are made to suffer. The nation agonizes that Patriots may make fortunes.

Toronto, February 17.

Yours,

LIBERAL.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY CONVENTION.

To the Editor of The Week :

SIR,—I am very glad to observe that the work of the *Montreal Herald*, in relation to the above subject, and your confirmation of it through the columns of THE WEEK, have not been without their effect; and I recognize in the communication of Mr. Whitman to the former paper a valuable auxiliary in the conflict once more engaged in between the Governments of Great Britain and France for the eventual supremacy of one or other of them over the Gibraltar of North America.

I have before me at this moment the report referred to by Mr. Whitman (in his communication to the *Montreal Herald*), prepared by him for a Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute, appointed in March, 1875, "for the purpose of collecting information and drawing up a report upon this most important question." This work, I am happy to say, was most effectively accomplished by Mr. Whitman; it was received and accepted by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, and was regarded by them "as containing, in their judgment, a complete, succinct, impartial, and exhaustive exposition of the facts of a question of most vital importance to the interests not only of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, but of THE WHOLE BRITISH EMPIRE.

I will not entertain you or your readers, Mr. Editor, with any elaborate reproduction of the conclusions arrived at by the Council of the Institute from this very valuable report of its Committee and of the Committee's collaborateur, Mr. Whitman. I merely take from them, in confirmation of the *Montreal Herald's* position and my own equally distinct affirmation, the three following propositions:—

"5. That the French have no right to take fish of any description in the estuaries or rivers of Newfoundland.

"6. That no judicatory rights are conferred on the French by the Treaties, and therefore the interference exercised by their cruisers in disputes between subjects of the two nations is unjustifiable.

"7. That there is nothing in any of the Treaties to justify the assertion of a right to exclude British subjects from occupying and settling on the land . . . between Cape St. John and Cape Ray. Such a claim, in fact, affects the right of sovereignty in Newfoundland."

And yet, sir, the French have claimed and exercised the right referred to in the fifth proposition. And yet they have exercised the judicatory rights, and have exercised the interference by their cruisers, referred to in the sixth proposition; which judicatory right and which interference are now about to be largely confirmed and largely extended.

And yet they have excluded British subjects not only from occupying and settling on the land, but from their concurrent right of fishery in the waters adjacent to it, and have so set up a claim which, "in fact, affects the right of sovereignty in Newfoundland."

The claims of the French in Newfoundland as they have recently been summarized are: (1) A claim to the exclusive right of shore fishing from Cape St. John to Cape Ray; in spite of the fact that the Treaty of Paris and all subsequent treaties confined her to "a distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain." (2) A claim to prevent the British inhabitants of Newfoundland from any occupation of land on the coast for mining or other purposes—in fact, a claim to virtual sovereignty; while, by the same treaties, "the sole right of France to occupy any portion of the land except for the temporary purpose of curing or drying fish was strictly prohibited, as well as any claim to any right of the said island, at any time hereafter, or to any part of it."

This summarizing by the Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute has been merely a recapitulation of conclusions previously arrived at and thus confirmed by a faithful reticition of the terms conveyed in the treaties as determined by British jurists and other authorities, and more subsequently by the notable reply of Lord Palmerston to the communication of Count Sebastiani, July 10, 1838, urging, for the first time, the British Government to disavow the claim of British subjects to a right of fishing upon the coasts in question concurrently with the right of the subjects of France, and which right Lord Palmerston distinctly refused to disavow. These papers, including the reply of Lord Palmerston to Count Sebastiani, are at your service or that of the *Montreal Herald*; they should be republished at once, and re-presented to the Imperial Government through the instrumentality of some member of Parliament, before the final disastrous conclusions with France are reached.

WYNTOUN.

SIR WILLIAM CHERE had a very long nose, and was playing at backgammon with old General Brown. During this time, Sir William, who was a snuff-taker, was constantly using his snuff-box. Observing him leaning continually over the table, and being at the same time in a very bad humour with the game, the General said:—"Sir William, blow your nose!" "Blow it yourself!" said Sir William; "'tis as near you as me!"

The Week.

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C. BLACKETT ROBINSON, *Publisher*.

FOUR millions, which was our estimate of the Rebellion expenses at the time, though it seemed to optimists excessive, has proved far within the mark. The direct expenses are five millions, and compensation, with other afterclaps, is likely to foot up two or three millions more. This, to put down a rebellion which hardly exceeded the dimensions of a riot! The force opposed to us seems to have been four hundred men, many of whom were very poorly armed, while the whole force was badly commanded and destitute of military resources. We pay a hundred thousand dollars for every enemy killed. What would be the cost of our participation in a war with Russia, if a Russian force landed in British Columbia?

It was announced by Mr. Blake's backers that he went to Ottawa in the best fighting trim, while the backers of Sir John Macdonald were not less confident about the condition of their man. The first round was probably satisfied the expectations of the lovers of sport. Each champion "got in" well upon the weak places of the other, and the scandalous chronicle of party was pretty well exhausted on both sides. Sir John complained of Mr. Blake's reminiscences as un-Christian: it is at all events rather cruel to upbraid Canadian politicians with having changed sides; you cannot expect a card to be always in the same player's hand. Thanks are due to Mr. Blake, we must say, for taking Sir John Macdonald to task for the flummery which he talks in England, and which puts truth-loving and really loyal Canadians to shame. Do the English really believe that we have an army of forty thousand men, perfectly organized and ready to take the field in their service, that we are building a navy for them, and that we are burning to shed our blood in Soudan and Afghan wars? Apparently they do, since they give Sir John Macdonald the Grand Cross of the Bath. Their eyes are not opened by the Protectionist Tariff or the Costigan Resolutions. It is doubtful whether this sort of skirmishing, which throws an air of jocular levity over the scene, is the very best of preludes, on Mr. Blake's part, to the serious impeachment which, it is to be presumed, he is preparing to frame. The only thing of public importance in the Debate was the distinct avowal by Sir John Macdonald of a Protectionist policy in opposition to a tariff for revenue only. We hope it is not very un-Christian to remind him that, till the Protectionist Vote was dangled before him, he was a Free Trader.

In the Imperial House of Commons the Parnellites have opposed with great bitterness the grant of a small sum for medals to be given to our Canadian volunteers. This is rather an untoward event for certain Canadian journals which have been parading their sympathy with the Parnellites and advocating the dismemberment of the United Kingdom in the hope of capturing the Irish Catholic vote. When a highly-artificial line of policy, to use the most courteous expression, has been pursued, accidents of this kind are apt to occur. The Parnellites are not seeking any constitutional reform, the redress of any grievance, or any other object in their struggle for which the sympathies of Liberals might, without inconsistency or hypocrisy, be extended to them. They are sworn enemies of the British Empire, seeking its destruction. The struggle against them in Ireland and here is one for the integrity of British and Protestant civilization. Riel's rebellion, as an attempt to wreck a British and Protestant community, of course had their warmest sympathies. British and Protestant politicians or editors who cringe to them betray their own race and cause for the sake of an alliance which abundant experience shows to be as faithless and unstable as the mode in which it is courted is ignominious.

It is satisfactory to note that, in case of the failure of the Fisheries and Reciprocity Treaties, Government is alive to the necessity of making provision for the protection of the inshore fisheries. There is an evident determination of a portion of the American people to, if they can, get for nothing what the Halifax Commissioners valued so highly; and the *New York Tribune* says concerning Canadian preparations to resist this:—

There is only one way in which bluster of this sort can be met by a self-respecting Government. It should signify its intention of protecting American fishermen in the pursuit of their lawful calling. Vessels of war

should be sent to the Banks to prevent the recurrence of the high-handed outrages which have been committed in the past. And then it states:—

The fisheries lie outside the limits within which the Provincial authorities have jurisdiction under the Treaty of 1818. If any conflicts arise, there will be an unwarrantable exercise of authority upon the high seas by the Provincial dependencies of Great Britain. . . . There is nothing in the Treaty of 1818 to justify the pretension of the British Government that the three-mile limit is to be measured from headland to headland instead of straight out from the shore. The word headland does not occur in the Treaty, and the phrase "three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours," ought to be interpreted literally, and not construed so as to prevent the Yankee fishermen from entering bays and inlets so long as they remain the required distance from shore.

Now, we do not see why this clause should be interpreted against its plain meaning: its manifest intention was to exclude the Americans from the inshore fisheries, to confine their operations to the high seas outside Canadian territory; and it is difficult to understand how even an American advocate can plead otherwise, in presence of a decision directly bearing on this point, recently rendered in the American courts. In a case lately before the Commissioners of Alabama Claims, a claim was made against the United States Government for compensation out of the Alabama Award in respect of an American ship, the *Alleghanian*, which, while anchored in Chesapeake Bay, was seized by a party of Confederate sailors and burned. Under an Act of 1882, it has to be shown that any vessel for which compensation out of the Alabama Fund is claimed was lost on the high seas. In this case the ship was anchored more than four miles from both shores of the Bay, but yet within the headlands; and it was contended by the claimants that she was upon the high seas. But counsel for the United States Government contended that she was not, and this contention was sustained by the Court. There was no decision of American Courts bearing on the point, but the Court of Commissioners cited two English decisions in support of their finding. One of these was the *Direct United States Cable Company vs. the Anglo-American Telegraph Company*, in which it was decided that Conception Bay was part of the territory of Newfoundland. Now, the distance from headland to headland of this bay is about twenty miles, and it is manifest that as the reasons which led the English Court to consider it a portion of Newfoundland territory were held by the United States Court as applicable to the territorial nature of Chesapeake Bay, they cannot be held to prove the reverse when applied to the bays and coasts of our Maritime Provinces. The plain fact is that, according to the decision of the United States Courts, Americans are excluded from fishing the waters of any Canadian bay, however large. The reasons that exclude ships destroyed within territorial waters from taking benefit under the Alabama Award equally exclude American fishermen from taking benefit under the Treaty of 1818 in the territorial waters of Canada. We believe this is the view of the better part of the American people—perhaps of the President, his Cabinet, and a good part of the Senate; and we trust in any case that any encroachment on Canadian rights will be met by our Government with proper spirit. Such is the strength of the swashbuckler element in American politics that it is probable a rupture between the two Governments over the question may occur during the fishing season: if the Americans will not recognize Canadian rights, and proceed to fish just as they have been used to, a collision must occur, if the Canadian Government does its duty. But no advantage will be gained by shirking this duty: to live on equal terms with our neighbours we must make ourselves and the smallest of our rights respected at whatever cost.

THE Senatorial-Presidential quarrel over removals from office still goes on. The Republican press announces that Mr. Cleveland is obstinately putting himself more and more in the wrong in his controversy with the Senate; and in the Senate Mr. Edmunds has drawn up a Republican majority-Report containing a formidable array of precedents to show how those Democratic members of the Senate who have decided to blindly follow the lead of the President will, in so doing, be opposing the sacred prerogatives of the august body they belong to. But these have drawn up a minority-Report maintaining that the President is right—that papers relating to removals are Executive documents which the Senate has no right to examine, and they agree unanimously to support the President in the position he has taken. The likelihood is that the country will do the same: in quarrels between the President and the Senate, the President, unless he be very unpopular—which Mr. Cleveland is not—is pretty sure to win; for the people have an instinctive feeling that it would never do to reduce the President to powerlessness. Perhaps it will be as well that each party persist in their present attitude till the question be in some way brought before the Judicial Branch of the Government, whose function

is precisely to authoritatively settle such differences as this; and when a decision is reached there will be an end of the matter for all time. For our own part we cannot but think that whatever the merits of the question the President is right in resisting what looks like a party attempt to bind his hands, and he would show a lamentable weakness if he gave way to any other than judicial authority. This ought by some means to be invoked in his defence, for if the Executive cannot do this simple act of government without the interposition of the Senate, then is its power in a fair way of being altogether absorbed by the Legislature—a result that no one appreciating the advantage of what is a peculiar source of strength to the American system of government can desire.

THE Trade Unions of England have declined the offer of Government assistance for their men who are out of work, stating that they are well able themselves to provide for the men, and that not above three per cent. of their members are unemployed. This is pretty conclusive proof, in the first place, that the mass of the artisans are doing well, and, in the second place, that there is nothing in the present depression for which the ordinary accidents of trade and weather operating on immense masses of industrial population will not sufficiently account. There is, at least, an equal amount of distress in France and Germany; there is not a little in the United States; there is not a little here. Evidently, then, no argument in favour of Protection and against Free Trade can be drawn from the temporary suffering in England. London, it must always be borne in mind, has not only an immense population of its own, but is continually receiving an influx of Irish, Jews, and destitute wanderers of all climes and races. English trade, no doubt, suffers from the growing competition of foreign manufacturers. After the Napoleonic wars, England was left with the only manufactories and the only mercantile marine in Europe. Now her rivals are coming up with her in the race. This cannot be helped; and the case certainly would not be mended by reimposing the tax on bread.

AN English correspondent, from whose letter we give an extract in another column, and who is evidently on the side of the Gladstone Government, treats as a Tory calumny the idea that the Government can be in any way responsible for the London riots. He says it had only just taken office. True, but it had only for a few months been out of office, and with the exception of those few months it has had the police in its hands for the last five years. This, however, is not the point. The point is, that the course taken and the language held by Mr. Gladstone and his principal colleagues have fatally weakened the authority of Government and encouraged the tendency to Socialistic anarchy. In Ireland the Gladstone Government has actually abdicated in the presence of conspiracy; it has renounced any attempt to restore the dominion of law, and almost formally given over the island to the sway of a terrorist league of which it is fain to purchase a little respite from outrage by a promise of dismembering the realm. Who can wonder that the distressed or the turbulent elsewhere draw the conclusion that the best way of obtaining what they want is violence? The wonder is, not that subordinates fail in vigour with such a Government behind them, but that the police and the soldiery stand firm. The police and the soldiery will not stand firm for ever.

WE get by cable all sorts of stories about what takes place in Cabinet Councils, and about the internal divisions or intrigues of the Gladstone Government. It is true that the old rules of honour respecting secrecy have been broken up; that everybody nowadays is leaky, that everybody allows himself to be interviewed, and that everything, however private, is at once sent to the newspapers. But the change in English public life must be great indeed if anything which passes in a Cabinet Council is allowed to get abroad. It may be doubted whether in all the memoirs and correspondence of British statesmen the betrayal of a Cabinet secret will be found. That there are divisions in the Ministry, it is reasonable to suppose, if such a thing as consistency or loyalty to avowed convictions still exist among British statesmen. Mr. Gladstone is, no doubt, preparing to pay his debt to the Parnellites by framing a measure which, without immediately and ostensibly granting Separation, will pave the way for it, and will be accepted by the Parnellites as an instalment to be enlarged hereafter. Of this, his selection of Mr. Morley as his Irish Secretary is a practical pledge. But Mr. Trevelyan has declared in the most positive terms not only against Disunion but against any half-way house to it. Here, then, there must be divergence, and it is difficult to imagine how Mr. Trevelyan can have taken office under Mr. Gladstone at all. Sir William Harcourt is pretty much in the same case. There have been such capitulations and tergiversations already that nothing of the kind can now

surprise us. The report that Mr. Chamberlain has struck up an alliance with Lord Randolph Churchill, and is abetting Lord Randolph in his Unionist crusade, would, in any ordinary state of politics and public character, be rejected as totally incredible. The two men are not only in opposite parties, but have had a desperate quarrel, and accused each other of acts incompatible with honour. Not many months ago, Mr. Chamberlain was justifying Irish rebellion, and angling for the Parnellite vote; nor does anybody doubt that he was behind Mr. Morley when Mr. Morley was making his malicious and unpatriotic attacks on Mr. Forster. But he is pretty long-headed; he has a future, and it is quite possible that he may have learned a lesson from the recent manifestations of public feeling. The people are at present so demoralized by the weakness or treachery of its leaders, and so bewildered by the sudden shiftings of the scene, that there is no saying into what they may be betrayed. But when the deed has been done, when Great Britain finds herself dismembered and reduced to the second rank among nations, with a hostile Ireland at her side, a reaction can hardly fail to set in. If Mr. Chamberlain sees this he will certainly try to keep himself personally clear of complicity with Disunion, though how he can escape, otherwise than by leaving the Government, it is not easy to understand. That most of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in taking office formally reserved their freedom of judgment with regard to his Home Rule scheme is certain; but since they have once got into that galley, the value of their reservations is not great.

AN agreeable and characteristic feature of the crisis in England is the reception of the Queen's name with hisses and other insults at a dinner given to the Representatives of Labour in the House of Commons. Her Majesty's Attorney-General and Under Secretary of State were present. They could do nothing, we are told. It does not seem to be deemed within the compass of possibility that, knowing the character of the assembly, they should have stayed away. Royalty, however, has not much reason to complain. It has thrown away the affections of the nation. For five and twenty years it has shut itself up in seclusion, ostensibly to nurse a morbid grief, really, as the people believe, to evade its public duties and hoard money. By obstinately neglecting Ireland it has made itself largely responsible for the present peril, since nobody who knows the Irish can doubt that by the gracious presence of Royalty their hearts might have been won. The sentiments of the English are more constitutional and less personal than those of the Irish; but even they become indifferent to a Sovereign whom they never see. Were there a popular and spirited King upon the throne he might, by standing forth and appealing to the hearts of the people as the representative of the national unity and honour, exercise a very saving influence in this hour of peril. But he would have to face the consequences of bold action, and it is impossible to advise a lady to do anything that would involve the slightest risk, or even any serious annoyance. The theory that women on going into public life can divest themselves of their sex, and stand on the same footing as men, breaks down at once in practice. They cannot be held responsible like men, nor can they be called upon to perform any dangerous or arduous duty. The stars in their courses seem to fight against England at this great crisis of her destiny.

By the death of M. Aksakoff, editor of the *Moscow Russ*, a wholesome opposition to the present tendency of Russian foreign policy has been removed. As a most able and distinguished Russian Pan-Slavist leader, M. Aksakoff has of late years wielded immense power in Russia: to his influence and that of his associates was due the political crusade in the Balkans that culminated in the last Russo-Turkish War. But the Berlin Treaty, which he denounced as an open conspiracy against the Russian people, was a bitter disappointment to his hopes, and since it was made he has never tired of launching philippics against the manner in which the foreign affairs of Russia have been managed. The recent conduct of affairs in Bulgaria, threatening to lose Russia all she has been fighting for, filled him with rage and despair, and it is surmised broke down his health by rendering futile his labours of nearly thirty years as the champion of the union of the Slav races under the House of Romanoff. There was an opposition between his purposes and the Government's. While the main object of the Government has been, in the first place, to extend the power of Russia, and next, to liberate non-Russian Slavs from Turkish rule, Aksakoff's leading idea has been first to bring all Slavs into one nationality, and next to make the Czar head of it. Thus for years past he has occupied much the same relation toward the Russian Government that Garibaldi did so frequently toward the Government of Italy; and so great was his hold upon public opinion that his outspoken censure was tolerated perforce by the most repressive of Governments.

THE constitutional struggle between the King of Denmark and his Government on the one hand and the majority in the Folkething on the other has passed into a most critical stage. The Lower House objecting to sanction either the extra military expenditure for frontier defences—which they allege are not needed—or the payment of large official salaries, the King has closed the Rigsdag, and proposes to raise revenues by Royal decree. This is a repetition of what happened last March, when the Rigsdag adjourned without agreeing upon the Budget, and the King similarly gave effect to the financial proposals of his Government by means of a series of Royal ordinances. This is perilously like the method of the Stuarts, and may easily end in a similar way. The Folkething are really contending in this matter for the control of the purse, which power they would obtain if the principle of Responsible Government were in active force in Denmark; for in a House of about a hundred members the Government counts only twenty adherents, while the Liberal Opposition has eighty. But the King will not recognize that Democracy has invaded his Kingdom, and so he ignores the right of the majority to rule, and refuses to dismiss his minority Ministry. The country possesses a constitution perfectly free in theory; and the Liberals, fresh from a new election, have a majority that entitles them under the constitution to rule; but the King withstands the operation of the law of Responsible Government. How long the resulting parliamentary deadlock will continue depends on the patience of the Danish people.

THE Musin-Godowski Concert on Monday evening was a most brilliant success: both artists were greeted with warm applause and twice recalled. A report of the whole performance will appear in our next issue.

THE *Globe* reproaches Protestantism with being "aristocratic," and says that it finds no place for "Lazarus and his rags." The answer of Protestantism will be that it does not breed lazzaroni any more than it breeds begging friars. It teaches industry, thrift, and self-respect. Nothing, surely, can be more democratic than the Protestantism which is embodied in the Methodist Church.

THE expulsion of the Poles from Prussia and the Germans from Russia is largely a measure of protection. The Prussian workmen look on the Poles much as Americans do on the Chinese, and do not like to be outdone by their cheap labour. On the other hand, the Germans in Russia are so much more skilful men of business than the Russians that they can make money faster and undersell them. These are the reasons why these people wish to get rid of each other.

A PROMINENT Polish merchant of Vienna points out in a contribution to the *Neue Freie Presse* that Austria, with her large Slav population and federal Government, is the natural refuge for his compatriots exiled from Prussia. At the time of the partition of Poland, he says, the portions of territory acquired by Prussia and by Austria were equally populous, containing each about a million inhabitants; while to-day, notwithstanding that Prussian Poland is the larger and more fertile district, the population there is less than two millions against six millions in Austrian Poland.

A GREAT meeting was held in Dundee lately for the purpose of thanking Mr. Jacks, M.P., who, as the resolution unanimously passed says, did resolutely protest in the House of Commons, "on the evening of the 22nd of January, against the use of the terms 'England' and 'English' in an Imperial sense, instead of 'Britain' and 'British,' in violation of the express conditions of the Treaty of Union." This is quite as weighty a reason for "Repeal" as any advanced by the Irish. But the English may plead in this case that they call the Empire "England," just as they call a ship at sea a "sail"—from its most conspicuous feature.

THE second reading in the British Parliament of a Bill giving the Parliamentary franchise to spinsters was carried, it seems, by packing the House. All its opponents were absent, and it passed by the votes of the Irish members, who allege that in the last election they lost two Ulster constituencies through women not having votes. In Ulster, it is said, whenever a Catholic ratepayer dies, the authorities put his widow on the tax rolls; but if a Protestant dies the place is given to his eldest son, who is entitled to vote. It was to redress this grievance—which, if the statement be true, is real enough—that the Nationalists voted for the second reading of the Bill; but the opinion is that it will not get to a third reading, and a more legitimate remedy will have to be devised.

THE Ontario Government has made a move in the direction of some of the suggestions made by the Liberal Temperance Union. Under a Bill

introduced by Mr. Hardy, special attention is to be given to the important subject of the suppression of unlicensed grogeries, and to the sale of liquor during prohibited hours. The experiment will be made in Toronto of charging some one with the responsibility of seeing that the law is carried out in these respects, by enlarging the powers of the present Inspector, and requiring him to devote special attention to those subjects. The license fees are also to be increased; but there is no intention, apparently, to make any radical changes at present beyond introducing the principle of punishing the taker as well as the giver, which punishment, however, is limited to offences committed during prohibited hours. The general principles of the Crooks Act are accepted as in accord with public sentiment; and although there are other important subjects—such as adulteration—which are not dealt with, it may be as well to hasten slowly in the present condition of public opinion and of uncertainty as to the relative functions of the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures on questions affecting temperance legislation.

THE evidence given by Mr. Giffen before the Royal Commission on Depression of Trade, whose first report has just been issued, shows that the increase of British trade in some respects has been, up to 1884, considerably greater than the increase in population. He gives statistics relating to the leading industries for the four quinquennial periods from 1865 to 1884, from which it appears that with regard to all of them the production, as measured by the population, has gone on developing with only slight and temporary relapses. Thus the output of coal for the five years including 1865 and 1869 was 3.39 tons per head of the population; and for the quinquennial period 1880-84, the tonnage rose to 4.43 per head. The average production of pig iron increased from 0.16 ton per head in the former period to 0.23 ton in the latter. The total consumption of raw cotton has increased since 1865 by sixty per cent., while the population has increased by only twenty per cent. During the same period the average yearly tonnage of ships built for British registration increased from 339,000 tons to 567,000 tons; and in addition to this the tonnage of ships which England built for foreign registration rose from 37,000 tons in 1865-69 to no less than 101,000 in 1880-84. In the former quinquennial period the value of net imports into the United Kingdom was £7 16s. 3d. per head of the population, while in the latter it rose to £9 14s. 9d., or at the rate of about twenty-five per cent. At the same time the value of the exports rose from £5 19s. to £6 12s. 9d. per head, or at the rate of about ten per cent. These last figures, we remark, are significant of the falling-off of foreign trade, for while the population has increased by twenty per cent. the exports have increased by only ten; and there is little doubt, we fear, that later figures would show a still further diminution.

THE Berlin correspondent of the *Times* hears that Colonel Arbuthnot, of the Government Arms Factory at Enfield, will shortly arrive at Solingen, which may be called the Sheffield of Germany, to take over a large consignment of sabres and sword-bayonets for the use of the English army. The correspondent says:—

This is an interesting fact in view of the authoritative statement in the *Times*, from Sheffield, that German manufacturers were guilty of supplying the steel out of which were fashioned in England those sword-bayonets which were lately tried and found wanting. I do not know what sort of military material they turn out at Solingen, but certainly the ordinary household cutlery which one meets with in Germany, from that place, is generally of a very 'cheap and nasty' description as compared with English ware; and the best proof of this is the fact that German goods are constantly palmed off on the market on the pretext that they are of British origin. In 1884 the Cutlers' Company petitioned Lord Granville respecting the fraudulent use of the word 'Sheffield' on cutlery in France and Germany; but his lordship's answer was such as to 'cause deep disappointment in the minds of the Company at the manner in which their complaint had been dealt with.' I may mention, as a set off to the compliment which is paid by the English Government to German industry, that one of the largest manufacturers of fire-arms in Germany—I mention no names, but I have it from his own mouth—draws his steel exclusively from Sheffield." For the British Government to go to Germany for the supply of sabres and bayonets for the army, while British trade is universally stagnant, is surely carrying the theory of Free Trade to an extreme. It cannot be that British cutlers are unable to compete at all with foreigners: the preference given to the latter must come from some trifling difference in the price. But is it statesmanship to ignore the needs of hundreds of British workmen out of work, and go to foreigners in order to save twopence-halfpenny in the price? If the work were done at home the whole of the money would be saved to the nation, even though a little more might be spent out of hand, but done abroad, though this "little more" is saved, the rest is quite lost to the national store of wealth.

NOBODY.

LEFT there, nobody's daughter,
Child of disgrace and shame,—
Nobody ever taught her
A mother's sweet saving name :

Nobody ever caring
Whether she stood or fell,
And men (are they men?) ensnaring
With the arts and the gold of Hell!

Stitching with ceaseless labour,
To earn her pitiful bread ;
Begging a crust of a neighbour,
And getting a curse instead !

All through the long, hot summer,
All through the cold, dark time,
With fingers that numb and number
Grow white as the frost's white rime.

Nobody ever conceiving
The throb of that warm young life,
Nobody ever believing
The strain of that terrible strife !

Nobody kind words pouring
In that orphan heart's sad ear ;
But all of us all ignoring
What lies at our doors, so near !

O sister ! down in the alley,
Pale, with the downcast eye,
Dark and drear is the valley,
But the stars shine forth on high.

Nobody here may love thee,
Or care if thou stand or fall ;
But the great, good God above thee,
He watches and cares for all.

—Spectator.

SOMEBODY.

SOMEWHERE down in the meadows,
Where the river and rivulet meet,
Watching the April shadows
Over the hillside fleet !

Somebody bending near her,
Noble in face and form ;
And the Cross of the gallant wearer
Was won in the battle's storm.

Somewhere at altar kneeling,
Bride, with her maidens round ;
While the great organ, pealing,
Fills all the Abbey with sound :

Somebody's hand hers holding,
Pledging a life for a life ;
Somebody's arm enfolding,
Calling her " Wife, dear wife ! "

Somewhere, in hall or garden,
Mother and child, the Heir !
Nothing to fret or harden,
Nothing to cause one care !

Love all her life caressing !
Riches, a boundless store !
Crown upon crown of blessing !
What can she ask for more ?

O Lady ! on high uplifted,
Lacking no earth-known thing,
Noble, and nobly-gifted,
Yet hast thy lot one sting :

This, that thy poor, pale sister
Starves in some alley unseen ;
And thou canst not assist her :
Such is the gulf between !

A. G. B.

YEARS' CHANGES.

INTO a dreary cottage in the twilight gray
I stopped and looked, and there I staid.
The room was poor and bare, and on her knees,
Before an unlit fire, bent a maid ;
And in her hand a match, with which she touched
The kindling wood, the bark and chaff,
As there she bent with open childish eyes,
And on her lips a laugh.

Into a costly room in twilight gray
I stopped and looked, and there I found
That maid—a tall fair woman grown—
Sitting before the fire, while on the ground
Lay the rich trailing of her gown,
Which fell upon the carpet soft and bright,
And in her lap her hands lay tightly clasped,
And jewels sparkled on them in the soft firelight ;
While all about the signs of riches lay.
Bright gems, sweet flowers, fine pictures on the wall ;
And through an open door I saw the light,
And all the grandeur of the panelled hall,
And she—the queen of all—sat silent there ;
The flames danced up and down to mock the eye ;
Her thoughts were far away, her head down bent,
And on her lips a sigh.

FERRARS.

TECUMSEH—A DRAMA.

WE have before us in this new work from the pen of Mr. Charles Mair what may fairly be regarded as the most important addition made for some years past to Canadian letters. Mr. Mair has done well to concentrate his energies on a serious subject, and one worthy of the best efforts of his muse ; and, in the light of what he has accomplished, we do not hesitate to say that he has done well also in choosing what is confessedly the most ambitious, because the most difficult, form of poetical composition, the dramatic. We congratulate him also on having chosen a Canadian subject, and on having so far employed his poetical gifts to awaken an interest on the part of the present generation of Canadians in the history of their country. We believe the Government still pays a number of pensions to stragglers survivors of the War of 1812 ; but throughout the community generally the information possessed in regard to the events of that period—still within the memory of some living men—is, unless we are mistaken, extremely scanty. Mr. Mair's work, for which we predict a wide circulation, will light up for many the record of that time, and stimulate research in regard to the historical questions involved.

Apart, however, from its special interest for us as Canadians, the subject is a good one in itself. Tecumseh, by the confession of his foes, not less than by the verdict of his friends, was a noble character : a warrior of the first rank, and yet not a lover of war ; a son of the forest, with all the

virtues, and few, if any, of the vices of the savage state ; simple, sincere, loyal, and at the same time capable of far-reaching views that almost touched the borders of statesmanship ; an ardent lover of his own race, and the steadfast ally of the English power, as being more disposed to deal justly with the red man than the growing Republic to the south. Considering the part he took in the campaign of 1813, he certainly deserves more commemoration than he has received from Canadian pens. The *sacer vates* is now, however, found in Mr. Mair, whose drama, it is safe to say, will powerfully aid to save from oblivion the name of the great Shawanee chieftain.

Briefly to describe the course of the drama, we may say that the scene opens in an Indian camp on the Tippecanoe River, in what was then Indiana Territory. Tecumseh is absent on one of the many expeditions undertaken by him with the object of uniting the various Indian tribes and nations in a common movement against their American oppressors. His brother, surnamed the Prophet, whose hatred of the white race was more rancorous by far than that of Tecumseh, is meditating some independent action to be accomplished before the return of the latter, partly for the purpose of gratifying his revengeful feelings, and partly to increase his influence with his own people and perchance secure the chieftainship for himself. The timely arrival of Tecumseh, however, nips these ambitious plans in the bud, and also serves to save the life of a young Englishman, Lefroy, who had fallen into the Prophet's hands. Lefroy is an imaginary character, and the romance of the poem is furnished by the deep attachment which he conceives for another imaginary character, Lena, niece of Tecumseh and the Prophet. The young Englishman is depicted very attractively as a travelling artist, passionately fond of the woods and of everything free and wild ; with a dash, also, of socialism of a very modern type, not unlike that of which Mr. William Morris is perhaps the most interesting contemporary professor. Neither he nor Lena is described to us, but they speak for themselves, and we do not seem to need any other description.

The second act gives us a vivid account of an interview at Vincennes between Tecumseh, backed by four hundred of his braves, and General Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, victor subsequently in the fight at Moraviantown, and still later President of the United States. This, which is a strictly historical incident, is well and vividly related ; and, as it stands, may be regarded as a valuable piece of history, valuable because vivid and in substantial accordance with facts. In this act also we make acquaintance with some characters who might perhaps have been spared without marring the dignity or the verisimilitude of the drama—American citizens of the town of Vincennes rejoicing in the names of Gerkin, Slang, Bloat, and Twang. These gentlemen are introduced as discussing the Indian question in what, for aught we know, may be the very purest border idiom of the day, but what is, in any case, a very disgusting and odious form of speech. Amongst the slang phrases attributed to them are some that we had supposed were of quite modern invention, such as "on the make," and "set 'em up." They are represented, perhaps correctly enough, considering what they are supposed to be—samples of a low border civilization,—as dead to all humanity and justice so far as the red men are concerned. We cannot help feeling as if there were a trace of U. E. Loyalist prejudice in this portraiture, and especially in the selection of such ungainly names for four typical (so intended at least) American citizens.

In the third act, Tecumseh is again absent on one of his diplomatic missions, and this time the Prophet takes advantage of the opportunity to precipitate hostilities with the American troops under General Harrison. The result is disastrous for the Indian cause ; and Tecumseh returns to find his tribe broken and scattered, and all his hopes frustrated. In the fourth act, war has broken out between England and the United States. We are shown the efforts of the gallant Brock to organize successful resistance to expected invasion, and even to carry the war into the enemies' territory. We have snatches of conversation between citizens and soldiers, and, upon the whole, the movement of that eventful year of 1812 is well represented. The act ends with the surrender of Detroit by General Hull, who, with his whole command, became prisoners of war.

The fifth act deals with the campaign of 1813. Brock had perished through a too reckless bravery the year before ; and the chief command in the Western Peninsula rested with that very incompetent man—not to apply any worse epithet—Col. Henry Proctor, of the 41st infantry. We have here a powerful passage in which Tecumseh confronts Proctor at Amherstburg and combats his resolution to retreat. The scene is not altogether imaginary, and some of the words put into Tecumseh's mouth precisely reproduce the expressions he is reported to have used on the occasion. Retreat, however, is resolved on ; but the American troops, chiefly well-mounted Kentucky horsemen, under Harrison, having overtaken the retiring British force near Moraviantown, on the Thames,

Proctor is forced to fight. The result, as is well known, was most disastrous and even disgraceful to the British cause; the commander himself leading in a precipitate flight after the exchange of one or two volleys. The Indian allies under Tecumseh acquitted themselves very differently, fighting with the most desperate bravery till overcome by superior numbers. On this fatal field it was that the great Tecumseh met his death, and the drama closes with the homage rendered to his memory after the battle by friends and foes.

We have, perhaps, taken up too much space with this analysis; but if we have at all succeeded in indicating the succession of interesting scenes to which Mr. Mair introduces his readers we may, perhaps, have served the general interest as well as if we had confined ourselves more strictly to criticism proper. The poetical merits of "Tecumseh," we do not hesitate to say, are of a very superior order. In a work of such an extent it would be too much to expect perfect freedom from blemishes; but there are whole pages here and there of sustained excellence, strong and graceful in expression, appropriate in imagery, and instinct with noble feeling. We may say with truth that Mr. Mair has risen to the level of his subject. He aimed at depicting a singularly lofty character, a man whose words and deeds carry us back to the divine tale of Troy, and bring the best of its heroes, Hector, back to our near contemplation. In pursuing this aim he has caught something of the freedom and breath and height of the man upon whom his thoughts were dwelling; and we, in turn, feel it through him. As one example of vigorous verse we may cite Tecumseh's address to Harrison in the second act:—

Once we were strong,
Once all this mighty continent was ours,
And the Great Spirit made it for our use.
He knew no boundaries, so we had peace
In the vast shelter of His handiwork,
And, happy here, we cared not whence we came.
We brought no evils thence—no treasured hate,
No greed of gold, no quarrels over God;
And so our broils, to narrow issues joined,
Were soon composed, and touched the ground of peace.
Our very ailments, rising from the earth,
And not from any foul abuse in us,
Drew back, and let age ripen to death's hand.
Thus flowed our lives until your people came,
Till from the East our matchless misery came!
Since then our tale is crowded with your crimes,
With broken faith, with plunder of reserves—
The sacred remnants of our wide domain—
With tamprings, and delirious feasts of fire,
The fruit of your thrice-cursed stills of death,
Which make our good men bad, our bad men worse,
Aye! blind them till they grope in open day,
And stumble into miserable graves.
Oh, it is piteous, for none will hear!
There is no hand to help, no heart to feel,
No tongue to plead for us in all your land.
But every hand aims death, and every heart,
Ulcered with hate, resents our presence here;
And every tongue cries for our children's land
To expiate their crime of being born.
Oh, we have ever yielded in the past,
But we shall yield no more! Those plains are ours!
Those forests are our birthright and our home!
Let not the Long-Knife build one cabin there—
Or fire from it shall spread to every roof,
To compass you, and light your souls to death!

Particularly good are some of the passages in which Iena speaks. With our present ideas regarding the Indian population it is difficult to conceive of a pure-blooded Indian maiden having thoughts and sentiments such as the poet attributes to this creation of his imagination. A girl, however, in whose veins ran the same blood as coursed in those of Tecumseh might well have been endowed with more than ordinary mental gifts. We cannot refrain from quoting the following:—

Iena. 'Tis night, and Mamatee is absent still.
Why should this sorrow weigh upon my heart,
And other lonely things on earth have rest?
Oh, could I be with them! The lily shone
All day upon the stream, and now it sleeps
Under the wave in peace—in cradle soft
Which sorrow soon may fashion for my grave.
Ye shadows which do creep into my thoughts—
Ye curtains of despair! what is my fault,
That ye should hide the happy earth from me?
Once I had joy of it, when tender Spring,
Mother of beauty, hid me in her leaves;
When Summer led me by the shores of song,
And forests and far-sounding cataracts
Melted my soul with music. I have heard
The rough chill harpings of dismantled woods,
When Fall had stripped them, and have felt a joy
Deeper than ear could lend unto the heart;

And when the Winter from his mountains wild
Looked down on death, and, in the frosty sky,
The very stars seemed hung with icicles,
Then came a sense of beauty calm and cold,
That weaned me from myself, yet knit me still
With kindred bonds to Nature.

As we have hinted, there are blemishes. There are passages that cannot be said to be free from affectation. General Brock, for example, goes rather out of his way for an image when he says:—

Then might I smile, though velvet-footed time
Struck all his claws at once into our flesh.

Time may move silently; but to represent it as a gliding cat is to forsake simplicity. We may be sure the gallant soldier Brock would not so have expressed himself. The citizens of York, meeting casually in the streets, are too Shakespearian in their conversation, particularly the one who says, speaking of the danger of navigating Lake Erie in all kinds of chance craft,

'Tis an awful hazard,
Yet palpable unto the spirit's touch
As earth to finger.

These, however, are trifles, affecting but little the substantial value of the work Mr. Mair has given us; which, whether considered as poetry, as history, or as a contribution to the right understanding of one of the most pressing of contemporary questions,—the "Indian problem,"—is eminently deserving of a wide measure of public favour and interest.

W. D. LESUEUR.

MUSIC.

LONDON.

THE "Arion" Club gave their first concert (second season) on Thursday evening, 17th ult. The progress made by the Club must be highly satisfactory to Mr. Birks. Several additional voices served to induce a more evenly-balanced tone, and the tempo—light and shade—and clear enunciation have all improved. Mr. Whitney Mockridge was prevented by a severe cold from attempting more than one song. This was a disappointment to many. A very clever recitation by Mr. Bell-Smith took the place (at a moment's notice) of one of Mr. Mockridge's songs. Mrs. Adamson, the talented violiniste, made a most favourable impression, and received several recalls. Miss Ella Cole sang very carefully, her clear and true soprano being especially well displayed in Taubert's "My Darling was So Fair." Miss Raymond accompanied in her usual artistic style.

A concert was given on Thursday, 25th ult., at Victoria Hall, for the Y. M. C. A. by the pupils and staff of Hellmuth Ladies' College. The interpretation of various solo and concerted works by Beethoven, Schumann, Weber, Chopin, etc., was achieved in a way which reflects the highest credit upon Mr. Thomas Martin, the H. L. C. Musical Director. The vocal department, under the direction of Mrs. Moore-Halton, was well represented by several of the young lady students in songs, duets, and trios. Miss Duggan sang "Love's Old Sweet Song" (Molloy), with genuine feeling (encored), whilst Miss Elwell's singing of Behrend's "Chord of Love" roused the audience to enthusiasm. The violoncello obligato to this song was most artistically played by Mr. Henry Saunders.—*Marcia.*

NEW YORK.

LAST Friday, the 19th ult., the Canadian Club gave one of their semi-monthly receptions at their rooms, No. 3 North Washington Square, and beautifully illuminated and presented a brilliant aspect. The members of the Club had prepared for their guests a choice programme, for which occasion "Quartet," Messrs. Hillier, Hubbell, Grotelless, and Frost, with their soloist, Miss Louisa Morrison, a Canadian vocalist, who is one of New York's favourite concert singers, and their director, Mr. H. Clarence Sage. The most noticeable features of the evening were two quintettes for well," which were much appreciated and encored; but special mention should be made of Miss Louisa Morrison's singing—she possesses a beautiful, rich, high, and dramatic soprano voice of great compass and sweetness. She delighted the audience with her rendering of Eckert's "Swiss Song," and Lassen's "Ah! 'tis a Dream," and was rapturously applauded. Mrs. Georgen contributed largely to the programme by her capital rendering of "Artemus Ward's London Lecture." The Canadian Club bids fair to become one of the most prominent of this metropolis.—*Guest.*

THE Rev. Dr. Paxton observes that the Scotch "are the only people who ever successfully solved the problem on this little planet of how like their piety, is strong and genuine. The remark recalls the reproachful commentary of a Scottish Episcopal clergyman upon his treatment at the most kind, I am sure; but do you know, my dear," said the old gentleman, "they gave me water to drink at table and upon going to bed, as if I had been a horse."

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE welcome the appearance of *The Forum*, a new monthly, edited by Mr. Loretus S. Metcalfe, and published at New York. It is very attractive both in form and contents, and, as its name seems to import, it is intended to be a court of open discussion. It will be a great addition to the periodical literature of the continent. Mr. Parton, Mr. Edwin P. Whipple, the Rev. Dr. Newton, Mr. Edward E. Hale, and Bishop A. Cleveland Coxe, are among the contributors, and their names are pledges for the high character of the magazine. "Newspapers Gone to Seed," "Domestic Service," and "How I was Educated," are three of the most interesting papers. In attractiveness and outward appearance *The Forum* surpasses any periodical that we know, and does great credit to the Forum Publishing Company.

HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By James Anthony Froude; being selections from "Short Studies on Great Subjects." New York: John B. Alden.

One of Mr. Alden's excellent reprints. The volume is well printed in clear type, bound in cloth with gilt top, and contains Froude's three lectures on the Times of Erasmus and Luther; Spinoza; The Dissolution of the Monasteries; England's Forgotten Worthies; Homer; Society in Italy in the Last Days of the Roman Republic; Lucian; and Divus Cæsar: ten essays for fifty cents!

PATRONAGE IS POWER. Montreal: Dawson Brothers.

This is a *brochure* that should be read by students of constitutional government. It takes the same ground that has been all along held by **THE WEEK**. Freedom, the love of personal independence, the author distinguishes from Liberty, the love of mere equality. The despotism of the Georges, he points out, was very limited in its range, and the extent of the patronage quite trifling as compared with that of the Canadian Prime Minister; and it is to show how immense and dangerous to liberty is the power of this patronage that the author writes his book. His conclusion is that "the form of government under which we are now living is Modern Despotism, based upon the corruption of the electorate, and administered by a parliamentary oligarchy."

THE DITCHES AND WATERCOURSES ACTS OF ONTARIO; with Notes and References to Decided Cases. By Malcolm Graeme Cameron. Toronto: Carswell and Company.

Mr. Cameron's little book contains complete all the Provincial Acts in force relating to ditches and watercourses. Where any section of the several Acts may be capable of annotation or exposition, its full scope and purport is shown by clearly-worded notes, and illustrated by the appropriate particulars of some case that has been decided in the Courts; and the whole is accompanied by a useful index. The work will be found most valuable to Township Clerks, Councillors, and other municipal officers; and, indeed, to all interested in the draining of land. No farmer or owner of land should be without it: it is a clear and safe guide that may save many a costly dispute.

INDIAN SUMMER. By William D. Howells. Boston: Ticknor and Company. Toronto: Williamson and Company.

This, the latest, is also perhaps the best of Mr. Howells's novels. Unlike some of his earlier ones, the present is not descriptive of the external conditions of life: it is a most artistic study and presentation of the lights and shadows of human character. But few persons are presented to the reader, but these are portrayed with great skill in the manifold play of feeling and disposition. In the "Indian Summer" of life, Mrs. Bowen in the final chapters carries the day over Imogene, who is in the springtide of youth,—and carries it by reason of her maturity. How this comes about is the story itself, told in such a manner that the reader is won with her cause. The story is an assertion of the advantages of mature beauty over youthful, and, as such, it is a pleasant change from the ordinary romance.

ENGLAND AS SEEN BY AN AMERICAN BANKER. Notes of a Pedestrian Tour. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company.

The anonymous author of this book, who, as we stated last week, is now reported to be Mr. C. B. Patten, of Boston, has not seen England from the windows of railway carriages or the roofs of coaches, but has walked through it; and therefore he is able to give us a very minutely-finished picture of much that would entirely escape the ordinary observer from abroad. He evidently kept both eyes and mind open, and his descriptions and observations are exact and fair. There is much, too, of entertaining in the book, for nothing escapes him—fishing, gypsy camps, rustic boots, old inns, and much else of the like, are described, while the larger portion of the book, treating of manufactures, mining, farming, trade, canals, forests, and the business and institutions of London, as the observations of a shrewd man of business, are instructive and valuable.

HOW TO GET STRONG, AND HOW TO STAY SO. By William Blaikie. New York: Harper and Brothers.

In this little book we have a complete manual of the scientific method of cultivating the powers of the body—or rather of every separate part of the body, in such a way that the whole may grow to perfection. Much injury is often done by injudicious athletic exercises, but still more by none at all being taken; and here we are shown the way to avoid the one error and remedy the other, the directions being given so plainly that any boy or girl can readily understand them. But what must give the book a special value to many is the portion devoted to older folk, who, even if far on in middle life, may, if they choose, by judicious and systematic exercise under its direction, strengthen any weak or unused organs, and so obtain an equal development of the whole body. The distinguishing feature of the book is the simplicity of the means it points out to old and young for attaining and keeping up health and strength.

THE MCGILL COLLEGE SONG BOOK. Compiled by a Committee of Graduates and Undergraduates. Montreal: J. L. Lamplough. Toronto: I. Suckling and Sons.

This is an excellent collection of songs selected by experts with a single eye to the promotion of harmony among students. The wide world has been ransacked for its choicest musical gems, and its chief languages, living and dead, have contributed their quota. Songs sung in a dead language! yet here they are, with the best of the songs of old Canada, and a hundred others—the soul-stirring ballad of "The Cork Leg"; "Peanuts"; a love ditty, "The Little Chinawoman," and the pathetic *morceau*, "The Three Chafers," "The Three Crows," "The Three Jews," "The Three Blind Mice," also "Ich hab' des ganzen Vormittag." Dozens more, equally or more touching still, are here; and the effect of several of them sung together, as is the custom of students, must be most cheerful and enlivening. A perennial store of fun, wit, and melody—music and words—for one dollar.

A JOURNEY IN BRAZIL. By Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz. Tenth Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

This is a new edition of Agassiz's account of his journey through Brazil in 1865, a book which deserves to be—as it evidently is—a universal favourite. Mr. Agassiz was accompanied by his wife and some ten or twelve science students and assistants; and the lady acting as general secretary, we have here as well the diary of their journeyings and a record of the scientific work of the whole party. From the first page to the last it is full of the observations of the great naturalist, or the experiences of some or all of his associates, which make most interesting reading. Starting with a diary of the voyage out, we have a series of short daily lectures on passing objects—the Gulf Stream, glacial phenomena, trade winds, and so forth. Afterwards a very full description is given of Brazil, its social life and its wealth of natural objects, on which the Professor dwells and dilates with loving minuteness. A description of life in Rio, of a voyage up the Amazon and the Rio Negro, and of the chief places in Brazil, follow, among these being a chapter on the physical history of the Amazon, which is intensely interesting, and ought to awaken a taste for natural studies in the most indifferent.

WE have received also the following publications:—

- ATLANTIC MONTHLY. March. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.
- ST. NICHOLAS. March. New York: The Century Company.
- LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE. March. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company.
- ECCLESIO MAGAZINE. March. New York: E. R. Pelton.
- MAN. January. Ottawa.
- LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. February 27. Boston: Littell and Company.
- CENTURY. March. New York: Century Company.
- ART INTERCHANGE. February 27. New York: 37 and 39 West 22nd Street.

THE *St. James's Gazette*, in reproducing from **THE WEEK** some passages from Mr. Goldwin Smith's recent articles on Irish Affairs, prefaces its quotations by saying that "Mr. Goldwin Smith, as is well-known, has been a consistent Radical all his life, and his sympathies on the side of popular liberties are unquestioned." In the *St. James's Budget* an editorial note says:—

Mr. Goldwin Smith is about as strong a Radical as this generation has produced. Nobody can accuse *him* of leanings to Conservatism or indifference to human progress, or of not being a people's friend. Now, Mr. Goldwin Smith has been paying great attention to the Irish torment; and if the reader will turn to page 14 of this paper, he will see what so sound a Radical thinks of it all, viewing the whole matter from a distance. There is nothing in this number of the *St. James's Budget* that is better worth reading.

LITERARY GOSSIP.

ROSE G. KINGSLEY, a daughter of Canon Kingsley, has an Alpine paper in the March *Wide Awake*, "Stoned by a Mountain," that botanists will enjoy.

"WHAT'S MINE'S MINE," George Macdonald's last and greatest novel, is issued by D. Lothrop and Co., of Boston, from original MS. before its publication in England.

D. LOTHROP AND Co. have just issued Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton's "Social Studies in England." The volume is rich with facts and data for political economists in America.

IN a few days Messrs. Harper will publish in a well-made, half-bound volume, "In the Golden Days," by Edna Lyall, the author of "Donovan" and "We Two," which have attracted so much attention in England.

FRANK DEMPSTER SHERMAN, whose graceful poems in the *Century* and the *Atlantic* have gained him so wide a popularity as a writer of *vers de société* is at present living in Peekskill, N. Y. In "February," which D. Lothrop and Co. publish, appears as an original contribution to the volume a poem entitled "In February," which is conceived in Mr. Sherman's best vein.

GEN. SHERMAN intended to reply to Gen. Fry at the recent meeting of the Loyal Legion, at Cincinnati, but the sudden death of Gen. Hancock on the evening before changed the entire programme. Gen. Sherman then sent his carefully prepared address to the *North American Review* for publication. It will appear in the March number. Mr. A. T. Rice, proprietor of the *North American Review*, has sailed for England.

THE publication of Mr. Andrew Lang's "Letters to Dead Authors" has been postponed until this week. The little volume is a perfect treasure-house of the brightest and wittiest literary criticisms that have appeared for some time past. Some twenty "letters" are printed, the addressees including Charles Dickens, Thackeray, Edgar Allan Poe, Lord Byron, Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, Alexandre Dumas, Shelley, Burns, and others.

THE American sales of Lord Tennyson's latest volume, "Tiresias," have proved disappointing, scarcely two thousand copies having been sold by the Macmillans. The English sales have, however, more than exceeded anticipation, thus counterbalancing any disappointment experienced with the American market. The fact, nevertheless, remains that Tennyson's works are no longer eagerly sought for and purchased by Americans.

HARVARD men should take peculiar interest in "February," which D. Lothrop and Co. publish in their series of monthly volumes, "Through the Year with the Poets," for the reason that several of their number, past and present, are represented as contributors to the volume. Among the former is Mr. Charles Turner Dazey, and among the latter is Mr. Charles Miner Thompson, one of the editors of the *Harvard Advocate*, and a young man of much promise.

A SHORT story, which is likely to be the subject of much comment, and several articles of remarkable interest are contained in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March. In addition we have continuations of Henry James's and Charles Egbert Craddock's serials, and of Dr. Holmes's delightful "New Portfolio," which holds two "occasional" poems. John Fiske has an instructive paper in the series he has been contributing, this time on the "United States after the Revolution."

MR. THOMAS HUGHES'S "Life of Peter Cooper" is now going through the presses of the Messrs. Macmillan, and it is expected that publication will be given to it during the latter part of this month. The work will not be, as has been erroneously stated, an exhaustive biography of the great philanthropist, but will resemble both in size and matter Mr. Hughes's monograph on Alexander Macmillan. The work was undertaken by Mr. Hughes at the special request of Mr. A. S. Hewitt, Mr. Cooper's son-in-law, who is an intimate friend of the author of "Tom Brown's School-days," and whose house he invariably makes his headquarters upon his occasional flying visits to America. It is not unlikely that the mass of autobiographical material left behind by Mr. Cooper will be utilized in a more exhaustive work later on.

THE March number of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* gives liberal instalments of the two serials, which increase in interest as the plot is further developed. Brander Matthews contributes one of his most ingenious short stories. Laurence Hutton writes a critical and historical account of "The American Play," and his views on the subject will probably provoke much lively discussion. "The One Pioneer of Tierra del Fuego," by Randle Holme, is a thrilling narrative of a little known episode in modern travel, the story of Thomas Thorold, who, in 1876, fell into the hands of the savages of Tierra del Fuego, and after witnessing all the cruelties which they inflicted upon their enemies was allowed to return to civilization in order that he might acquaint the white man with the horrors he had seen.

MRS. FRANCES H. BURNETT, the novelist, has written a serial story for *St. Nicholas*, called "Little Lord Fauntleroy," the hero of which is a boy-character who is as new as he is delightful. Born in America, the child of a younger son of an English earl, his father dies when he is a little fellow, and by the death of his uncles, he becomes heir to the earldom. His grandfather, a cross old nobleman who has never forgiven his youngest son for marrying against his wishes, sends for the boy and his mother. In the March *St. Nicholas* is recounted the first interview between little Lord Fauntleroy and his grandfather,—the earl, expecting a conventional bread-and-butter youth, finds himself confronted with "a graceful childish figure in a black velvet suit, with a lace collar, and with love-locks waving about the handsome, manly little face, whose eyes met his with a look of good-fellowship." The story was begun in the present volume of *St. Nicholas* and will run through the year. Mrs. Burnett is at work on a new novel for the *Century*.

MESSRS. HARPER AND BROTHERS have purchased from Mrs. Craik (Miss Mulock) a long story, entitled "King Arthur: Not a Love Story," which will appear in the magazine as a serial. It was written for mothers, and Mrs. Craik says that she believes that its influence will not affect any but mothers. The scene opens in Switzerland, where an English clergyman and his wife are spending a holiday. Some years prior they lost their only child, and the death of the little one preyed upon the mind of the mother so unceasingly that she was perpetually unhappy, mourning her brief and unfulfilled motherhood. Among the people with whom they were thrown was an American girl, a vain young woman, whose chief ambition lay in the direction of dressing and display. To her husband she was indifferent, her baby she hated, a woman, in brief, absolutely devoid of maternal instincts. The story is managed with infinite skill. The bereaved mother, through the help of a physician, gains possession of the child and brings the infant up as her own. The dramatic passages begin when the giddy woman suddenly becomes sobered and realizes that her child is lost to her. The love she never felt for the child comes to her increased a thousandfold when she sees her wickedness and realizes her punishment. Those who have read the manuscript of the story say that it is among the most powerful, as well as the most subtle, of Mrs. Craik's books, and will attract more attention than any of her books since "John Halifax, Gentleman."

Western Assurance Company.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of this Company was held at its offices in this city on the 26th February, 1886. A. M. Smith, Esq., the President, occupied the chair, and presented the following

DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

The Directors beg to submit their annual report on the business of the Company for the past year, together with the profit and loss account and statement of assets and liabilities on 31st of December, 1885.

The revenue account, it will be observed, shows a net premium income of \$1,314,459.34; and, after providing for all losses during the year, there is a profit balance of \$85,425.13 on this account.

Two half-yearly dividends of four and five per cent. respectively have been declared, and after payment of these, \$40,000 is carried to the reserve fund, which now amounts to \$660,000, and \$6,013.18 remains at the credit of profit and loss account.

In addition to these gratifying results in the income and expenditure accounts, the Directors have pleasure in calling attention to the fact that the liabilities of the Company run off or re-insure all existing policies is \$483,652, and the net surplus over capital and all liabilities is, therefore, \$182,361 against \$103,059 at the close of 1884.

The Directors regret to have to announce the loss of the valued services of John Fiske, Esq., as a Director during the past year. The vacancy caused by his resignation has been filled by the election of H. N. Baird, Esq., to a seat at the Board.

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Fire Premiums	\$1,193,483 39
Marine Premiums	267,361 99
Less Re-assurance	\$1,460,845 28
	146,386 04
Interest account	\$1,314,459 34
	35,396 29
Fire Losses, including an appropriation for all losses reported to December 31, 1885	\$1,319,855 63
Marine Losses, including an appropriation for all losses reported to December 31, 1885	700,155 48
General Expenses, Agents' commissions, and all other charges	156,195 69
Balance to Profit and Loss	408,079 33
	85,425 13
	\$1,349,855 63

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT.

Dividend paid July, 1885	\$16,000 00
Dividend payable Jan., 1886	20,000 00
Carried to Reserve Fund	\$36,000 00
Sundry accounts written off	40,000 00
Balance	4,400 06
	6,013 18
Balance from last year	\$86,413 24
Profit as above	988 11
	85,425 13

LIABILITIES.

Capital stock paid up	\$1,188,200 46
Losses under adjustment	\$400,000 00
Dividend payable Jan., 1886	102,187 28
Reserve Fund	20,000 00
Balance Profit and Loss	\$660,000 00
	6,013 18
	666,013 18

ASSETS.

Cash on hand and on deposit	\$1,188,200 46
Debentures	\$268,929 18
United States bonds	27,038 86
Mortgages	603,232 50
Bills receivable	7,450 00
Interest due and accrued	45,502 96
Company's building	2,263 21
Re-assurance due from other companies	57,440 00
Agents' balances and sundry accounts	38,571 76
	137,771 99
	\$1,188,200 46

A. M. SMITH, President.

WESTERN ASSURANCE OFFICES,
TORONTO, February 12, 1886.

J. J. KENNY, Managing Director.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

To the President and Directors of the Western Assurance Company.

GENTLEMEN,—We hereby certify that we have audited the books and examined the vouchers and securities of the Company for the year ending December 31, 1885, and find the same correct, carefully kept, and properly set forth in the above Statement.

Toronto, Feb. 13, 1886.

R. R. CATHRON, }
JOHN M. MARTIN, } Auditors.

On motion, the report was unanimously adopted, and votes of thanks were passed to the President, Vice-President, and Directors, and to the officers and agents of the Company for their services in bringing about the satisfactory results which the report presented.

Messrs. C. C. Baines, Wm. Anderson and Fred. J. Stewart were appointed Scrutineers, and reported the following gentlemen unanimously re-elected Directors for the ensuing year, namely: A. M. Smith, Esq., Hon. S. C. Wool, Robt. Beatty, Esq., A. T. Fulton, Esq., Geo. A. Cox, Esq., Geo. McMurrich, Esq., H. N. Baird, Esq., and J. J. Kenny, Esq.

At the close of the ordinary business of the annual meeting the question of increasing the capital stock was considered. After a full discussion it was decided unanimously that the capital stock should be increased to \$1,000,000 by the issue on March 15 next of 5,000 additional shares of \$10 each to be allotted to present shareholders at par, in the proportion of one share to every four shares of old stock held by them, fifty per cent. of which will be called up in instalments during the current year.

At a meeting of the new Board of Directors of the Company held subsequently, A. M. Smith, Esq., was re-elected President, and Wm. Gooderham Esq., Vice-President, for the ensuing year.



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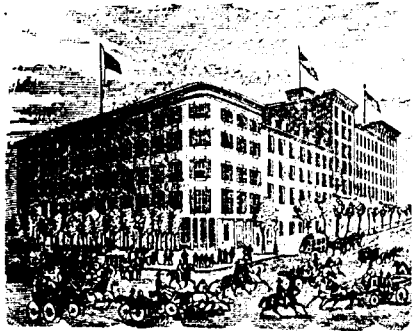
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