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A QUARTERLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,

CANADIAN AND GENERAL

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

CONTENTS.

THE DOMINION :	PAGE.	THE DOMINION :	PAGE.
The Session	159	Canadian Literature	212
Orange Incorporation	160	The Royal Society	212
The Budget	163	UNITED STATES :	
Protection	169	Prospects of Parties	213
The Book Duty	169	Bells of Warning	214
The Liquor Question	170	ENGLAND :	
The Seduction Bill	175	The Irish Question	218
The Franchise	177	State of the House of Commons	221
A Standing Army	178	The Affirmation Bill	223
The Railways Question	181	Native Judges for India	227
Government and Immigration	182	Sir John Lawrence	228
New Pacific R. R. Scandal	183	EUROPEAN :	
Departure of Sir Charles Tupper	184	"The European Terror"	229
The New Governor General	186	Politics in European Countries	232
Reform of the Senate	188	The Coronation of the Czar	235
Revision of the Constitution	190	THOUGHT AND OPINION :	
The Exodus	192	Mrs. Carlyle's Letters	237
Imperial Relations	193	Gaiety and Morality	239
The Lesson of the Muskoka Elec- tion	197	Materialism and Morality	241
Manitoba and Quebec	200	Methodist Union	243
The Factory Question	201	Decay of English Cathedrals	245
The Servant Difficulty	204	The Gospel of the Secular Life	247
Relief of the Poor	206	The Sayings of Christ	249
Charitable Bequests	208	Renan on Judaism	250
The Commercial Weather Prophet	209	Extract from Charities Report	253
Sisterhoods	210		

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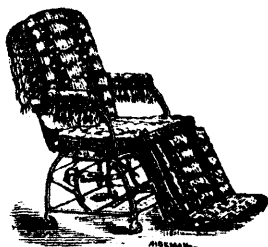
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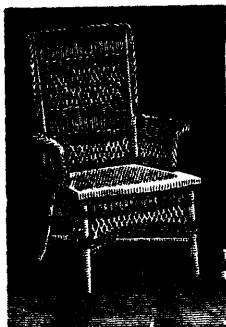
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70
21
76
11
11
11

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THE BYSTANDER.

JULY, 1883.

WE are still in Canadian politics; but our next number will bring a respite. If we mistake not, readers of the class to which THE BYSTANDER is addressed are beginning to care less for these contentions and more for broader and deeper questions. This is well, so long as politics are not neglected. They form a small part, a very small part indeed, of the life of most of us; but they are a part of life which must be kept in right order, or all the rest will go wrong. You cannot afford to let demagogism have its own way. It will lay its unholy hand in time upon everything; upon the relations between the sexes, upon the happiness of domestic life.

—The Session of the Dominion Parliament, according to the Ministerial journals, was a display of legislative energy and wisdom which has endeared the best of Governments more than ever to the heart of an admiring people: according to the journals of the Opposition, it was an ignominious blank relieved only by outrages on the Constitution. The first part of it was expended in fighting the battle of the Ontario elections: governments must live, and party governments can live only by beating the opposite party. Then came a period of manœuvring and counter-manœuvring of which Orange Incorporation was the chief feature. At last, when it was too late for deliberation, three measures of importance were

brought forward. The Factory Bill, which alone of the three was urgent, was, with the Franchise Bill, thrown over, while the License Bill was pushed and carried, because, though less needed, it would be a blow to the Grit Government of Ontario and to Provincial independence. The other party, if it had the majority, would do the same. The upshot is that a session of the Confederate Parliament has been held at a cost of half a million to provide money for expenditures of which Confederation is the main cause. That reconciliation of party leaders, which the historical picture voted by Parliament will portray, was brief and perfidious as a harlot's love; yet a comparison of the rate at which the Canadian debt has advanced, while the American debt has been reduced, since that occurrence, will show that though the union was short-lived, its fruit has not been small.

The gratitude of the people is due to the Opposition for having closely scrutinized the Estimates, and not shrunk from challenging even petty expenditures. Evidently the large surplus has made the Government lavish. This is what a large surplus always does, and it is a strong reason for restricting the Finance Minister to the amount of taxation absolutely required by the public service. The Governor-Generalship probably now costs the country nearly double the nominal salary, and the same disregard of economy prevails elsewhere. This money is made by the labour of the people, and is a sacred trust in the hands of their representatives. But it is not mere waste that, in the case of this country, most calls for vigilance and restraint. It is the tendency of the Government to use the money as a bribery fund, under the colour of undertaking public works or subsidizing railways, for the purpose of buying local support, and especially the support of the smaller Provinces. Buying the smaller Provinces is a game, the cost of which Ontario pays.

—Among the feats performed by the Prime Minister, not the least surprising has been that of riding with one foot on the back of Ultramontaniam and the other on Orangeism. It is true that Orangeism had been drugged. At last, however, the two horses

have run apart, and the performer would have had a severe fall if the leaders of the Opposition had not kindly enabled him to give a safe vote under cover of the majority which they made up, and thus to redeem his personal pledge to his Orangemen, while his *Bleus* were propitiated by victory. The upshot is that the Lodges have tried their strength against the Catholic vote in a pitched battle, and the Catholic vote has prevailed. An audience of French Catholics hailed with applauding shouts the victory of their cause. Before the same sinister divinity both Parties bow equally low, and the public man or journalist who does not bow to it is worth something to the country. In Ireland two local factions used on a particular day in each year to fight for the possession of a stone to which some traditional mystery attached; and the magistrates having on one occasion, to prevent the fight, sunk the stone in a river, the factions combined to fish it up and then fought for it as usual. Such a stone is Orange Incorporation, which can have no importance in itself, but serves as an object for the faction fight. The result is decisive, and there can be no doubt that *Bleu* influence rules the hour. The same thing was manifest in the Letellier case, where the Premier evidently yielded unwillingly to *Bleu* pressure. He is not so much a despot as an indispensable link, like Lord Liverpool, between sections which would otherwise fall asunder. The hour of adversity is the time for self-examination. What does the Orangeman conceive to be the aim of his society, and the reason for its existence on this Continent? Its aim and the reason for its existence in Ireland at the end of the seventeenth century are plain enough: and if it was the bulwark of Ascendancy we must in justice to it remember that in those unhappy days the choice lay between dominating and being crushed, perhaps exterminated; for peace on a footing of equality between the two religions in the time of Louis XIV. was out of the question. When we denounce the penal laws, let us not forget the Revocation of the Edict, the *Autos-da-fé*, which were still going on, the attempt upon British liberty in which James II. was backed by an Irish army, or the Catholic Parliament of Dublin under Tyrconnel with its sweeping proscription of Protestants, and that unparalleled Act

of Attainder which doomed to death not only thousands of men, untried and innocent, but several women and children. The work, in a word, of Orangeism, once was to prevent Irish Protestantism from being driven into the sea. But now, and in a land of religious liberty, what is its work? A society organized merely for the purpose of keeping alive in the New World the feuds of the Old World would not only be absurd but criminal. The justification of Orangeism lies, if anywhere, in the compactness with which the Catholics are banded for political purposes, the solidity of their delegation from Quebec, and the visibly increasing influence of their vote. Where there is complete organization on one side, no head can be made without organization on the other. But to avail itself of this justification, Orangeism must be independent and devoted to its proper object: of late, according to the sorrowful confession of the best of its own adherents, it has been anything but either. It has been little more than a confederacy for mutual aid in elections, and for securing to the members, or to some of them, their share of the spoils. Its chiefs gave a recreant vote at Ottawa for the resolution of sympathy with the Irish rebellion. It has trusted politicians and been deceived: we shall now see whether it has anything better wherein to put its trust.

Whether incorporation ought to be granted to secret societies which bind their members by oath, is a more general question. Perhaps the oath is of less consequence than is assumed, a pledge of any kind being practically the same thing. It is clear, however, that inspection of the Statutes to see that they contain nothing incompatible with the duty of the members to the commonwealth ought to be a condition precedent to the grant of any public privilege. The day, it is to be hoped, will come when all these associations will be merged in the community. At present they are extending themselves on this Continent, and the taste for them is one of the most curious of the phenomena which meet the eye of the observer who is studying life in the New World. Picnics, regalia, processions, titles, with the love of mystery, no doubt, go for a good deal. But there appears to us to be a general desire for some closer bond of union than is furnished by the ordinary re-

lations of society in a somewhat loose, shifting and migratory state. It may be that the declining vigour of the Churches and the loosening of the religious tie have something to do with the increased longing for fraternity of another kind. Perhaps the best thing to be said for these brotherhoods, including Masonry, is that they traverse the boundary lines of class and thus, so far as their influence extends, prevent the community from being divided into the hostile armies which, by their antagonism, are threatening Europe with social war.

—In the Budget Speeches of great financiers like Sir Robert Peel, you distinctly see the broad basis of a fiscal policy. The speaker tells you, or allows you clearly to perceive, his view of the great interests of the country, of the relations between them, and of the manner in which collectively and severally they are to be promoted. We miss this in the Budget Speeches of Sir Leonard Tilley. What does he conceive to be the natural industries of the Dominion? How does he propose to benefit them by his system? Does he aim at turning Canada from an agricultural and lumbering into a manufacturing country? If he does, what is the object of such a policy, and how is it to bring additional wealth to Provinces with a fertile soil but without coal? One thing is clear; Sir Leonard has now stepped beyond the line of National Policy, and fairly committed himself to Protection. In the present state of the world, absolute free trade is impossible; revenue must be raised by import duties and each nation must have its tariff: the adjustment of the tariff, as far as possible, to the special circumstances of the nation is national policy, and the policy of common sense. But those who took it upon them to defend the tariff of 1878 before the incensed Free Traders of England, as a legitimate embodiment of the national principle, must hold different language now. Our Finance Minister has steered straight into Protectionism, and is about to add to the number of the wrecks which warn the economical navigator away from that ill-omened shore. His proposed duty on agricultural implements, and his bonus on the manufacture of pig iron are distinct instances

of the policy which seeks by protective duties or artificial inducements to force industry out of its natural channels into channels selected by a wisdom superior to that of nature as more advantageous to the people. Fallacies do indeed die hard, at least if any one has an interest in their life. More than a century has passed since the appearance of Adam Smith, and of his first great pupil, Pitt; the soundness of his doctrines has been proved by an increase of wealth in the country which has adopted them, passing anything of which their author can have dreamed, and eclipsing all the marvels of commercial history. Yet here is a Canadian minister, in the full blaze of New World intelligence, reverting to the policy which ruined benighted Spain. What arguments can be used to those who imagine that they are benefiting a nation of farmers by laying a duty on agricultural implements? What arguments can be used to those who imagine that they add to the wealth of the country by calling men away from the field or the lumbering station, to which nature has sent them, for the purpose of producing pig iron, and perhaps some day pineapples? What arguments can be used to those who when there has been a run of good harvests and a revival of the lumber trade, as well as of commerce throughout the world, can ascribe the return of prosperity, not to that, but to the increased burden of taxation? Sir Leonard Tilley rightly declined to produce the letters which he had received from his commercial correspondents; but in those letters, no doubt, would be read the true history of the modifications in the tariff. Each of the manufacturers has been demanding higher protection for his own industry; in other words, an increase of his private gains at the expense of the public. The whole order will soon form a Ring, and the control of parliament and the people over taxation will be lost. To the policy of fostering infant industries in itself and as a matter of principle, no reasonable objection can be made: the worst of it is that the infants are apt to remain infants for ever, in their craving for maternal support, while, for the purpose of extortion, they acquire the strength of men.

To contend that there has been no alteration in the policy of the Government is surely hopeless. The primary object of the measure of 1879 was stated in the Speech from the Throne to be the equalization of revenue with expenditure. To say that another object, at variance with that, was kept in the background would be to assume disingenuousness on the part of the framers of the speech and connivance on the part of the august speaker. Protection, in the proper sense of the term, and revenue, are manifestly incompatible. Throughout the campaign Sir John Macdonald avoided in a marked manner Protectionist language, and confined himself scrupulously to readjustment. Readjustment included the rectification of our tariff, in its relation to that of the United States, as a measure of justice to our producers. This was avowed plainly enough, and it is encouragement to native industry, but it is not Protection. The Finance Minister, the tide running strong, has been carried out to sea: there is no use in contending that his moorings remain unchanged.

The Opposition is weakened in the financial field by disunion. Mr. Charlton, and apparently Mr. Blake, stands upon what we still hold to be the safe ground of National Policy. They no doubt deplore the obstinate devotion to the abstract and the impracticable, which brought on the catastrophe of 1878. But Mr. Mackenzie, stung by defeat, has nailed his tattered colours to the mast, and misses no opportunity of giving an advantage to the Protectionists by vehemently reasserting the doctrine of Absolute Free Trade. Absolute Free Trade means the abolition of all import duties, and the raising of the whole revenue by direct or internal taxation. Mr. Mackenzie holds up to us the example of the Mother Country. A brighter or better we could not have, particularly as regards her fiscal system, the work of the most consummate financiers whom the world ever saw. But the Mother Country raises a large revenue by import duties, which interfere quite as much as ours with Absolute Free Trade; and she adapts her tariff to her commercial circumstances, which differ from ours

as widely as is possible, considering that the two countries are nearly in the same latitude. Cobden was, by conviction, an Absolute Free Trader; he would have done away with import duties and resorted to direct taxation, the burden of which he would at the same time have lightened, by reducing the expenses of government, and closing the gates of war. If Mr. Mackenzie takes this line, well and good; but unless he does, he must tell us what tariff he proposes, and let us see whether it is better than that of 1879. Perpetual borrowing is the worst course of all.

The National Policy, in our case, however, has its weak point, one indication of which is the Coal Tax. Nothing can be more iniquitous or more absurd than that impost, especially when it is combined with an attempt to force Canada into manufactures, which she can carry on only with imported fuel. It is at the same time, in form at least, an extreme measure of Protectionism: indeed, it was the only part of the tariff of 1879 which could be justly branded with that name. Yet the leaders of the Opposition dare not attack it; they prefer to share the responsibility by acquiescence. The truth is, that the measure, properly speaking, was not so much fiscal as political, or rather diplomatic. The tax is a fee paid to Nova Scotia for giving her consent to a Canadian tariff. It thus casts a vivid light upon the situation. Among the Provinces drawn out in long and discontinuous line from ocean to ocean, for which the Finance Minister has to legislate, there is no special identity of commercial interest: it is necessary to treat them almost as a set of independent countries, and to obtain the separate consent of each to a sort of commercial treaty. A ministerial journalist at Regina tells Sir Leonard Tilley that to frame a common tariff for that territory and Canada is as absurd as it would be to prescribe a common dress for both climates. A perfect basis for a national policy therefore is wanting. Again, Sir Leonard Tilley is obliged to modify his tobacco duty, in order to meet an alteration made in the tobacco duty of the United States. This shows that the group of interests with which he deals is deficient in distinctness of national demarcation, as well as in national unity. It is inextricably connected with the interests and the commercial policy of the Continent at large. The Anti-Continental

system of which Sir Leonard Tilley is the distinguished champion, is directed to political objects, the value of which we do not here discuss, but which are assumed to be of greater moment than the material welfare of our people. That political objects may lawfully be preferred to commercial objects, THE BYSTANDER has never questioned; yet it is right that the sacrifice should be understood. That the system presents difficulties its advocates will hardly deny. We are beholden to the other part of the continent not only for winter ports, but as matters now stand, for the transmission of goods in bond between one part of the protected territory and another, so that the whole policy is very much at the mercy of those against whom it is directed. In this our Chinese Wall differs from the original, which runs along a distinctly national line, and does not require for its maintenance the co-operation of the enemy.

The sharpest note of warning has come from the North-West. Was it not clear that when that territory was peopled and began to feel its strength, it would disarrange any programme framed on the assumption of its being a distant estate belonging to Eastern Canada, with which the owner was to be always at liberty to deal as she pleased? The programme was that, while Canada bore the expenses of a railway, large sections of which were political works and commercially unproductive, she should indemnify herself by keeping the North-West as a privy market. So far, the people of the North-West have submitted with patience: they have consented to pay tribute to Eastern Canada on their fuel, scanty and direfully needed as it was, on lumber, not less indispensable, and on the canned meats which also were a necessary of life. But the proposal to raise the duty on agricultural implements, not for revenue, but for the purpose of increasing the gains of the Canadian manufacturer, strikes too openly and directly at the life of a grain-producing community. From the organs of his own party the Finance Minister receives a protest which he dares not disregard.* Under cover of postponement he gives way,

* The fundamental blunder which underlies the policy of both political parties at Ottawa, is that the North-West settler is a pampered individual and that he ought to submit to little inconveniences like heavy taxation, unstable land regulations, and dis-

rating the insurgents at the same time, much in the language in which Granville and Townsend rated the Colonists when they protested against the Stamp Tax. "Ungrateful Manitobans, planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence to strength and opulence, will you grudge to contribute your mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?" The Manitobans of both political parties reply, as the Colonists replied, and with equal justice. The Indians have been managed, and apparently well managed; otherwise Ottawa has done nothing for the people of the North-West which they could not have done better for themselves. The development of their railway system, which is absolutely vital to their interests, has been shackled, and there is too much reason for their complaints that their country has been turned into a job-warren for broken-down or needy partisans. These are not benefits in return for which submission to a protective duty on agricultural implements, in the interest of Eastern manufacturers, can be required. Nor is it the price of the instruments alone that is in question. Protection almost invariably degrades the quality, and it is alleged that in this case the Protected makers scamp their work and do not produce implements such as are produced in the States. The Finance Minister must be careful, or the people will settle the controversy by sweeping away the Customs line. Smuggling, the irregular antidote to protection, already seems to be active along the frontier.

regard of his rights as a squatter. The fact that large sums have been spent on the railroad here is held up to us as a proof of the beneficent treatment we are receiving at the hands of the older Provinces. That we pay three times as much per capita into the Dominion treasury as the Eastern taxpayer, that the National Policy increases the price of everything we buy without adding a mill to the price of wheat, oats or barley, that even with a free homestead the settler's life is for some years a hard and unprofitable one—these and such like considerations are quietly ignored. To make matters worse, the people at Ottawa forget that not many miles from here a foreign flag offers the settler nearly all the advantages he can obtain here with others, good railroad facilities for instance peculiar to old settled regions. He gets nothing here which he could not get elsewhere, and it should be the policy of the East to treat him, not as though he were beholden to it for special favours, but on terms of equality and in a spirit of fair play. A few more blunders, a little more stamping on his corns, may provoke him until he becomes "unreasonable in earnest."—*Winnipeg Times, Conservative Journal*, in an editorial on the failure of the Government sale of lands.

—If we are going into Protection, it is in the interest of the master manufacturers alone. This ought to be stated without shrinking when the material welfare of the people is at stake. While nobody will blame the master manufacturer for taking what the Finance Minister is willing to give him, the community must look to itself. Mechanics are persuaded that they too have an interest in Protection; but as a class they have none. With them the master deals on the strictest principles of Free Trade, buying their labour in the cheapest market, while he sells its products in the dearest, and dismissing them without compunction when he has more hands than he wants. The natural trades from which Protection withdraws them, and diverts the capital of the country at the same time, would give them as a class more employment than the artificial trades into which their labour is forced. Trades which depend on legislative encouragement are precarious, because by a change in the balance of political parties the encouragement may at any moment be removed. Over-production, too, in special lines, is the sure consequence of artificial stimulus: in the Canadian cotton trade it is already beginning to be felt; and there follows a reaction which throws the workmen out of employment. By the rise of prices in the goods which he must buy as well as make, the artisan loses in common with the rest of the community. For the people the natural and spontaneous industries will always be the most profitable, and the best of all taxes will be the lightest.

—There is no ground for any sentimental feeling against a duty on books. Intellectual luxuries may as well be taxed as luxuries of any other kind. The only thing to be said is, that whereas other luxuries are simply consumed, books, at least books of the better class, breed ideas which may be sources of national wealth as well as of mental improvement and pleasure. Our Finance Minister, we presume, hardly hopes to promote the growth of literature or science among us by Protection. But the seven years' rule is not convenient: it will entail trouble at the Custom House, and on many books there is no date. Weight, though a

rough measure, is probably the best. For our part, we suspect that the day will come, though it may yet be distant, when copyright will be no more, when the book trade will be perfectly free and authors and publishers will make their profit by consulting the requirements of the market like the producers of any other goods. The attempt to negotiate a treaty of international copyright between Great Britain and the United States has come to nothing, as we ventured to predict that it would. The people having tasted the benefits of cheap printing are sure not to resign them; nor is it likely that copyright, English or American, will be able for ever to hold its ground on one side of the water while all the books are being cheaply reprinted without regard to it on the other side. Free trade is the mark to which all who are interested will, in the end, find it best to direct their aim.

—The Liquor Question has now become involved not only in the party conflict, but in the conflict between the jurisdiction of the Dominion and that of the Provinces. Not a step henceforth will be taken by legislators, nor a word written by the leading journals, without reference to a party object. The constant danger of political tampering with a moral movement is one reason for settling, if possible, the main question, and bringing this agitation to a close. Other reasons are the perversion of ethics caused by the undue prominence given to a single point; the disregard of general rights and principles to which the reformer rushing headlong towards the goal of his enthusiasm is always prone; the suspicion which fills society, converting every flushed face into a proof of intemperance; and the temptation held out to anyone who is at all inclined to serve God by bearing false witness against his neighbour. Some of the most malicious of libellers are the most rigorous of prohibitionists. To arrive at a reasonable and lasting settlement, however, it is necessary that Prohibition should come down at once from the pinnacle of factitious morality. There is no more harm in drinking a glass of wine or beer than there is in drinking a cup of tea or coffee; the evil lies only in the excess, nor is excess inevitable in either case. In the wine-growing

countries of Europe the use of the national beverage at the meal is universal, yet intemperance is rare. Some ladies the other day in the United States protested against the use of wine in the Eucharist. This affectation of scrupulosity served to remind us that the founder of Christianity had himself drunk wine, had encouraged others to drink it at the marriage feast, and had made it an element forever of the most sacred ordinance of His religion. Nor was the institution the symbolical tasting which forms a part of the modern rite: it was a draught, as the original Eucharist was a meal. The theory that the wine which made glad men's hearts, of which the Master of the Feast at Cana deemed it improvident to keep the best kind to the last, on which some of the abusers of the Eucharistic repast at Corinth became drunk, was only the unfermented juice of the grape, is surely one of the most desperate shifts to which a controversialist was ever driven. This is a practical and a local question. Is intemperance alarmingly prevalent in Canada, and does it refuse to yield to the growing force of morality and the increasing regard for health? Have extraordinary measures really become necessary in order to save our people from themselves? If such an emergency exists, private liberty must of course give way, and all right-minded men are willing that it should give way, as it does when extraordinary measures are adopted by the State to meet the exigencies of pestilence or war. Unless such an emergency exists private liberty claims respect in matters of diet and regimen as in all other personal affairs. Nobody proposes to forbid the use of tea, coffee, or tobacco, though lecturers on physiology denounce these stimulants not less vehemently than alcohol. Nobody proposes to forbid or restrict the use of meat, though the vegetarians condemn it altogether, and it is certain that many people eat too much of it. Nobody proposes to close the druggists' shops, though perhaps the number of people killed by patent medicines is as great as that of the people killed by drink. Unless the need of prohibition is urgent, and demonstrably urgent, the law will fail in operation for want of public sentiment to support it. It fails in the cities of the United States and only adds the evils of contrabandism to the evils of alcohol. Men who have known

Canada long and well declare that intemperance, instead of growing, has manifestly decreased: they say that they remember a time when toting was universally looked upon as good-fellowship, and when a Canadian farmer seldom went home sober from market. In England, certainly, there has been a vast improvement among those very classes which have had the most unlimited command of the richest and most tempting liquors. The old saying "drunk as a lord," is a monument of by-gone times; for neither lord nor gentleman can now get drunk in England without incurring deep disgrace. The present agitation is itself the sign of a quickened moral sense in the community, which is effecting an unforced, and therefore a genuine, reform. A forced reform may not be genuine; it may be, and we know that in many cases it is, not a change from intemperance to temperance, but a change from the use of whiskey to the use of opium. Society is doing more for its own improvement than is supposed by philanthropists who are apt to look upon it as an inert mass, to which life and motion can be imparted only by their activity. One thing, however, is quite clear, supposing extraordinary remedies to be needed, they ought to be effectual. Once more we must repeat, that there is but one way of preventing liquor from being sold and drunk—to prevent it from being made. So long as it is made or imported, it will, through one channel or another, be conveyed to the lips that thirst for it. What is it but folly, or rather hypocrisy, to be passing laws restricting the retail trade while, in public view, a great distillery is pouring forth day and night a welling stream of the alleged poison, and beside the fountain stands a government officer, placed there for the purpose of securing to the State its share of the profit, under the name of revenue, and by his presence signifying in the plainest manner the public recognition of the trade? Contrabandism is inevitably the middle process between licensed manufacture and illicit sale. Absolute prohibition of production or importation, then, is, the only effective, the only straightforward, the only honest policy. To harass the retail trade, to place property invested in it always at the mercy of some arbitrary commission, to put a brand on those who are engaged in it, is merely to throw it into lower hands, and

to make it thereby more pernicious. Everybody knows that districts under restrictive laws swarm with unlicensed drinking shops, in which both the company and the liquor are worse than they are in decent taverns. In a system of monopoly, also, there are obvious evils, especially when the power of granting the privilege is placed in the hands of a party government; and instead of extinguishing the traffic, such measures tend to perpetuate it by creating a powerful interest in its favour. That places of public entertainment should be placed under strict regulations is desired by all, and by none we believe more than the respectable tavern-keeper himself. Public drunkenness is already treated as a crime. Voluntary effort and association have done much; they have done far more, as we firmly believe, than any sumptuary laws; while they are what sumptuary laws are not—instruments of moral improvement in themselves as well as in the reform which they effect. If more is needed, if a plague is upon us, and the life of the community is in peril, let us have the honesty and the courage to close the distillery and break the still.

There is no saying what measures might not be reasonable and lawful if it were true that the banishment of alcohol would be the extinction of crime. But in Maine, where prohibition is as operative as it is likely to be anywhere, crime, even violent crime, is by no means extinct. Many of us remember the time when it was proved to absolute demonstration that crime had its universal source in illiteracy, and would be annihilated by popular education. We find now that the source was deeper than illiteracy, perhaps it may be deeper than the use of alcohol.

After all, are they not in the right who say that whiskey, especially raw whiskey, is the real enemy? Is not this the liquor which, once taken in excess, acts as a poison on the coats of the stomach, engenders the deadly craving, and begets the congenital tendency? Do the same objections apply to the use of sound beer or of light wine? Are not these beverages, taken in moderation as wholesome as anything can be, except pure water, to which the race does not seem disposed to confine itself, any more than it seems disposed to discard all the varieties of food which form the complex diet of civilized man and confine itself to Graham bread?

At all events, the Prohibitionist will admit that beer or light wine is a less evil than whiskey; and if substitution offends his sense of principle by its mildness, he must bear in mind that it does not, like the more heroic treatment, involve the danger of recourse to opium. Canada cannot be made a moral oasis. Canadians will continue to visit European countries the people of which drink of the fruit of the vine without the slightest suspicion that it is a sin. Will they not conform to the seductive custom, and find it difficult when they return to Canada to become rigorous water-drinkers again? Suppose we were to encourage the production of wholesome beer, inspecting it so as to preclude the introduction of noxious drugs, admit light wines free, and restrict the manufacture or importation of ardent spirits to the quantity required for medical or scientific purposes, our policy would be sound at all events, so far as it went, and it would present less difficulty than a great and abrupt change in the diet of mankind. It would be also free from the injustice fatally inherent in all these licensing measures, which pass by the well-stored cellar of the rich to close the door of indulgence against the poor.

To restrain importation, the interposition of the Federal Government, to which the regulation of "Trade and Commerce" belongs, would, of course, be required. But the "Licensing of Saloons and Taverns" seems clearly to belong to the Province. The Resolutions of the Canadian Parliament are better evidence of the intention than the words of the Imperial Act. The two Acts being, in one particular at least, contradictory, a trial of the legal question must follow. It is therefore hardly worth while at present to discuss the Dominion Act. Population is not the proper measure of trade, in any case, irrespective of wealth or local circumstances; and the need of hotels depends not only on general conditions but on the lines of travel.

Dipsomania is regarded by many men of science as a species of insanity. It often becomes a propensity uncontrollable by the will of the patient, and may therefore be placed on the same footing as insanity for the purposes of medical police. Restraint is the only chance of cure; and committal to an institution in which

restraint can be exercised is the only mode of dealing with such cases. Ordinary charity is utterly at fault. An inebriate cannot be allowed to die on the street; and to give relief in any shape, while he remains at large, is to supply the means of purchasing poison. He must be consigned to the lunatic asylum, to the hospital, or to the workhouse; and as he is neither a meet companion for ordinary lunatics, nor a patient in constant need of medical treatment, the workhouse is his proper place.

—The Seduction Bill limped up to the Senate with so little life left in it that even the hand of decrepitude was strong enough to deal it a death blow. It fell by Priam's dart. The highly philanthropic provision that the testimony of a deeply interested, and not only deeply interested but vindictive, party should be taken as the substantive evidence of the crime, had already been struck out by unphilanthropic hands; and the framer himself had expressed his willingness to abandon the clause which not only set a gratuitous brand on the profession of the teacher but was calculated to put mischief into the heads of female pupils. It is curious that such a clause should be supported by co-educationists, who scoff at any suggestion of danger in the mixture of the sexes at college. A teacher has to come down from his desk to flirt, whereas between male and female students flirting is made as easy as possible. If such liabilities exist, let us return to the path of nature, and let girls, when they come to the critical age, be educated apart by teachers of their own sex. Seduction is a term which, applied indiscriminately to the illicit intercourse of the sexes, covers a serious fallacy. It implies that the criminal advances are always on the side of the male. Usually they are, not because men are worse than women, but because in the male passion is stronger, and if it were not, would hardly impel him to undertake the burden of maintaining a wife and family. But what is usually the case is not always the case, as every newspaper tells us, and as every man of the world who has passed through life attests. The woman, probably, is far more often led astray by love of pleasure or finery than by passion. But she must have con-

mented; and to tell her that her consent is guiltless, that the guilt rests solely on her accomplice, and that if she makes herself a harlot, the State will take care to make her a wife, is to fling her into the arms of a paramour. A servant girl who insists on going out frequently at night means perhaps no harm; but she steps forward to meet the tempter; she is an instance of that thoughtlessness which the advocates of seduction bills wish to save from itself, but from which they in fact remove the only effectual safeguard when they lead a woman to forget that her honour is in her own keeping. No sin, we repeat, is so destructive of human character and happiness as that against which measures such as Mr. Charlton's Bill are levelled: but all sins are not crimes, or amenable to criminal law. That the moral sense of society has of itself wrought an immense and most happy change in this direction, every reader of our social histories, or our older novelists, must be aware. It is, in fact, the improvement of opinion that gives birth to this desire of reaching the goal at once by violent legislation. Let philanthropy have a little patience before it clutches the whip of law. It may perchance make more mischief than it mends. A lustful man, in the hour of opportunity, is not likely to be restrained by the fear of remote and contingent punishment, which can be inflicted only through the hostile action of the woman who is at that moment in his arms; but when he has rendered himself liable to the penalty, he may do very desperate things to avert it. Between Mr. Charlton's imprisonments, or forced marriages, and the floggings of which his friends are lavish, some day a man of fierce nature, driven to frenzy, will shoot a philanthropic legislator, and perhaps be acquitted on the ground of lunacy. In "Measure for Measure," Shakespeare has taught us that, with regard to these matters, the ruthless and precipitate reformer may be one who has failed to study human nature as exhibited in his own heart.

These are not pleasant subjects, but they sometimes force themselves upon public attention; and this community, among others, may any day have to face a problem at once the most desperately difficult and the most afflicting which any community can be called upon to solve. Those raids of the police upon houses of ill-fame,

which the papers ever and anon record, are surely useless or worse: they can only sink the miserable inmates of the houses to a lower depth of degradation, and aggravate the evil in every respect. But what is to be done? That is the terrible question, and it is one which concerns not the offenders alone, but beings wholly innocent of the offence, as every one who has looked at the children in an English workhouse or reformatory must know. It concerns the public health, in the most serious sense of the term; and the source of our fearful perplexity is, that in this case the interests of the public health seem to be diametrically opposed to the interests of public morals. As a rule, in all matters connected with the prevention of disease and the alleviation of human suffering, the dictates of medical science are the dictates of morality; but, in the present instance, to what would obedience to the dictates of medical science lead? There is no use, however, in taking any view of human nature which is not practical and consistent with reality. The propensity which gives birth to this evil is not like the propensity to homicide and theft, unnatural and wholly criminal: it is only the presence in excess, and without due control, of the mighty force by which nature sustains the race and creates the affections which have their central source in home; though here, as elsewhere, she metes out rough measure, with little regard for special situations. In the social circumstances which preclude early marriage the fault often lies fully as much as in the man. Moreover, when by laws, sufficiently sharp, you have once put down homicide or theft, all is done: but when you have closed the brothel, all is by no means done. The malady suppressed on the surface may only be driven inward with effects of the direst kind. Let the rational moralist and the man of science confer, that we may be helped, if possible, out of the fearful dilemma: we shall not be helped out of it by sermons, however eloquent and sincere the preacher may be, or by legislation in the style of Lord Angelo.

—The Franchise Bill, like the Bills for the Redistribution of Seats and all measures on such subjects emanating from a party

government, was framed in the interest of the party in power; nor, as we venture to think, did it embody any principle upon which the franchise can finally rest. It would merely be a step in the incline down which every free community is being drawn to universal suffrage. More of this hereafter. More, too, hereafter, of the Female Suffrage Clause which has earned for the Canadian Government of Canada, in common with the ultra revolutionary party in Italy, the grateful approbation of the leaders of the Revolt of Woman. Evidently, the device was borrowed from the late astute leader of the Conservative party in England, who always supported Female Suffrage, in the belief that the women would vote Tory under the influence of the clergy, and tried hard to get his followers to do likewise; though they, while they followed him against their convictions into Household Suffrage, refused to follow him into what they plainly saw was social and domestic revolution. In Pennsylvania, the other day, a bill which would have practically made the marriage tie less indissoluble than an ordinary commercial partnership, passed the legislature, but was vetoed by the governor. Demagogic legislation is so reckless that society is always living on the brink of a precipice.

—The establishment of a small body of regular troops, though too grandly designated as the introduction of a standing army, is an important change in our military system. For purposes of external defence, no force that we can raise would be of any use. Our only neighbour is at once unaggressive and irresistible. If ever Canada should be involved in a war as a dependency of Great Britain, it would be a maritime war in which she would have to look for protection to the Imperial country: the landing of a hostile army on these shores is, if not impossible, a contingency too remote for consideration. It is rather to defend society against internal perils that a regular force may possibly be needed. We are constantly receiving as immigrants from Europe people imperfectly civilized, burning with discontent, and envenomed by social and industrial war. The Pittsburg riots were mainly the work of foreigners; so were the Molly Maguire out-

rages in Pennsylvania; and in both these occurrences we read warnings of the danger to which our civilization may be possibly exposed. Time will educate; but before the process is complete, the refugee may have to be saved from wrecking, by his barbarous violence, his own hopes as well as ours. The Biddulph affair some years ago raised the corner of a veil, and gave us a glimpse of something to which we are liable on a larger scale. Between the Sandlotters and the civilized community of California there rages a chronic conflict, the sources of which are not confined to the Pacific coast, and which, wherever it exists, may prove as irrepressible as did the conflict between Slavery and Freedom. Moreover, in Canada we have feuds of race and religion, such as that between the Orangemen and the Catholics, which may at any time lead to disturbance. A militia is not a good instrument to employ in keeping the peace, because it lacks the perfect self-control which belongs to discipline, and shares the political passions of the combatants, so that to employ it is to give the signal for a petty civil war. It seems wise, therefore, in the Government to set on foot a small force of thoroughly disciplined men. The only question is that between soldiers and a central police. The police is less uncongenial to democracy than soldiers, and for some purposes more effective; but Anarchy fears soldiers most.

It would be wrong, however, to deride the misgivings of those who hesitate to put military force into the hands of the Government. Encroachment, on the part of the Crown, is, so far as we are concerned, a thing of the past. But the danger of elective tyranny is more serious than is commonly supposed. There are things which a Tudor monarch did, and which a party in power under the elective system cannot do; but, on the other hand, there are things which a party in power under the elective system can do, and which could not have been done by a Tudor king. A Tudor king could pretty much at his pleasure cut off heads, especially the heads of courtiers; but when he ventured upon arbitrary taxation, he found that he had to deal with a people provided with arms and ready to use them in defence of its right, while he had himself no military force beyond the

yeomen of his guard. Such plunder of the community as the Pension Arrears Bill and the imposts which Congress continues to lay on the American people at the bidding of the Manufacturing Ring, or even the direct taxation to which Quebec is likely to be subjected by its elective spoilers, would hardly have been possible under what history brands as arbitrary rule. If a clique or a faction gets the control of the elections and becomes master of the national assembly, how is it to be dislodged? How is a reform of the Constitution to be enforced against corrupt representatives who have an interest in keeping it unreformed? Sismondi touches on the subject in connection with the constitutional history of one of the Italian Republics, and seems to think that the difficulty is met by saying that if the people wish to depose an elective government, they can at any time do it by refusing to elect. But this implies a unanimity and an organization on the part of the people which can seldom exist, while there are perfect concert and unity of action on the other side. It is conceivable that society may have to resort, in some extreme case, to old-fashioned methods of putting down incorrigible iniquity. At all events, intrigue and corruption ought always to be made to feel that, in the last resort, the national force is not in their hands. For this reason, as well as on social grounds, it is desirable that while a regular force is established, the militia should not be allowed to decline.

—Leaving finance to financiers, and political economy to political economists, the leader of the Opposition directed the fire of his forensic eloquence against the relations of the Government with the Pacific Railway Company. One important point, at least, he made. It is clear that the restriction on the amount of dividend, which is intended to operate as a limitation of fares and freights, would come to nothing if the amount were to be calculated, not on the sum actually spent, but on the full value of a stock which the Company is at liberty to water to any extent it thinks fit. The question is particularly serious in the present case, because the Railway is protected against competition, by which its tariff

might otherwise be kept down. Interrogated by Mr. Blake, the Ministers at first differed from each other in opinion; but at last a pledge was given that the measure of the dividend should be the sum actually spent. This, however, will not prevent the people of the North-West from having to pay in their fares and freights for the construction of the unproductive sections of the line, and for the loss of working those sections when they are constructed. Of course it will not in any way relieve them of the effects of the monopoly clauses. On the subject generally, Mr. Blake's speeches cannot be said to have made an impression on the country in proportion to their unquestionable ability. The Agreement has been made, and we must keep it, provided it is kept by the Syndicate, which has so far been guilty of no default, but, on the contrary, is allowed to have done its work very well. We have obtained what we most desired, extrication from the slough of public corruption, into which, while the road was in the hands of the Government, we were evidently sinking. If the gains of the Company prove large, no harm will be done us; but whether they are likely to be large nobody can tell till the unproductive parts of the road have been completed and brought into operation. The golden side of the shield is turned to the London Stock Market, the silver side to the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament. Mere criticism, without a counter policy, is always ineffective. Why did not Mr. Blake, when his party was in power, boldly refuse to concur in an enterprise to which in his heart he was evidently opposed? The good sense of the country would have come round to him, and his feet would now be on firm ground. The leading journal of his party the other day strove to rally to him the allegiance of his followers by setting forth, in an eloquent editorial, the integrity of his character, the purity of his aims, his intellectual gifts and accomplishments, and his uniform excellence as a speaker. If resolution could have been added, the panegyric would have been complete. Is Mr. Blake young Canada? If he is, Young Canada has intelligence in large measure, but somewhat lacks determination.

The announcement that an alliance was being negotiated between the Canada Pacific and the Grand Trunk produced a thrill of alarm, like that which used to shoot through Europe when it

appeared that the crowns of France and Spain were about to be united on the same head. Beyond doubt the league would be most formidable. In the United States, the shadow of these gigantic combinations falls darkly on the political field, and in a comparatively small country like Canada, there would be no power of resistance to the allied forces of the two great Companies. The Canada Pacific has been so fenced with privileges and immunities by the agreement, that it is already independent of the political authority of the Provinces, and forms a state within the state. In the fate of Mr. Dalton McCarthy's Bill for the Control of Railways and of the Toronto Esplanade Bill, we have already seen what the influence of the corporations is. No party government could for a moment stand against the combined pressure of the Canada Pacific and the Grand Trunk. We are tired of pointing the obvious moral.

—Why did not the Opposition say something upon the subject of Immigration? They were furnished with an excellent text by the telegram which was sent by the Minister of Agriculture announcing that there was urgent demand both for general labourers and mechanics in Old Canada as well as in the North-West, and instructing his agents in England to send out an unlimited supply. At that very time the best authorities on the subject at Toronto were speaking of the demand for mechanics there as uncertain. At the opening of the season it is sure to be brisk; but this is the artisan's harvest, and it seems a little hard on him that the Government should step in and prevent a rise in wages by importing competitors from abroad with money which he is compelled as a taxpayer to contribute. In England during the great railway epoch, there was an extraordinary demand for Civil Engineers, but the Government did not import engineers from the Continent to keep down the fees; and, if it had, the profession would have been in a flame. Nobody wishes to close a land of hope against those who despair of happiness in the Old World. So long as the emigrant comes of his own accord, all is well: he is then selected by nature, and is sure to bring with him

the necessary aptitudes and the proper equipments; it is probable that the market wants him as well as he the market: we may look on him with confidence as a valuable addition to our community. But these guarantees cease to exist when governments, with their hands full of public money, Steamship Companies, Land Companies, Colonization Companies, and artificial agencies of all kinds are vying with each other in the volume of emigration which they can produce, with less regard to the quality of the people selected, for whom the same fees and the same passage money must be paid, whether they are first-rate husbandmen or the refuse of British workhouses and slums.

—As we write, force is added to our appeals against Faction by the explosion of a second Pacific Railway Scandal, equal, if the accuser speaks truth, to the first. With the forms of a strictly legal indictment, the *Globe* avers that Mr. Shields, one of a firm of Government contractors, spent large sums of money for the Government in the elections and another sum in buying off a sinister claim against the Prime Minister, on the understanding that the firm was to be recouped by payments on the completion of its contract to which it would not otherwise have been entitled. The Government, in effect, stands charged with malversation, for the purpose of electoral corruption, to a very large extent. The *Globe* is to be commended, at all events, for having discarded the old habit of reckless imputation, and brought forward its charge with decency, courageously, and so as to tender a decisive issue. Mr. Shields threatens a libel suit, receives an answer of defiance, commences his proceedings, and will stand or fall by the result. With him will stand or fall the Government: much, which the morality of ordinary life does not permit, is permitted in the most unscrupulous of trades, as politics have unfortunately become; but even there a line is drawn, as the country, in the case of the former Pacific Railway Scandal, emphatically declared. On that occasion, the vein of ore struck by the opponents of Sir John Macdonald proved so rich that they have ever since been delving in the same mine, and have been tempted to neglect other and more

wholesome means of increasing their hold on the public mind, so that we cannot help receiving with some suspicion the joyful announcement that a new lode has been found. However, it would be wrong to form any opinion on a question which is coming before the Courts. Unhappily it can come before no Court perfectly competent to try a political cause : party prejudice is not to be shut out of the jury box nor can advocates be restrained from appealing to it, even by an English judge who has a firmer control over the bar than is possessed by judges here. A Royal Commission of inquiry, named by the very government into whose alleged delinquencies inquiry is to be made, would be an insult to public reason. A special tribunal, placed above all suspicion, is needed everywhere for the trial of such cases. In the course of ages we shall have one ; in the course of ages too, perhaps, patriotism having triumphed over partisanship, the discovery that the chief servants of the State have betrayed their trust, will be a matter for sorrow to all and for joy to none.

—The retention of Sir Charles Tupper in the Cabinet, when he is Commissioner in England, can hardly be anything but a mode of putting off an unwelcome vacancy. The Government will be deprived of its most vigorous administrator and its most powerful debater. As a gladiator the Prime Minister is not Sir Charles' equal, though he possesses above all our public men the rare art of speaking for votes, which was also the great gift of Palmerston whose real counterpart he is. For prompt ingenuity, Sir Charles, perhaps, has few peers. To an antagonist whom he had accused of concealing his convictions on an important occasion, and who had been able to reply that he had expressed them in the most decided manner, the retort was ready, "It is not often, Mr. Speaker, as those who value the amenities of debate will bear witness, that the honourable gentleman states his opinion in language so little discourteous as to escape my recollection." Proteus is not to be bound. "Calm amidst the battles roar," Sir Charles cannot be said to be ; "inventive" in the highest degree he is. Changes in the Cabinet are always ascribed to quarrels

or intrigues; but it appears that in Sir Charles Tupper's case health may well be the sole cause. Our public men, it is said, break down earlier than the English, because, instead of setting out like the Englishmen with patrimonial estates, they have to expend their health and energy in making a private fortune before they can enter on their political career. Perhaps the English statesmen have an advantage also in more invigorating habits and quieter nerves. But public men everywhere will soon be broken down by the demands of the stump, which have grown fearfully in ravenousness, and are still growing. Very few in number and very important were the occasions on which Sir Robert Peel made public speeches out of Parliament, and he would have been petrified by a request that he should appear on the platform at any election but his own. Now, even in England, statesmen, after spending half a year in the House of Commons, are expected to spend the other half in stumping the country. No time is left them for reflection or for the acquisition of knowledge, any more than for needful recreation. The consequences are beginning to appear in the ascendancy of rhetoric over statesmanship and the disproportionate rank taken by platform orators in the councils of the nation. Sir Charles Tupper has not lived or perhaps cared to live in the odour of political sanctity: he might possibly say, like the English politician who was taxed by the king with want of conscience, "It is true, your Majesty, that I have not much conscience myself, but I belong to a party which has a good deal." A little scandal which has recently come to light touching Sir Charles's dealings with the Catholic Vote is covered by the statute of limitations, and half condoned for the sake of his forcible expression as to the difficulty of placing confidence in "the breed." The infamous charges made against him in the *Globe*, under its former editorship, were never brought forward in the House, though the accused repeatedly challenged their production, and, as animosity was certainly not wanting, it is reasonable to suppose that evidence was. That the late Minister of Railways and the present High Commissioner of Canada has a personal connection with the Syndicate, is as grave an accusation as can be levelled against the character of a public man; no proof

of it whatever has been tendered ; but the levity with which it has been repeated and the indifference with which it has been received, are melancholy signs of the deadening effect of party strife upon the moral sense of the community.

“Puff us, puff us loudly, incessantly, and without scruple,” is the cry which, sent up on all sides, rings at parting in the New Commissioner’s ear. Not in our real resources or in our energies, but in being advertised without stint, so as to constrain England to bestow her notice on us, lies our hope of prosperity and greatness. If the original colonists of our race had been of the same mind, and had craved in like manner for the patronage of the Old Country on the Elbe, they would scarcely have made an England.

—The Governor-Generalship, soon to be vacated by Lord Lorne, after hovering over the heads of several English politicians, including Lord Dalhousie, who is too good for the place, and Mr. Forster, who was sure not to allow himself to be so shelved, has alighted on the Marquis of Lansdowne. A man who, after inheriting at twenty-one high rank in the peerage with a great estate, still strives to distinguish himself by merit, can hardly fail to have in him more force than enough for the part of a constitutional Viceroy, bound to speak as his advisers bid him, even when he is told to approve the grant of a bonus for the production of pig-iron ; though it is curious to see how English journals are still possessed with the belief that Canada, in the hands of a British nobleman sent out to rule her, is as clay in the hands of a potter. As an Irish proprietor, Lord Lansdowne, though necessarily an absentee, bears a very good name, and there is little sense in the objection taken to his appointment on that score. In politics he is a moderate Liberal, whose moderation is likely to increase : for a mitre does not more surely turn a Low Churchman into a High Churchman than a Viceroyalty turns a Liberal into a Tory. There need be no misgivings among Canadian Conservatives on that account. Lord Dufferin was sent out as a Liberal, but his tenure of office was a perpetual effort, by the use of all the social influence, flummery, and champagne at his command, to

propagate aristocratic sentiment, and repress the rising spirit of Canadian nationality. In truth, he availed himself, for these purposes, of instruments which Lord Lansdowne will perhaps hardly think it dignified to employ, while the purses of the Government clerks at Ottawa are said to have not even yet recovered from the effects of his glorious reign. A member of an aristocracy, and of an aristocracy whose power is departing, placed in the situation of the Governor-General, cannot reasonably be expected to refrain from acting in the interests of his order, and doing his utmost to delay if he cannot avert the final lapse, as he must deem it, of this continent into popular institutions and the elective system. Lord Lansdowne is not an adventurer; his personal position is assured; he has no need of using Canada as a stepping-stone: his mind may not be wholly closed against the reflection that, though sycophancy treats him as omniscient, he can know little of this country, and by tampering with its destiny for objects which are not those of its people, he may do mischief which history will scornfully record when the tongue of flattery has become mute. THE BYSTANDER will not be accused of democratic optimism, of believing in the divinity of the ballot-box, or of failing to acknowledge the difficulties and perils which beset the task, imposed upon us by Providence here, of organizing elective government, so as to combine wisdom and stability with freedom. But those difficulties can only be aggravated, those perils can only be enhanced, by the intrusion of a political principle which is utterly alien and incapable of naturalization. Whatever aristocratic influence may be to the communities of the Old World, to a community of the New World it is inoculation from a corpse. From the farcical catastrophe of Etiquette, Lord Lansdowne may infer the probable fate of that which is equally though less obviously exotic. The Court of Ottawa generates absolutely nothing but flunkeyism, and flunkeyism can only enfeeble and degrade. It may not be out of place once more to recall the fact that our genuine bond of political connection with the Mother Country is not the representation of Downing Street in the person of the Governor-General, but the mutual citizenship which exists, and it is to be hoped will never cease to exist, between Canada and England.

Among the persons named for the Governor-Generalship was the Duke of Albany. As Mr. Gladstone truly said, the Duke does himself honour by evincing his willingness to serve the country; and had all the members of his family for the last century and a half shown the same spirit, the feelings of the Irish people towards the Monarchy, and the state of the Irish question, would be very different from what they are now. But there was at least one strong reason against sending him here at the present time. That Fenianism will undertake any military operations on a serious scale, nobody but Irish servant girls can imagine: the bombastic extravagance of its threats forms the strongest guarantee against their execution; yet it has in its ranks desperadoes, as we have too good cause to know, and when it finds that all hope has gone, it may run-a-muck. Nothing is more likely to turn its frenzy in this direction than the presence here of an English Prince. The extraordinary precautions which in the case of Royalty it is deemed necessary to take, and the fussy nervousness which everybody thinks it loyal to exhibit, in themselves would act as stimulants to Fenian fancy. The other day we had a detective force summoned in haste from Toronto, and, if Ottawa correspondents spoke the truth, a session of the Privy Council held, because a boy had been firing at a muskrat. This is not only undignified but dangerous, especially as the childish love of astonishing the universe mingles in no small measure with more darkly criminal motives in the Fenian breast.

—In the Nicholson Divorce case, the Senate demonstrated, to the satisfaction of everybody, its own inability to act as a legal tribunal, and the necessity of instituting a proper Divorce Court. Not only judicial dignity but decorum fled the scene. In the House of Lords, the Chancellor presides, and is assisted by other legal peers. To these professional authorities the House of Lords long ago practically delegated its judicial functions.

Saving this suicidal exhibition and the extinction of the last spark of life in the Seduction Bill, the Senate has done absolutely nothing but register what the Government laid before

it. Its name has seldom appeared in the reports. It does not even, like the House of Lords, maintain the decencies of impotence. It was called upon to pass the License Bill with only a few hours left for deliberation. How long is this to go on? Do not the men of ability whom the Senate contains see that their Chamber, if it remains unreformed, is doomed? It is doomed unless the Canadian people fall into dotage. History points the finger of scorn at the system of Rotten Boroughs and the nation which tamely endured it. Yet the system of Rotten Boroughs was a group of historical accidents which had grown up insensibly, and had never abruptly challenged the common sense and self-respect of the people; not to say that, in the judgment of such statesmen as Peel, it was capable, if not of a theoretical, of a practical defence, as a check upon the despotism of numbers, and as the side entrance through which a large proportion of the young men of promise had originally found their way into the House of Commons. But here we have a whole branch of the legislature, in the most open and deliberate manner, taken away from the nation and assigned to the nominees of the Prime Minister; nor can it be alleged that an anomaly so enormous is compensated by any sort of practical advantage. Out of seventy-two Senators, fifty-three now owe their appointments to a single politician, and a politician who appoints, and perhaps by the very structure of the combination which he leads is compelled to appoint, on the narrowest party grounds. There is no parallel to this in the political world. Of the House of Lords only the merest fraction can be at any time the nominees of a single minister. Senator Alexander preaches to the House independence, averring that such was the part which it was specially intended to play. Such was the part which it was intended to play, no doubt, by the British Statesmen who countersigned, and by the British Parliament which ratified, the proposal, whatever may have been the intention of the authors. But when Senator Alexander calls upon a body of nominees to show their independence, he might as well call upon a circle to exhibit the properties of a square. Some of the Senators, besides being nominees, are bound by ties of personal interest to their patrons. **THE BYSTANDER** is not a believer in a second

Chamber, but supposing that principle to be adopted, there might yet be time, by a judicious introduction of the elective principle, to infuse life into the bloodless veins, possibly to make the Senate the more important and more trusted House of the two. Yet everything points at present in the direction opposite to reform. For each vacancy, the claimant who has spent freely for the party is ready, and the leader of an army of sinister interests dares not repudiate the debt.

—Out of the imbroglia created by the Boundary Question and the Streams Bill, to which may now be added the disputes as to jurisdiction both in the Liquor and the Factory Questions, has naturally arisen a cry for the revision of the Constitution. More than once the suggestion has been thrown out in these pages. But can the thing be done under the present system? How could the two parties be brought to an agreement? The party in power would desire to centralize, the party out of power would desire to decentralize, and who could act as the arbitrator between them? The Colonial Office could hardly be trusted to decide: it is ignorant of Canada, and its award would practically be that of some one who had crept to its ear. Yet the machine in its present state will hardly work; every year reveals some new defect in its construction. The relative spheres of the central and local governments are ill-defined, and the two are perpetually running foul of each other. Provincial independence, which is a vital part of the scheme, has been swallowed up by Central Party. The framers of Confederation were struggling to escape from a deadlock, and though astute tacticians and able men of business they did not possess in an eminent degree either the knowledge or the habits of thought required by the architects of a constitution. They had not watched the progress of the great political experiment of which for half a century Europe had been the scene. Their appeal to the "well-known principles of the British Constitution," as a sufficient canon of interpretation in all disputed questions, shows that the special problems connected with the federal relation cannot have been distinctly present to their minds. That

which they avow to have been their guiding idea, the belief that in previous confederations the chief defect had been the want of power in the central government was an induction drawn from a single instance, which, moreover, had been misconstrued. Want of power in the central government was not the cause of the catastrophe in the United States: the cause was the antagonism between two social systems, that of Slavery and that of Freedom, which could not dwell together in the same commonwealth. Secession might even have been averted if the central government had been more narrowly circumscribed than it was, and if the Slaveowners had felt assured that it could never be used for the subversion of their peculiar institution. They rebelled because they apprehended that Congress was able to abolish Slavery, and would be impelled to do so by the increasing influence of the North. That limitation of Federal authority which is taken for weakness is really a source of strength. The self-government enjoyed by each of the States renders rebellion almost impossible, now that Slavery is dead, by removing any reason for rebelling. The action of the Washington government as a rule is felt only in immunity from evil; from war, foreign or domestic, and from impediments to intercourse between the States; and who is likely to take up arms against an immunity? Taxation, wrongly maintained in the interest and under the pressure of a Ring, is now the only apparent source of disunion, and this has its source not in defect but in abuse of central power. Our Canadian constitution is a hybrid, half national, half federal; a photograph, in which the features of the American system are blended with those of the British; and from the confusion fresh perplexities constantly arise. Nor have the framers provided any distinct authority like the Supreme Court of the United States for the decision of constitutional questions. That our Supreme Court is not such an authority, the very difficulties in which we are now weltering, prove. By way of makeshift, an oracle is being made of the Parliamentary Librarianship at Ottawa, the present holder of which is a most learned and respectable man, but in the absence of law or precedent can only spin judgments out of his own consciousness, and is besides inevitably influenced by his local surroundings, especially by his vicinity to

Government House, as his dissertation on the Pacific Railway Scandal plainly shows.

—There has been a revival of the debate about the extent of the exodus from Canada to the United States. Upon statistics framed by those who are engaged in the controversy little reliance can be placed. On the other hand, it seems unreasonable to dispute the accuracy of the American Census, which gives 717,157 as the number of persons born in British America who are now resident in the United States. The promoters of Repatriation in French Canada state that there are 300,000 French Canadians on the other side of the line. That many farmers go from Ontario to Dakota and other Western States, any one may satisfy himself by local inquiry. It is equally well attested that there is a constant flow of emigration from the Maritime Provinces to New England. The all-important fact, however, is that the circulation of the people between the two countries is now as free as it could be if they were two parts of the same country. No Canadian, except perhaps the very stiffest of U. E. Loyalists, hesitates to transfer himself to the States, if he thinks that he can thereby better his condition, any more than a Scotchman or a Northumbrian hesitates to transfer himself to London. The Canadian clergyman accepts a call from a wealthy congregation at New York with as little of real compunction as a farmer exchanges the farm which he has worked out in Ontario for fresh land in Dakota. Of fifty-five cadets trained in the Military College at Kingston to command our army against the Americans, it seems that eight have already settled in the States. Americans, on the other hand, in an increasing degree, take part in our commercial enterprises. Such is sure to be the case when two masses of population, identical in blood, in language, in every material respect, inhabit territories geographically interlaced, commercially united, and separated from each other only by a political line. Emigration Commissioners sent out by the British Government treat Canada and the United States as equally eligible for their purpose, paying no regard to political boundary. Nor do Englishmen, even

of the class most opposed to American institutions, any longer shrink from following their interest, when it leads them into American connections. Who can expect a Canadian farmer or artisan, originally, perhaps, an emigrant, to renounce, merely out of respect for a flag, or in deference to the memory of an ancient feud, the advantages offered by a virgin soil or a great labour market, when the scions of British aristocracy are marrying American heiresses, or making their fortunes in the commercial houses of New York ?

—What we have said perhaps furnishes the only available answer to the more delicate question raised by Dr. Bender, as to the tendency of Canada to enter the Union. The Doctor is perfectly right in saying that there is no movement here at present in favour of political change. It is difficult to see how such a movement could be set on foot, when not only the legislatures, but to a great extent the organs of public opinion, are in the hands of the politicians, who, as a class, have a manifest interest in the retention of the separate government, with its vast array of paid legislatures, offices, and political prizes of every kind. To form an estimate of anything so intangible as opinion which has no organ, must always be extremely difficult ; and in the present case there has hitherto been something like a reign of sentimental terror, every man who spoke his mind freely being at once marked down as a heretic, and every journal which faltered in its Shibboleth being eagerly denounced by the journals of the opposite party. That which is factitious, however, must sooner or later come to an end. The little Court at Ottawa influences to a ludicrous degree those who are within the sphere of its attraction ; but the people do not dine at Government House, and the lord of that mansion, hearing nothing but loyal adulation, is in danger of living in a fool's paradise. Of the old Border feud hardly a trace now remains : when British Royalty has formally buried the hatchet, how can its subjects cherish the grudge ? The French, it has been truly said, are indifferent, though the priests shrink, or have shrunk hitherto, from contact with the intellectual independence which is connected

in their ideas with a republic. The Irish are indifferent, and something more; probably, though not Fenian, they lean to a union with their kinsmen in the States: at all events they care little for British connection. As to the state of sentiment in the Maritime Provinces, we will not hazard a conjecture, except in so far as it may be indicated by the free flow of migration from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the United States. In New Brunswick, as we are assured by a good authority, there is a growing feeling in favour of Independence, but not in favour of Annexation, the memory of the Maine Boundary question being still strong. If the people of the Province of Ontario were to be told in the morning that they were the people of the State of Ontario, whatever their emotion might be at the first announcement, we suspect that before night the sense of commercial advantage would prevail. How should it be otherwise where there is no national feeling? And how can there be any national feeling where there is no nation? That free admission to the markets of their own continent would be to our people the greatest of all commercial advantages, no one seriously doubts; and against the growing perception of the fact, especially on the border, where the Customs barrier daily meets the eye of the producer excluded from his market, the politicians, in their struggle to maintain the Wall, will find themselves more and more called on to contend. Any such shock as a commercial crisis will in the future subject the Anti-Continental Policy to a serious strain. In the meantime, the duty of the patriotic journalist is the same whether the public men to whom he addresses himself are destined always to act on their present field, or to be called hereafter to an ampler sphere. He accepts the institutions of his country as they are, and faithfully does what he can to help in making them work well.

In estimating manifestations of Canadian opinion on whatever subject, it must be remembered that political dependency is not the parent of mental independence. The Englishman is a member of a nation, and though inferior to the Canadian in average intelligence, he is superior in political courage: he expresses his opinion with freedom, and he votes for the man of his choice: the opinion may be, and often is, utterly wrong, the man may be, and often is, ab-

surdly ill-chosen; but even the mechanic of Stoke, who believes in the Tichborne Claimant and votes for Kenealy, shows as an elector that his soul is his own. In the British Parliament there is always a Cross Bench, and a minority, even a minority of one, is sure of a hearing. The political character of the Canadian has been formed under the influence of tutelage; nor is he, like the Briton in his native seat, the direct and local heir of a long series of victories won by individual patriotism, such as that of Hampden, in the cause of freedom. Moreover, he has been tamed by the discipline of the caucus to an extent hitherto unparalleled by any tyranny of faction in the Mother Country. Hardly ever does he venture to leave his party lines, however much he may dislike the party candidate, or to give utterance in public to a thought at variance with established sentiment, as expressed by the regular leaders and by the orthodox press. Very secret must be the ballot, if the genuine opinions of our people on any tabooed subject are to be satisfactorily ascertained.

—It may be partly the feeling that events, unless speedily controlled, will take an unwelcome direction, which leads Sir Alexander Galt, at the risk of compromising his position as ambassador, to uplift his voice in favour of Imperial Federation. His addresses are able, of course; but all that it is to be said upon the subject has been said. To us it appears futile to propose that the Colonies shall surrender a large measure of their self-government, and subject themselves to the burden of supplying a military contingent, for the sake of a nominal representation in a distant council on questions in which they are little concerned; futile to propose that they shall all renounce their commercial independence and consent to adjust their tariff to the fiscal policy dictated by the widely different circumstances of Great Britain; futile to propose that England shall submit her diplomacy and her administration of India to the votes of dependencies, whose intervention in those affairs could breed nothing but confusion; and futile—a thousand times futile—to propose to British statesmen that the United Kingdom shall be broken up in order to furnish raw material for a Pan-Britannic Confederation. A moral reunion of the whole

English-speaking race is far more likely to seem practicable and attractive to English politicians, in their present mood. But we have only to repeat what we have said before: the advocates of Imperial Federation have given us words—eloquent and burning words—in unstinted measure: it is time for them to proceed to action, bring forward a definite plan, and move the different legislatures, Imperial and Colonial, to take up the question. Their trumpet has sounded again and again: now let them march!

—Their opponents march. Mr. Edgar presses vigorously the subject of Diplomatic Independence. Conservatives hold up their hands in horror: but let them recollect that they have sent to Europe an Ambassador in the person of the High Commissioner, who has been doing, or trying to do, under the mask of subordination to the Foreign Office, that which Mr. Edgar proposes to do without a mask. In that sort of political wisdom which consists in changing the real character of institutions without changing their forms or names, and which culminates in the King who reigns without governing, the British race has never had its peer. Canada has extorted legislative independence, administrative independence, fiscal independence, and all but extorted judicial independence; she is now laying claim to diplomatic independence; yet she vows all the time that she is a dependency, destined ever to remain so, and even makes a creditable show of indignation if, when the whole of the substance is gone, any one speaks with levity of the shadow. Diplomatic independence presents a difficulty not presented by the previous steps. If treaties are to be made with foreign countries, there must be a method of enforcing them, and recourse must be had to the power of the Mother Country, which can scarcely be expected to accept this responsibility without controlling the terms of the treaty. Ecuador, says Mr. Edgar, enters into commercial treaties, though she has no means of enforcing them. True, but then the honour of Ecuador is protected by her very weakness; nobody expects her to go to war in defence of her rights. The case would be very different if the honour of Great Britain were involved; and involved it must be, unless separation is complete.

—When our last number appeared, the misfortunes of the Premier of Ontario were not at an end. He afterwards lost Muskoka, and his majority is now reduced to a number barely exceeding that of his government. Nothing fails like failure, and the stars which fought against Mr. Mowat from Ottawa in the elections will no doubt continue to fight against him in the House. If we are to have party government, an occasional change of ministry is in itself desirable; it takes legislation out of a rut, gives an opening in the public service for a new set of men, and, above all, saves us from the perpetual domination of a clique. Symptoms of improvement in the demeanour of the government of Ontario are already beginning to appear. We would fain hope that such considerations prevailed with the electors; but the struggle seems to have been generally one of less respectable influences; and in Muskoka there was evidently a pitched battle of corruption, which can hardly fail to leave deep traces on the political character of a young community.

“But,” cries a critic, “if you say there is corruption in the Ontario elections, public peculation in Quebec, jobbery in the exercise of patronage, torpor in the Ottawa senate and the legislative council of New Brunswick, do you hold the Canadian people worthy of self-government?” Are the facts denied? If they are not, the inference, whatever it may be, presses on the objector with as much weight as on us. Worthy of self-government, we, for our part, do hold the Canadian people at present to be; and to see it restored to them by the liberation of the constituencies from the tyranny of the wirepullers, is our earnest, though perhaps chimerical, desire. Yet the education which they are receiving under the system of organized faction will have its effect, and in half a century, or less, the capacity for self-government may be lost. History presents examples of such decline. But why turn upon *THE BYSTANDER* with this reproach? Has anything appeared in our pages comparable in severity to what is constantly appearing elsewhere? Is there truth in a tithe of what the two parties say of each other through their organs every morning? If there is, the country must be in a bad way indeed. If there is not, our politicians on both sides must be steeped in calumny; and

the man who is steeped in calumny can hardly be in general respects a paragon of honour. We commend this dilemma to the consideration of the offended patriot. No doubt each party will aver that all is veracity on its own side and slander on the other; but supposing either party to be right, half the prospect is still left in the shade: and as the ascendancy of parties alternates, every other year on an average will be one of incapable and dishonest government.

In the *London Advertiser*, again, a writer of eminence protests against our assumption that in this country there are no issues great enough to justify a division of the community into organized parties. "The differences," he says, "with regard to a protective and a revenue tariff, about the absolute control by the Provincial governments and legislatures of Provincial matters, about the right to decide on foreign commercial relations, the right of the majority of the electors to elect a majority of the representatives in Parliament, the propriety of keeping the public lands out of the hands of speculators, the propriety of avoiding monopoly in the carrying trade of the country, are questions as large and as important as those which usually divide parties in other countries." But an inspection of this list will show that it is made up of two classes of questions, a class about which there can be no difference of opinion among honest men, and a class about which honest men may differ in opinion without having any occasion to form themselves into organized parties. To the first class belong the avoidance of monopoly in the carrying trade, purity in the disposal of the public lands, and fairness in the apportionment of parliamentary representation. To the second class belong the legal limit of central or provincial jurisdiction, and the regulation of fiscal policy. There are Radical Protectionists, many a one; there are Tory Free Traders; and the interpretation of the British North America Act no more involves party politics than does the interpretation of any other statute. People take that to which they have themselves always been accustomed for a part of the constitution of nature. Yet they do not accept the consequences of their own theory. To the party system the existence of two parties is necessary. Why then treat

the other party as evil? Why not recognise it as the complement of your own? Does one lung revile the other lung? Does the engine denounce the boiler?

It is forgotten that Canada herself was able to dispense for a time with that which is alleged to be indispensable. Faction having brought on a deadlock, a government without party was formed and carried Confederation. Yet there was no suspension of the political life of the community, nor any collapse of the administration. People rather look back upon that period as an agreeable respite from the endless strife. True, Party soon returned, but it was not brought back by the force of natural gravitation or by the spontaneous action of the people: it was brought back by the personal instrumentality of Mr. George Brown, and as a consequence of his quarrel with his colleagues. The people, far from hailing the revival of that which they were told was the only good and feasible system, were with difficulty driven back within the party lines, and displayed their gratitude to Mr. Brown by refusing to re-elect him to parliament and ejecting him from public life.

This discussion is not so unpractical as it seems: if it were we should not recur to it. There will, in all probability, before long be a break in the continuity of one of the Parties, which will give the nation the opportunity of reconsidering the system. The Conservative leader is always reminding us that the day of his public life is far spent, and the motley bands which he has managed to unite under his leadership can scarcely remain united under any other chief. Even if it were possible to find a successor equal to him in skill, it would be impossible to find one equal to him in knowledge of the game, or possessing anything like the multiplicity of personal connections which he has formed throughout the Dominion in the course of his long career. That the present leader of the Opposition will be strong enough at once to take Sir John Macdonald's place and to hold power with his own train of followers, becomes every day more unlikely. In spite of Mr. Blake's high character and undeniable ability, his hold upon the country does not increase. A crisis will come. The nation will be called upon to decide whether organizations which nature has

dissolved shall be artificially reconstructed for the purpose of keeping up perpetual strife, or whether a national government shall be established and the land be ruled in peace. Seeing then that a decisive hour is not far distant, let us prepare ourselves for it by purging our vision of the mists of conventional fancy and trying to see things as they are.

—Manitoba is at present strewn with the wrecks of a "Boom" and of a "Boom" in which there was as much of roguery as of madness. At Winnipeg, more of the newcomers are prospectors than emigrants; the emigrant, remembering the carnival of extortion of which the place was the scene last year, goes farther afield and takes his own provisions with him. Trade therefore is low while rents remain high, landlords having given "Boom" prices for the land. Summer and the influx of emigrants will soon put a brighter face on things. But Manitoba cannot afford to be weighted in the race with Minnesota and Dakota. Her harvests are her all; and scant is the time which her climate allows for getting them in: an accident to a binder, where the means of mending it are not at hand, may cause a farmer to lose his crop. With the Syndicate, so far as we can learn, no fault has been found; it has kept its faith, done its work well, and behaved honourably to everybody. But the Ottawa Government has fallen into errors like those into which Downing Street used to fall when it was managing the affairs of Colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. Nor are the land regulations and the land sales which have roused the wrath of the people the only bad effects. It is most essential that the first rulers and judges of a young community should be qualified to impress the character of society for good, and give sentiment the right tone; but party has, on both sides, made Manitoba a refuge for its destitute; indecency has disgraced the judgment seat, and Government House has hardly been free from land-gambling. The foundation stone of public morality has been laid by inauspicious hands, and in more than one direction the consequences are beginning to appear.

—A correspondent, whose word is decisive, tells us that we must not ascribe to despondency Mr. Joly's retirement from the Liberal leadership in Quebec; it was a measure of strategy adopted partly on account of his religion, which is that of the minority. But if the political situation is such as to make Mr. Joly's retirement a strategical necessity, though he may not despond, many friends of honest government will. There is a reform party in Quebec, and its efforts deserve the warmest sympathy. But can it hope to stem the tide of corruption? How can it make head against the influence of priests, who, for objects of their own, may put the votes of the peasantry into the hands of the political intriguers. The French Canadians are a moral, kindly, and courteous race, happy on little; life among them is very likely pleasanter than it is among people whose political reputation stands much higher. But they are fatally destitute of independence; nor is it easy to see how it can be infused into them without a complete change of the influences which determine their character, and of which the chief is the spirit of their religion. Yet the clergy had better beware how they continue blindly to lend the aid of their authority to political corruption: bankruptcy is a stern teacher, and in the overgrown wealth of the Church, Quebec, if she is reduced to desperation, will see a rich fund on the counterparts of which even the nations which have remained Catholic in doctrine have one after another laid confiscating hands. The Reformation itself was in no small measure an economical movement, caused by the inordinate growth of the Church property. A young politician who should dare to unfurl the banner of thorough disestablishment and disendowment in Quebec would stand alone at first, but he would have no unhopeful career before him.

—With manufactures, the introduction of which on a large scale into a country is always deemed the greatest triumph of commercial statesmanship and the height of national bliss, come the Factory Question and the necessity of guarding women and children, that is to say the health and vitality of the race, against

the fell demands of avarice. To those who, like ourselves, are Conservatives in questions of sex, the sight of a number of women, especially married women, employed in factory work is anything but a source of joy. We cling to the hope that some day, by improvements in automatic machinery, or some other beneficent agency, female labour may be rendered needless, and woman may be restored entirely to the home. In this, however, it must be owned our sentiment runs counter to the prevailing tendency, which is to turn women into weaker men and set them the same work as men, so far as their strength suffices. Some economists even look forward to the day when human wealth will, as they imagine, be doubled by adding to the labour of the men that of all the women. What they mean to do with the family does not appear. The Factory system, in the case of married women, can at best hardly be made compatible with domestic duty. Maternity must be sacrificed to Mammon, and the penalty of that sacrifice must be paid in the sickliness of the race. It is sad, but not surprising, to hear of an increased use of narcotics for the purpose of keeping children quiet while the mother is at the mill. Yet the Factory system we must have, and the most that can be done is to put breaks on the wheel of Juggernaut's car. The Government had better have spent the time left them in passing the Factory Bill, than in piling another Liquor Law on the Crook's Act. That women are for such purposes wards of the State, is denied by theorists such as Mill and Fawcett, who refuse, in the sphere of industry, as well as in the political and social sphere, to recognise the distinction of sex; but the conviction retains its hold on the common sense of the practical world. That children are for the purposes of a Factory Act the wards of the State, nobody denies, nor does anybody question the terrible effects of setting them to work beyond their strength, for too long a time or in unwholesome air. Feeble and sickly, they will become parents in their turn of children feebler and more sickly than themselves. Heart-rending and disgraceful to civilization were the disclosures which caused the Factory Act to be passed in England; and the delegates of the Toronto Trades, when they went to Ottawa to advocate legislation, found, as they reported, a practical proof of its

necessity in an establishment where two hundred children were employed in a manner injurious to their health. The requirements of proper sanitary arrangements in factories, and proper means of escape in case of fire, everybody will approve. To dub protective legislation of this kind socialistic is preposterous. It bears no affinity, nor does it in any way commit us, to the chimeras of the Socialist, to his scheme of substituting a central taskmaster for industrial liberty, or to his tyrannical interference with the private discretion of citizens competent to take care of their own interests, much less to any of his theories of confiscation. We might as well apply the name of Socialism to an intramural interment Act, to a law requiring proper means of egress from the theatres, or to the guardianship exercised by the Court of Chancery over lunatics and minors. It would be hard if, while the master manufacturer is protected against the community, the community were to be debarred from protecting the health of its women and children against the selfishness of the master manufacturer. Nobody is accused of wilful cruelty ; but there are employers who are in haste to grow rich.

The weak point of such a measure is that so much is almost inevitably left to depend on the inspector. We follow somewhat blindly in the track of British legislation ; but the circumstances of the two countries are not the same. Great Britain still retains much of the character of an administrative monarchy. Central departments, such as the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board, continue to exercise powers to which there is hardly anything analogous in the communities of this continent. Moreover, at the head of each department is a permanent Secretary, who for all ordinary purposes is the Minister, and who, as he does not go out with the Government, is independent of party, and as inaccessible to clandestine influence as any judge. Under such a system perfect reliance may well be placed in the integrity of the inspectors, who are appointed with scrupulous regard to the interest of the public service and, if they forgot their duty, would be called to account before a tribunal of inflexible justice. Under a system widely different, and in which everything has been absorbed by party, the same confidence cannot be felt. It is true

that we have trustworthy inspectors : Toronto, we believe, has no reason to complain of any want of uprightness or vigilance on the part of Mr. Awde. But when it comes to enforcing an unpalatable law against a mighty and combined interest, which forms the chief pillar of a party government, the courage and virtue of the inspector will be more severely tried. Here again a text might be found for a sermon in favour of national government.

Besides the want of provisions for their health and safety, the women in our factories complain that they are underpaid ; and appeals to public sympathy have been made by the press on their behalf. But this is an evil for which legislation has no cure, because it arises from the overstocking of the labour market. The overstocking of the labour market, again, has its source partly in the prevailing antipathy to domestic service. Women prefer independence, with liberty to do as they please in the evenings, to the better fare and greater comfort which they might enjoy as cooks or housemaids in a private family. Such a taste is not unnatural, and it derives strength from the democratic sentiment. But those who choose to indulge it must be prepared to take the consequences. Wages will rise when the number of applicants for employment is reduced. It is very likely that one of the first consequences of female suffrage will be an attempt to raise the wages of women by legislation ; but the result will only show that philanthropy fights in vain against nature. We have learned to recognise physical law ; we shall gradually learn to recognise economic law, and become sensible that in both cases we can control only by submission.

—The mention of the Servant difficulty is like the opening of a seal in the Apocalypse. It is followed by a universal wail. We have pointed probably to the main source of these troubles in naming the democratic sentiment which makes the female citizen unwilling to call anybody mistress. The feeling shows itself even in outward habiliments. The dress of the waiting woman here is an attempt to vie with her mistress, while in France, at least in provincial France, the servant wears the dress of her calling, and

is no more ashamed of it than a soldier is ashamed of his uniform. Democracy, if it is ever destined to ripen into gentleness, is at present crude and harsh: we have not yet learned to reconcile moral and political equality with industrial subordination; and the classes whose lot was subjection in the Old World are paying off their scores against the governing classes here. Even the Old World, however, has ceased to be a paradise of the mistresses, as is shown by the jeremiads of poor Mrs. Carlyle, whose letters we have elsewhere noticed, and who walked all her life through the shadow of the valley of domestic difficulty. Fractiousness, impertinence, inebriety, uncleanness, wholesale smashing of glass and china—that consort of a great teacher endured them all, and the annals of her affliction may afford a melancholy satisfaction to her Canadian fellow sufferers. There are, indeed, in England, or have been within living memory, households presenting the relation between master and servant in its fairest aspect, not as a mere commercial engagement, but as a sort of secondary kinship; households in which the constant attention of the master and mistress to the welfare of their domestics was repaid by the attachment of servants, who entirely identified themselves with the interest of their employers, considered themselves as members of the family, and thought of no other home, knowing that provision would not fail to be made for them in their old age. But English society has changed; instead of being stationary and quiet, life has become migratory and restless; servants are discharged when the family goes to town or abroad; the tie for the most part has become wholly commercial; and if a household of the ancient type is anywhere to be found, it is a relic and an oasis. In the controversy which has been going on here, the mistresses have accused the girls of insolence and impertinence; the girl has retorted with charges of intemperance and family discord. Intemperance is not likely to be common, and family discord is an evil which affects the belligerents more than their domestics; while it is certain that the complaints on the other side are in many cases well founded, and that kindness and liberality are often met by increased aggressiveness and an apparent delight in giving trouble. Yet it is as foolish, if you are a domestic, not to be a good

one, as it would be to cultivate inferiority in any other calling. Perhaps in managing a household there is an art which depends, in some measure, on early habit, and which at the time of life when many make their fortunes it may be too late to acquire. Nor do all understand the secret of scrupulous abstinence, even when called upon to find fault, from any word that can wound feeling. However, there are well-ordered and attached households in Canada as well as elsewhere.

—In the Report of the Toronto Conference of the Combined Charities, of which part is appended to this number, the Conference, with a reluctance which may well be believed to be unfeigned, intimates its opinion that it has become necessary to establish a public institution and a public officer for the relief of the poor. This sounds like the knell of a happy state of immunity; but the nations of the New World have lived fast, and commercial prosperity is always attended by its dark shadow. That Poverty has advanced with Progress, as the apostle of Agrarian Socialism assumes, is utterly untrue. Not only has the number of those who are well off enormously increased, but the proportion of the indigent to those who are well off has enormously diminished, and the lot even of the most indigent has become far less miserable than it was in those days when famine, plague and leprosy, as well as brutish ignorance and barbarism, were the familiar inmates of the hovel. That production has been multiplied manifold nobody can doubt; and what is produced is consumed, all the more certainly since the facilities of distribution have kept pace, thanks to the railway and the steamship, with the facilities of production, and there can be no longer, as there was in the Middle Ages, dearth in one district of a country while there is plenty in another. It is preposterous to form a general estimate of the homes of this continent from a comparison drawn between Vanderbilt's palace and the worst tenement-houses of New York. Still, where over-population is gathered in large masses, there must be a certain amount of failure, infirmity, disease, decrepitude and intemperance; the vicissitudes of commerce and industry

on a large scale must give birth to cases of individual misfortune. The length of the close season in this climate presses hard on industry; and a summer's improvidence, which is almost pardonable, often leads to winter suffering. Moreover, the pauperism of the Old World is being constantly thrown upon our shores. There is happily no need for darkening the smiling prospects of our land with the Bastiles, as they are somewhat unjustly nicknamed, which mar the loveliness of the English landscape. But there is need, and in our great cities pressing need, for the institution of some relieving agency more regular, more certain, and more responsible than private charity, whether it be that of individual citizens or of charitable corporations. It appears from the report of the Toronto Conference that thirty or forty persons are annually committed to the gaol, for no offence, but to give them shelter and save them from starvation. Innocent, and perhaps respectable misfortune is thus sent, it may be after a long life of hard labour, to herd with crime. It also appears that in one month three hundred persons were fain to take shelter for the night in the different police stations of the city. Private charity will go on: it is the most suitable as well as the most Christian way of dealing with a multitude of cases, including that bitterest of all kinds of indigence, the indigence of those who have known better days, and to whom to beg is as hateful as death. It is with waifs, hopeless wrecks, and castaways who might otherwise starve on the street that the relieving officer will have to deal. He will have, with the aid of the police, to maintain order, which no private person can maintain, among the inmates, often rough and turbulent, of a casual ward. He will also have to forward wanderers to their homes or destinations, which there are at present no regular means of doing, though that duty and indeed the duties of a relieving officer in general are incongruously cast upon the Chief Magistrate of a great city. But here the action of the legislature will be needed to prevent the country districts from shipping off their pauperism to the cities, and to compel each county to take care of its own poor. To talk of making the Churches the organs of charity, in such cases as the Conference has in view, is surely futile. How are you to inquire into the Church membership of a

waif who presents himself late at night and famishing at your door?

The Toronto Conference has applied the labour test with success to tramps. It is the only mode of dealing with those cases, nor can it be feared that the work done by them in a stone-yard, or in some equally coarse employment, will seriously compete with the industry of our regular workers. Fed they must be, and the only question is whether the community shall bear the burden of feeding them for nothing, or whether they shall earn their bread. The tramp is not necessarily bad: he is often merely restless; indisposed to settled industry, but capable of being put to uses of another kind. In Europe he would become a soldier: it was of such men, and often of men much more nearly akin to the criminal class, that the victorious armies of Marlborough and Wellington were composed. Discipline and service under a great commander turned the vagabond into a "Corporal Trim." We have fortunately little demand for soldiers. Would it be possible to form a regiment of government workmen to which the tramp might be committed, and where he might be placed, not indeed under the elevating influences of military honour, but, at least, under the schooling of military discipline?

—It might be thought that both in the United States and Canada the community was dependent on alms, if one were to judge from the anxiety with which the opening of every will is watched, to see what the dead man has left to charities. Testamentary munificence is represented as a public obligation, to be enforced by the penalty of a thinly attended funeral. Sir Hugh Allan's funeral, we are told, would have been thinly attended if it had been known that his will contained no charitable bequests. There may be persons, whose aim in death as in life is show, who think with pride of the train of hacks which will follow their hearses, as well as of the mountains of marble under which they will lie, vainly soliciting with their epitaphs a sympathy which, if it ever was felt for them, has long grown cold; and for these the threat of a quiet and unnoted mingling of

dust with dust may have its terrors. For those whose nature is such as to make them charitable on principle, it can have none. The belief that your memory will live in the hearts of the few who have known you well, till they too are gone, is pleasant and a spur to well-doing; but no man of any depth of character can think without repugnance of the crowd of formal mourners who go back chatting and laughing from the grave. Dare we say that old Sir Hugh Allan, though certainly no object of adoration, is rather exalted in our eyes by his indifference to what is called public sentiment? He did with the earnings of his industry that which, rightly or wrongly, he thought just. The earnings of his industry they were, and the interest of the capital which his daring had risked, not, as censorious philanthropy represents them, gains wrung from the labour of others. So long as he gave his men fair wages, paid for all the goods he used, and acted fairly, he owed nothing on that score to the community. Rather they were in his debt for whom the enterprise organized by him and set on foot with his capital found employment which they could not have found for themselves. Language is beginning in some quarters to be held upon these subjects which is likely to defeat its own object. There are persons so conscious of the duties of property, that they may almost be called voluntary communists, who would yet, in the broad interest of society, set their faces against moral confiscation. Men will not strive to make money unless they are allowed to enjoy it with freedom; and unless men strive to make money, industrial enterprise will expire, and those who live by it will be deprived of their bread.

—The President of the Bank of Montreal, who is installed as our commercial weather-prophet, has opened his mouth in sayings which have the due prophetic cast of ambiguity. Over-production, and present dulness of business he notes as certain facts: for the rest he bids us hope yet fear. So Sibylline is his art that we should be puzzled to say what it is which makes us feel that there is more sincerity in the expression of fear than in that of hope. For our part, as humbler seers, we prefer to reserve our predictions

till we shall have received inspiration from the event. Tell us whether the harvest is good, and the lumber trade active; we will then forecast the commercial future. The root of all wisdom in these matters, we venture to think, is a clear and sober estimate of the real productive powers of the country, and the actual extent of its market. It is surprising to see how men of great practical ability and skill in business seem to lose their hold of this simple truth, and to treat a country which has no sources of wealth but its agriculture and its lumber, as though, by some magical process of development combined with robust advertising, it could be tickled into unlimited production and endowed with purchasing power equally unbounded. Into over-speculation, over-importation, over-borrowing, and over-building of railways, it has been tickled and may be tickled again. The President, like everyone else, speaks of the North-West as a part of Canada, and of its wealth as Canadian wealth. It does at present afford Canada a new market and a new field for investment, while it takes from her many of her best farmers and the money which they carry away. But seas divide land from land, and it is not salt alone that makes a sea. The people in the North-West speak of the East as "Canada."

—A movement is on foot in Toronto for the foundation of Sisterhoods, while from Montreal comes a practical warning against shutting up girls in nunneries. It would seem that the cenobitic life ought to have its uses, if these could be disengaged from superstitious abuse. Of women there must be not a few who have passed the age for marriage, have no family circle or domestic employment, feel a lack of interest in life and would find in a sisterhood companionship, increased comfort and facilities for association in good works. Even among men there are some unsuited either for domestic life or for living alone in the world, with reclusive pursuits, yet desiring and needing society. Every Oxford or Cambridge College could show in the list of its Fellows some specimens of this class. Bacon dreamed of a cenobitic life for the purpose of scientific research, and Renan seems to have a vision

of the same kind. Some day this idea will be taken up in a practical form. But there is nothing in it ecclesiastical, much less is there anything ascetic, at least if asceticism is taken to imply the propitiation of the Deity by self-torture or privation. There are convents in which the nun is absolutely immured for life, never being permitted to see the world from the time of her entrance into the cloister. This does not differ in kind, though it differs in degree, from the practices of the African Pillar Saint or the Indian Fakir. Perpetual vows and the seclusion, which is virtually the imprisonment for life, of young women are things which some day, when the world is not so much afraid as it is now of the Catholic vote, will be brought under the cognizance of law. No Protestant fanaticism is needed to make us believe that nunneries must contain many an unhappy inmate, the victim of a rash vow; nor is the case improved, if the captive spirit, instead of beating against the bars, sinks into a vacant apathy which can hardly be called life. That these institutions are engines of great power in the hands of priests, both for the extension of ecclesiastical influence and for the collection of money is evident enough: and there will always be a tendency to establish them or something like them on the part of every priesthood which finds itself in need of props. Community of religion, apart from asceticism, is a natural bond, and one which may be fruitful of good works, as well as of brotherly and sisterly feeling. The only thing to be said against it is, that in the case of women especially, it is almost inevitably connected with absolute submission to sacerdotal influence, to which Protestants necessarily object, though Roman Catholics, or High Anglicans, do not. If we are to have nunneries, it seems better on the whole that they should be Roman Catholic. The Church of Rome, recognising the monastic system, regulates it by laws, with proper authorities to enforce them; it thus guards against certain dangers, and while it deprives the nun of her liberty, exempts her from the tyranny of individual caprice. In an Anglican nunnery, which is unrecognised by the Church and therefore uncontrolled by law, there are no such securities; a sister must be left to the will of the superior or of the clergyman in whose hands she is; and those who remember a controversy which broke

out in England some time ago about the administration of a nunnery by Miss Sellon, Dr. Pusey's female lieutenant, and led to disclosures on the part of one of the inmates, will be sensible, to say the least, that there are perils in that direction.

—Canadian literature, in the limited space at our command, must, for the time, give place to Canadian politics. There are several works relating to the history of this country, with which we hope soon to deal, collectively, and in connection with their general subject. In the meantime, we can venture to say of Mr. Collins's *Life and Times of Sir John A. Macdonald*, that while men will differ and differ widely in opinion about its judgments, according to the party to which each reader belongs, nobody can fail to find it lively reading. We can do no more than salute Canadian Drama in M. Frechette's "Thunderbolt," and Mr. Allen's dramatic poem on the "Loves of Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson." In criticism, we note Mr. Dawson's "Study of Tennyson's *Princess*," careful, tasteful, and eliciting at least the full meaning of the poem. *Vera*, the authoress of *Honor Edgeworth*, promises to be a sprightly writer, and she has a curious field of social observation in the little Court of Ottawa. But to be a critic she must preserve her social independence. There is a passage of Viceroyalty-worship in her book which once more shows us what effect is produced on character by the atmosphere of Rideau Hall.

—The Royal Society has held its second session, which would probably have been its last, had not a cordial been given it in the shape of a grant of money from the overflowing coffers of the Finance Minister. The literary section in itself shows no signs of life: the scientific section may possibly find work in chronicling the fruits of strictly local research, though papers of a wider scope are sure, if they are worth anything, to find a place in the regular organs of the scientific world. There is life enough, on the other hand, in the Royal Academy, and the exhibition of this year is generally pronounced successful. Still we feel our limitations. The best pictures are simple transcripts of Canadian scenery;

and wood, water, autumn tints, and gorgeous sunsets ever recurring begin to pall. We have no "old poetic mountains," to breathe inspiration, nor anything historic or romantic to lend a human interest to the scene. If we could even give birth to a Turner, the materials for his imagination to work upon would be wanting. In the Exhibition there are good paintings of flowers, but this at best is a lowly kind of art. There is one exhibitor at least who, rising into a higher sphere, tells a story and tells it well, if only this gift were wedded with the command of the technicalities necessary to freedom and force of treatment; the hand here fails the mind.

—In the United States, each of the two parties is looking about for principles and questions to justify its existence and supply it with materials for a platform. The Republicans are at the same time engaged in endeavouring, without much success, to heal the desperate quarrel between their two sections, the Half Breeds and the Stalwarts, the difference between which is really fundamental, so that there is nothing but a name and a tradition to keep them in the same camp. The only great issue before the nation, in truth, is that of Administrative Reform, which the Half Breeds advocate and to which the Stalwarts are opposed. The issues of the war are now thoroughly dead, though in each political caste there lingers the odour of the liquor which filled it a quarter of a century ago. The Democratic party was the party of Slavery and the Irish, the Irish in the North having been the paid retainers of the Southern oligarchy which, in requital for their support of its institutions, gave the North up to them for pillage. It is now, Slavery being out of the way, the party of the Irish alone; at least it embraces no other interest equally powerful and united; so that its victory would open the way for Irish ascendancy and for a series of attempts, which would infallibly follow, to force the United States into a quarrel with Great Britain. The question between Protection and Free Trade is undoubtedly exciting more interest now that the war and its consequences are forgotten, and to a certain extent the division upon it co-

incides with the party lines. The Democrats are most in favour of Free Trade, a tendency perpetuated from the time when the Southerners were the ruling element of the party and there were no manufacturers in the South: but the Democrats of Pennsylvania are manufacturers, and when the signal is given to advance under the banner of Free Trade, they always break the ranks. It would be a singular and impressive lesson on the tendencies of organized faction as a system of government, if by a division between two bodies of native Americans, for which no real ground or justification can any longer be assigned, the country were to be delivered into the hands of a horde of foreigners, who do not even profess that their hearts belong to their adopted country, whose avowed objects are anti-national, and of whose influence, whatever vote-seeking politicians and enslaved journals may say in public, every loyal and respectable citizen speaks in private with terror and disgust. If the Republican party were to declare itself in favour of a stricter naturalization law, the step would be daring, but the real state of opinion among native Americans being what it is, it might in the end prove not unwise.

—Three warning bells have tolled. At Chicago, an arch ruffian has been elected by ruffians, and out of sympathy with his ruffianism, mayor for the third time. If, as is said, respectability was supine, this does not much mend the matter, and it leaves untouched the fact that the suffrage is to a fearful extent in the worst hands. That the exercise of the franchise in itself elevates and enlightens the possessor, is a pleasant theory; but no doubt many of the supporters of the Chicago demagogue, like the mass of the supporters of Andrew Jackson, had exercised the franchise all their days. Can a tolerable government be based on such constituencies as that of Chicago? It cannot, and if the whole country were a Chicago, revolution and anarchy would be at hand: happily the whole country is not a Chicago, and the farmers of Illinois would, in extremity, take arms against the rowdies and put them down with ease. Yet this triumph of rowdyism is ominous. The greatest danger of the Union, though it does not yet appear in

its full magnitude upon the surface, is a collision between American civilization and the forces of barbarism, mainly foreign, by which it is assailed, such as would kindle the flame of local civil war.

The investigation into the management of the Tewkesbury Alms-house, again, unless the testimonies, which appear conclusive, should hereafter be contradicted, will have revealed the limited efficacy of agencies on which we have been in the habit of relying as all-sufficient to make the people moral. Here, in Massachusetts, the mother of the public school system, the focus of all the enlightenment which can be produced by lectures, public libraries, and intellectual apparatus of every kind, are persons educated enough to be placed in positions of public trust, yet at heart savages, and not only savages, but fiends. With cruelty to the helpless living is combined the perpetration of execrable outrages on the dead.

The third of the warning bells is the disclosure, in a paper contributed by Mr. Joseph Cook to the *Journal of Education*, of wide spread and growing illiteracy. Of the fifty millions of people, Mr. Cook says, five millions cannot read; of ten millions of voters one in five cannot write his name; at the present rate of increase of the number of children not attending school there will be, in ten years, more children in the United States out of school than in them. Ignorance is not always vice any more than Tewkesbury education is virtue; but it fatally incapacitates for the intelligent exercise of political power. In this apparently disastrous balance sheet of the public school system, the influx of uneducated foreigners, as well as the negro element, no doubt, goes for a good deal. Yet the system itself, indispensable and almost above discussion, as we must for the present deem it, is human and not divine. It kills the sense of duty in the parent, who is materially bound to educate as well as to feed and clothe the children whom he brings into the world, while experience seems to teach that what is gratuitous is less valued, and that attendance is better with a moderate fee. As to compulsion, though it may be practicable under the strong governments of Europe, it appears to be impracticable in communities like these.

—In the Fenian Convention at Philadelphia, dynamite was not denounced; to denounce it would have been to cut off the supplies: but silence was kept about it in deference, perhaps, to the opinions of American associates, who would be sure to whisper that Satanism openly avowed was unsuited to the American market. The assembly indemnified itself by a tremendous explosion of rhetoric in the shape of a manifesto, charging the government over which Mr. Gladstone at present presides, and over which before him Grey, Peel, Melbourne, and Russell presided, with being in the habit of wantonly massacring whole communities, applying the blazing torch to the asylums of terrified women, bombarding helpless towns, butchering age and infirmity, racking and hanging venerable priests, impaling pining babes on the point of bayonets, and when sword, cannon, torch, dagger and explosive fail, deliberately employing the agency of famine for the execution of its purposes. The manifesto does not explain how it comes to pass that whenever famine approaches, Ireland at once holds out her hand to the contrivers of the calamity for relief, suspending her curses till she has been fed, when she renews them with greater energy than ever. Carlyle said, after hearing O'Connell speak, that every sentence seemed not only to be, but to know that it was, a detected lie. There is little use in criticising the calumnies of delirium; but it happens that the chief of the venerable priests, whom it is the pastime of the British government to rack and hang, has just avowed that in no other country where the ruling powers are not Catholic, is the Catholic Church placed on so good a footing, or so liberally treated. English fomenters of the Irish Revolution, however, may ask themselves whether the sympathy with the Irish, of the lack of which they accuse their own countrymen, is likely to be evoked by a perpetual torrent of savage slander. The effect of this oratorical bombardment upon England is not difficult to predict. The old ship which through the centuries has borne the battering of shotted guns till her masts were gone and her decks ran with blood, will not be sunk nor compelled to strike her flag by guns, which, though their roar is tremendous, are not shotted. The effect upon opinion in the United States can be calculated with equal certainty. Some of

the Americans may yet be sufficiently under the dominion of an ancient hate to lend a ready ear to any invectives against the elder portion of their race which do not pass the bounds of sanity; few of them can be sufficiently devoid of sense to lend a ready ear to the ravings of a malignant Bedlam. They begin apparently to have misgivings as to the clearness of the connection between misgovernment and Irish outrage since they see that a violent outbreak of crime, together with a furious eruption of hatred, follows immediately upon measures of remedial legislation, which interfere with the rights of property in the interest of the peasantry to an extent such as would never have been tolerated in the United States. They ask themselves whether the butchering of men before the eyes of their wives, the slaughter of an inoffensive boy in his mother's arms, the burning of widows' houses, and the cutting off of cows' udders are things which can either be justified by any recent conduct of the British government, or palliated by the calamitous incidents of feudal conquest, the religious wars which enveloped Ireland with the rest of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and other events nearly as remote from the present day as the catastrophes of the geological era. They remember the Anti-draft riots, in which the Irishman committed the same devilish atrocities under the constitution of the United States, which he is now committing under that of the United Kingdom; and if they live in a city they are made sensible every hour that Irish character is a thing entirely separable from the malign influence of Dublin Castle. The fact is perhaps dawning on their minds that all the communities of the English-speaking race have a common interest in repressing a domination which threatens with ruin their politics and their civilization. The Americans are also startled, and with good reason, by the attitude which the Irish openly assume, and which is not that of citizens bound to think only of the interests of their adopted country, but that of aliens and exiles, using their acquired privileges and powers simply as engines for the purpose of sustaining a war of assassination in Ireland. "We shall continue to instil venom in every land against these (British) plunderers of the world. It is the duty of every Irishman to bring about a war

between the United States and Great Britain. Put Irishmen in high places—into the State legislatures, into National offices, into the cabinet of the United States—and they will do their work well.” So spoke amidst loud applause an Irish orator who had been a Senator of the State of New York, and in whose mouth the words were nothing less than an instigation to treason against the country to the citizenship of which he had been admitted. It would not be wonderful if a more stringent enforcement of the naturalization law were to be the outcome of this attempt to turn the power of the United States into a Thug-knife of Irish hatred.

Neither from the Convention at Philadelphia nor from any other Irish source comes a hint of the port into which the pilots of the Revolution intend to put—of the form of government which they mean to establish in Ireland when the Union has been dissolved, and for which they expect in the twinkling of an eye to secure the allegiance of all the races, Churches and parties, Celts, Scotchmen, Englishmen, Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, priests wedded to monarchy, Constitutional Liberals, and American Invincibles whose aim is a more than Red Republic. What the actual result would be nobody doubts; it would be a chaos of hatreds, rivalries, cupidities and chimeras; a scene of mutual treachery and of mutual denunciation; an outburst of murderous vengeance against all Protestants and men of English or Scotch blood; a British intervention and a reconquest.

Appeals to the comity of nations made by certain British journals unfortunately reawaken in the American breast the recollection of the part played by those journals and by an aristocratic faction in England during the civil war in the United States. Once more, Great Britain sees what she owes to Lord Salisbury and the members of the Southern Club. On the other hand, Americans should remember that in that death-struggle between Slave-owning Oligarchy and Liberty, England was too deeply concerned to remain indifferent and neutral; that her people were divided by the same line which divided the people of the United States; and that in the decisive hour when the French Empire proposed joint intervention, the party of liberty prevailed. The material injury has been more than made good. At all events, let the

Anglo-Saxon communities adjourn their quarrels till the civilization of all of them has been rescued from the common peril.

As to the main seat of the Irish malady, our diagnosis remains unchanged. It is true, memories of ancient strife, of the dispossession of the weaker race by the stronger, and of religious feuds in which each sect slaughtered or proscribed the other, still hang over the scene, embitter the agrarian disputes, and form a reservoir from which demagogism draws streams of poison to be infused into the soul of the people. But these by themselves would soon evaporate in rhetoric and cease to envenom. That which gives them their noxious power, and is itself the real cause of the difficulty, is the economical evil. It is the overgrowth of a population subsisting, in districts which will not produce grain, on a low kind of food, bad for storage, and liable to failure. For this there is no remedy but emigration, and such emigration as will not only stave off famine for the moment, but clear the districts, and make them what nature intended them to be, a grazing country, supplying meat and dairy produce to the markets of Great Britain. The sentimental grievances about which much nonsense is being talked, would cure themselves as soon as the inhabitants of Ireland became thrifty and civilized. Absenteeism has been a curse, though really it prevails in some parts of England now almost as much as in Ireland. Whatever legislation can righteously do to separate Irish from English estates ought to be done. But residence would spontaneously increase if the safety of life and property could be restored, and investments could be made secure. If any great political grievances exist, the fault rests on the Irish members themselves, who for many years held the balance between parties in the House of Commons, and might practically have carried anything they pleased, but chose rather to cherish grievances as political capital than strenuously to seek their removal. Of the two ablest exponents of Irish wrongs, one can only point to the want of perfect local self-government which prevents the police from being handed over, as liberal principles prescribe, to the undetected accomplices of Mr. Councillor Carey, while the other complains that the Procrustean pedantry of the British forbids his countrymen to gratify their special tastes for homicide

and for arbitrary government. We are not sure that with regard to the last point the advocate has not right on his side. For a time, at least, a mild dictatorship might for Celtic and Roman Catholic Ireland be the best form of Home Rule.

In the Pope's manifesto against the Parnell Fund we have the final bill of divorce between Catholicism and Fenianism. So much, at all events, has been gained since the days when a Papal emissary was sent over to organize religious rebellion in Ireland, and joyfully reported to his master the slaughter of Protestants by the army of Phelim O'Neil. Fenians, of course, declare that the intervention was solicited by the British Government: assertions cost them nothing, not even the assertion that the assassination of Cavendish and Burke was contrived by the landlords for the purpose of casting odium on the League. No British ministry could live an hour under a well-grounded imputation of having solicited foreign intervention of any kind. Lord Grenville is a man of perfect honour, and what he has said about Mr. Errington's position may be implicitly believed. Nothing can be more natural than the action of the Pope: it is only surprising that he should have delayed so long. Whatever may be the doctrinal character of his Church, it must, at all events, like other Christian churches, be founded in morality, and can have no fellowship, except to its manifest ruin, with outrage, conspiracy and murder. Besides this the Pope is the spiritual head of the Conservative interest in Europe, and he is well enough informed to know both that American Fenianism, which holds the purse, is the animating spirit of the movement, and that the American Fenian fights for the Red Republic. Leo, is not like Pius, a fanatic propelled by Jesuits, but an Italian statesman: he is embarrassed by the disastrous legacy of his predecessor's pretensions, but whenever his own tendencies appear, they are in favour of a good understanding with established governments. He seems to be sagacious enough to read the moral of the times, and to perceive that the bark of Peter is on a lee shore. His authority, though flouted by Fenianism, can hardly fail to control the clergy and that large section of the Irish people, over which, especially in Ireland itself, the clergy still has influence. With one or two exceptions the

Irish hierarchy is already opposed to Fenianism ; and it would be more reasonable to believe that the Bishops had invited the Pope to strengthen their hands than that the British Government had invoked his mediation. It is true, that, of the inferior clergy, drawn from the peasantry and imbued with the sentiments of that class, not a few are Land Leaguers and Nationalists, though none can be Invincibles. It is true, also, that the whole order is compelled, by dependence upon the people for its stipends, to keep terms, as well as it can, with every popular movement. Yet even against the personal inclination of the priest and at the peril of loss of income, the Pope will in all probability be obeyed. These are not the days of mere Papal primacy or even of mere supremacy, in which, when the Pontiff threatened clerical contumacy with his ban, he could be told that if he excommunicated Florence, Florence would excommunicate him. Loss of secular support, combined with growing dangers in every quarter, has compelled the Roman Catholic Church to have recourse, in self-defence, to a spiritual centralization, which was consummated in the dogma of Infallibility, and which has made the Pope not only her dictator but her earthly God. At present an excommunicated prelate would be morally as well as ecclesiastically extinct.

In the House of Commons, those who love England are still doomed to witness the same calamitous and ignominious scene. Patriotism, in the hour of national peril, has miserably succumbed to faction, and Conservatives are not more ashamed than Radical adherents of the Irish vote to co-operate with rebellion for the subversion of the government. If any practical warning can have influence with the blind upholders of the party system, surely it is the fate of the British Parliament, which seems to be falling before a conspiracy, numbering scarcely thirty members, but abetted by the baseness of party on both sides. Too plainly does it appear that if Irish grievances are not redressed, the failure is due to want of will in the Irish members, not to their lack of power. The new rules from which so much was expected, have done little ; obstruction only diffuses itself and assumes a somewhat less tangible guise : a change in formal regulations was not likely to be effective while the spirit of the assembly remained unchanged. If

Sir Robert Peel were leading the Opposition in place of Sir Stafford Northcote, something might, no doubt, be done ; but Sir Stafford Northcote is leading the Opposition in place of Sir Robert Peel. That high-souled preference of the country and the public service to all personal and party interests, which reconciled Opposition with loyalty and patriotism, sleeps, with the power which could control the minor imps of faction, in the great leader's grave. The Conservative party has undergone training in a different school. Lord Randolph Churchill, in his attempt to reproduce, at the expense of Sir Stafford Northcote, the political assassination of Peel by Disraeli, has met the fate of imitators ; but he may be assumed to have carefully studied the practice of the statesman whom he has taken as his model, and whom in his article on "Elijah's Mantle," he holds up as an example. "Obtain the victory, know how to follow it up, leave the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness to critics,"—"take office whenever it suits you, but put the government in a minority whenever you decently can"—"whenever, by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, it is compelled to support the Government, the support should be given with a kick and not with a caress, and should be withdrawn at the first available moment"—such are the maxims in which Lord Beaconsfield's policy is summed up by the worshipper of his memory. Beyond all doubt, the representation is authentic : this is the veritable mantle of that Elijah ; and it has fallen not only on Lord Randolph Churchill but on every sharper in London. What the ordinary sharper lacks in order to win eminence and the Garter, is only the ampler sphere. No prudent man of business would take into his service a clerk whose principles he knew to be as low as those which are ascribed by the most trustworthy authority to the paragon of party tacticians. How is it possible under such a system that patriotism should exist or that a nation should be carried safely through the hour of peril ?

It is only in the conduct of the Irish trials that England still commands respect. The admiration of Americans is extorted by the swift and certain march of British justice, which while it gives every man a perfectly fair trial, is baffled by no technical chicane, and inflicts the penalty with the promptitude necessary

to the efficacy of the example. It appears that British statesmen are preparing to introduce the principle of appeal in cases of murder. Whatever is requisite to preclude the wrongful infliction of the death penalty, ought to be done; though there has very seldom been reason to suspect that the death penalty had been wrongfully inflicted. But a warning against the abuse of technicalities for the purpose of sheltering guilt or staving off execution will be found in the United States, where no life seems so safe as that of a murderer, and the upshot of the system may almost be said to be impunity for homicide tempered by Lynch law. Even if a final conviction is obtained, execution is deferred so long that the example loses all its force.

—In the rejection of the Affirmation Bill by the British House of Commons, religion has gained a victory which by sincerely religious men will be celebrated in sackcloth and ashes. Tens, and perhaps hundreds, of thousands are now wavering between belief and unbelief. To all of these it is proclaimed that religion cannot afford to dispense with a political test, and a political test so utterly tainted and discredited by the lips which have taken it in avowed mockery or in thinly veiled hypocrisy, that it is difficult to see how any genuine Christian can regard it with any feeling but abhorrence. What can be imagined more offensive to a spiritual mind than a defence of God by such a theologian as Lord Randolph Churchill, who displays his appetite for place with as little shame as a dog displays its hunger for a bone. Great dishonor has been brought on Christendom; yet let it not be forgotten that it was the chief of Christian statesmen who moved the abolition of the test, and that he was supported by the truest followers of Jesus. The question has served as a criterion of spirituality. Nobody who knows the characters of Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning can have been surprised to hear that the first was in favour of the Affirmation Bill, and that the second was opposed to it. Bradlaugh's personal behaviour has been so reprehensible, his character is so repulsive, his preachings and those of his partner, Mrs. Besant, have so shocked

public morality, he is so closely connected with the coarsest attacks, not only on the doctrines of Christianity, but on the feelings of all Christians, that a battle, fought apparently in his cause, was fought at the greatest possible disadvantage; and the feeling against his admission, the strength of which was admitted by Mr. Gladstone, may be fairly ascribed, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, to motives less odious than intolerance. But this excuse will not avail the cynical politicians, who, while they laugh in their sleeves at the popular ferment, have turned it to the purpose of their worldly and unscrupulous ambition. How much had the yell of triumph, which these men raised over the rejection of the Bill, in common with the accents of the teacher of Galilee? The Conservative leader is so pitiably weak that it is almost ungenerous to reproach him; but he has given us one more proof that weakness in a high position is a crime: charity cannot credit him with obtuseness enough not to know that he sacrifices the interests of Christianity to those of his party. It is unhappily no new thing to see the State Church of England proclaiming by her acts that The Lord's Kingdom is of this world, and cannot stand without the help of political power; and the protest of a minority of the Bishops and Clergy must be welcomed as a set-off against the abject Erastianism of the mass. The Irish cast a large vote on the side of intolerance; their main object no doubt was to stab the Liberal government, which takes the bread out of the mouths of political incendiaries by improving the lot of the Irish people; but they are also utterly alien at heart to true liberty, as the conduct of their American brethren in the Slavery question showed. Mr. Hubbard, a Ritualist from the City, presented a petition against the abolition of the Test, signed by "Christians and Hebrews" of the Stock Exchange. Jews, themselves newly emancipated, have not failed to show on this occasion what the tendency of Judaism is. One of their number, the Baron de Worms, graciously bade Mr. Gladstone go to the country with the cry of "Bradlaugh and Blasphemy." In love of mental liberty, the Baron has not degenerated from the partisans of Caiaphas. The Christians and Hebrews of the Stock Exchange no doubt worship at heart the same God, and alike re-

gard the Test as a protection of the strong box. But the absurdity of the oath stands confessed when we consider that the God to whom the Jews appeal, is not the God of the Christian, the Christian God being the Universal Father of All, while the Jewish God is the Deity of a race; so that the pious formula on which the religious character of the nation and its title to divine favour are supposed to depend, is in fact a miserable equivoue, and might be conscientiously taken by a believer in Allah, in Vishnu, or in the most degraded divinity of the Pantheon. It is needless to say that in the end the Test will drop into the general grave of such devices, among which, let it never be forgotten, was long included a political profanation of the Eucharist; but it will have lived long enough to do a great mischief to the Church, in the hour of her utmost peril. If the Englishmen who think to defend religion by identifying it with political iniquity, only knew how the defeat of the Affirmation Bill was received by the friends of Christianity on this Continent, where the precept of the Master touching the relations between Church and State is obeyed, they might learn wisdom. Strange that, in face of American and Canadian experience, people should persist in believing that a community cannot be religious without State Churches and Tests!

English Tories had, in their late leader, a distinguished example of political religion, and an instructive measure of its worth. Lord Beaconsfield was in all things an imitator of Bolingbroke, from whose "Patriot King" his Tory Democracy is a plagiarism tricked out in tinsel phrase. Bolingbroke, for his political purposes, courted the bigoted clergy of the State Church, and pandered to their fanaticism so far as to frame, amidst their ferocious applause, the last and the most infamous of the persecuting laws against Nonconformists. While he was doing this, he was himself an infidel, and was inditing attacks on Christianity which he left to be published after his death. Lord Beaconsfield imitated his master's piety. He upheld the law excluding Nonconformists from the Universities, the compulsory payment of Church Rates and the Established Church of the minority in Ireland, with every other relic of intolerance except the disfranchisement of the Jews; he fooled the clergy with adulation to the top of their

bent; spoke of the Dissenters with contemptuous hatred; attended Anglican Missionary meetings, and went through all the public forms of religion, including the reception of the Sacrament, with a solemnity as edifying as that with which Bonaparte when he was in Egypt performed his politic devotions in a Mosque. But on his deathbed he threw off his mask, and ordered that no clergyman should be allowed to come near him. It was never doubted by anybody, except his clerical dupes, that in religious belief, as in everything else, he was a counterpart of Bolingbroke.

In another quarter a step, and a great step, has been gained. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, a man whose religious character and zeal in the Church's cause are above question, has put a rational construction on the dictum that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. In the sense in which it has been commonly understood, that dictum would be a restraint, not only on the utterances of the free thinker, but on all theological discussion; for the Christianity which is a part of the law, must be the Christianity by law established, and thus no one could be permitted to question any one of the myriad propositions of theology embraced in the Articles, Homilies, and Prayer Book of the Church of England. But the Lord Chief Justice has ruled that fair argument, though it may be directed against Christianity, is free, and that nothing is prohibited except those outrages upon the religious feelings of the community, which are breaches, not of orthodoxy, but of public decency. The question arose in connection with the prosecution of the *Freethinker*, for blasphemies which even prominent Agnostics deemed worthy of punishment on social grounds, and indeed wished to see punished, lest their infamy might compromise the Agnostic cause. They are more likely to compromise the Agnostic cause than to overthrow Christianity. We have not read the effusions of the *Freethinker*, nor do we intend to read them: there is no use in gratuitously soiling one's mind, which is sure to contract stains enough in any case. But the "Comic Life of Christ" indited by French Atheism, we have read; and, rightly estimated, it is an addition to the Evidences of Christianity. It proves by its total and hideous failure that the Character, on the perfection of which all depends, is per-

fectly proof against ridicule, and that an attempt to assail it on that side, issues in a mere series of outrages on humanity. The book is nothing but a yell of mockery from the lips of a baffled fiend.

—In India, a proposed law subjecting Europeans to the jurisdiction of native judges has roused the fierce resentment of the dominant race. Of all conquerors, the Englishman in Hindoostan has been, since the institution of the Board of Control, the most beneficent and the most liberal; but there must always be a limit to the beneficence and liberality of conquest. The conquered people may be wisely governed; to associate them in the government is a measure fraught with peril, especially when between the races a great gulf of character and interest is fixed. Association is in fact a partial abdication and could not fail to be regarded as preliminary to withdrawal. The British will probably find themselves compelled to retain their position as the governing race; nor is there anything in such an assignment of functions opposed to the ideas or offensive to the pride of the Hindoo. No pulse of nationality throbs through that vast population, which is made up of tribes utterly alien to each other in every respect, and prevented from renewing the mutual wars in which they were engaged at the time of the Englishman's arrival, only by the control which his hand maintains. A series of social strata has been deposited by successive torrents of invasion descending from the mountains of the north, and the English did not so much conquer the Hindoo as thrust the Mahometan from the conqueror's throne. The only thing for which the Hindoo cares is caste: when that is touched, he shows resentment analogous to the feeling of wounded nationality in more political races: an aggression upon caste, real or apprehended, was the immediate cause of the great mutiny, as it had been that of the mutiny at Vellore, and other outbreaks of the same kind. So long as caste is respected, though the Mahometan may be restless, the Hindoo will acquiesce; nor will he feel in any way injured or degraded because, besides the other castes, there is a caste of rulers and lawgivers separated from the

rest by blood and by religious rites. There are many things in the world which had better not have been done, but which being done cannot be undone ; and among them, perhaps, is the establishment of the British Empire in Hindostan.

—If England is ever arraigned at the bar of nations for her conduct in India, she cannot do better than take the Life of John Lawrence (let him not be degraded to a peerage,) in her hand. Might not this book, to which we alluded in our last number, be cleared of the matter which interests only Anglo-Indians, and made a counterpart of Southey's "Life of Nelson?" A religious Puritan, with a love of freedom and justice such as is imbibed under constitutional government, set to rule, with absolute sway, myriads of a subject race is a character peculiar to British Empire in India. A Roman Proconsul was a Republican, and if he was a good man brought with him valuable ideas of law and right ; but his republic was a slave-owning oligarchy, and he was not a Christian. We call Lawrence a Puritan. The mould of the Puritan character as it was under the early Stuarts, like that of the French Huguenot and that of the Roman Stoic, was broken : but unlike French Huguenotism and Roman Stoicism, English Puritanism has left deep traces on the life of the nation in every sphere ; and if you find now in England lofty patriotism, high souled devotion to the public service, and above all, a union of reverence for law with the love of liberty, you will be able to trace their pedigree through some lineage or other to the party of Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell. Of Lawrence it might be said, as truly in the darkest hour of the struggle with the mutineers, as it was said of Cromwell in the darkest hour of the struggle with the Stuarts, that hope shone in him like a pillar of fire. But we turn with more pleasure to his administration of the Punjaub, so wise, so vigorous, so liberal, so full of blessings to the conquered people, or rather the people who had been freed from Sikh oppression, that we are tempted to think that liberty itself might be well exchanged for such a ruler, till we remember that such a ruler could be trained only by liberty. The

character is not less remarkable for simplicity than for massive strength; and with the force of the thunderbolt cleaving its way to the mark, it unites unflinching reverence for the law of righteousness. To any one who loves England and deplores her present state, it is a comfort to think that behind the selfishness, weakness, and poltroonery which fill the ignoble scene, there may still be Lawrences, and that extremity may bring them to the front.

It is needless to say that the counsels of John Lawrence, like those of all the really strong, were counsels of moderation. Jingoism was a stranger to his soul. His wisdom deprecated and condemned those raids on Afghanistan in quest of a "scientific frontier," which have twice brought dishonour, and once brought a hideous calamity, on the British Empire. But the advice of this great public servant was set at naught, and the giver was all but insulted by the literary dandy who had been sent out to misrule India.

—"The European Terror" is a startling phrase, when it appears as a heading, not to an electric article in a New York journal, but to an essay by so sober a publicist as M. de Laveleye. Nobody can deny the writer's opening avowal, that "after the repression of the conspiracy of the *Mano Nera* in Andalusia, the explosion of bombs charged with dynamite in peaceful little Belgium, the riots of *Monceau-les-Mines* in France, the Nihilistic character which the Irish agrarian movement is taking, and the terrible explosion at Westminster, it is clearly time that this movement, which has attained so wide a development, should be studied attentively." Whether the movement is "destined to play a most important part in the history of Christian and civilized nations," is perhaps a question which admits of more doubt, if by important is meant either salutary or permanent. It is needless to say that this is not the first appearance in social history of the disturbing force. The Communism of the present day has had its precursors in the movement of the *Pastoureaux*, those of the *Ciompi* at Florence, and of the *Commons* in Flanders, the *Jacquerie*, the rebellion of the English serfs under *Wat Tyler*, the

Peasant War in Germany, the insurrection of the Anabaptists, and last not least the French Reign of Terror, brought on by the mad uprising of all the misery, crime, and savagery which had been accumulated during centuries of misgovernment in the purlieus of Paris. We need not go back to the servile wars of Rome. Minor shocks of the earthquake have been continually felt in the shape of local outbreaks and labour wars. The present movement is, it is true, distinguished from its predecessors in several respects. In the first place, it has in it none of the religious fanaticism which mingled with social discontent in the case of the Pastoureaux, in that of the Anabaptists, and in that of the Levelers of the English Revolution. The place of religious reveries is taken in it by wild theories of social science, and in the main it is Atheist, or at least strongly Anti-Christian. In the second place, instead of being like previous agitations, local or national, it is universal, thanks to the unification of the civilized world by railways, telegraphs, congresses of all kinds, and to the activity of a cosmopolitan press. It extends even to America, though chiefly as an importation, and manifests its full virulence there under the form of Dynamitic Fenianism. In the third place, it reflects the modern spread of popular education by being on the surface highly intellectual, while inwardly its spirit is much the same as ever, and by having philosophic leaders and a scientific language, not to say a jargon, of its own. In the fourth place, it is armed for destruction with a new weapon in the form of dynamite, a tremendous agency in desperate hands, which exalts every Rapparee into a power of evil. On the other side, we note that though, on a cursory view, Socialism appears a single movement, and though all the sections of it are in part pervaded by the same fallacious belief in a power supremely good and wise, called the State, which is to set all our parts anew and redistribute everything by the rule of justice, it nevertheless embraces sects differing so widely in opinion that their common action would be impossible. The Irreconcilable, the Nihilist, the Dynamitic Fenian, the member of the Black Hand, want to fall on at once and to plunder, burn, and slay; while upon the mind of the more philosophic Possibilist or Evolutionist has dawned the fact that

Social Progress is gradual, and that with no amount of dynamite can a way be burst at once into the Millenium. Such Communists as Prince Krapotkine and Elysée Reclus are dreamers not bandits, revolutionists of the library and the laboratory, not of the Faubourg St. Antoine; nor would they or their compeers take up pike and petroleum at the call of savagery inspired by absinthe. We note, also, that the excesses of the Nihilists, Anarchists, and Fenians are rapidly producing a reaction, perhaps even a reaction more violent than was to be desired, among all the classes which do not hope to gain by universal pillage; we may add, among all who do not desire the destruction of the family, which Nihilism openly avows its intention of involving in the general ruin. Nor does the soldiery or the police appear anywhere to waver in its allegiance to the cause of order: even in Andalusia, the soil of which glows with revolutionary fire, the authorities seem to have acted without fear, and to have gained an easy victory over the Black Hand. Violence of sentiment and language without military force, if not injudiciously compressed, expends itself harmlessly like powder fired in the open air. People will play with projects which, so long as they have anything left for dinner, they will never exert themselves or face danger to execute; and those who are alarmed by the popularity of Mr. George's manual of agrarian plunder may observe that no freeholder feels less secure in his possession, nor has the value of real property been impaired. Still, the time has its dangers and its lessons, serious dangers and lessons earnestly to be laid to heart. Prudence as well as principle calls upon the possessors of wealth to prove, by a worthy use of it, that it is a blessing not a curse to the community, and to avoid, as not less dangerous than vile, such ostentation of riches as is practised by the low-bred millionaires of New York. Prudence as well as principle exhorts all, as they have opportunity, to soften the harsh lines of division between classes, and to smooth away the social and industrial antagonism which isolation must breed, by making the different orders of the community feel that they are members one of the other. Mention has already been made of the good done and the evil averted in England by such mediators between classes as Thomas Hughes, whose

intervention was the more needed because unhappily the English masters, living in their villas apart from the men, and imitating the manners of the aristocracy, have broken the social bond which united the captains of industry to its private soldiers in the guilds of the Middle Ages. There is a sterner counsel which yet is not to be omitted where civilization is threatened by Nihilistic brigandage, with dynamite and petroleum in its hands. Every citizen must remember that he owes to the State at need the service of a soldier, and ought to train himself, if he can, to the use of arms. No man, however sensible of the claims of the masses, and anxious for the improvement of the general lot, can imagine that any good is to be done by a reign of Anarchy, or that the result could be anything but desolation and destruction of industry, followed by famine. Everybody must desire to avert social bloodshed; and the way to avert it is to let Anarchists see that while the ear of the community is open to all proposals of reform, however radical, a resort to violence is hopeless.

—The defensive alliance or agreement between Germany, Austria, and Italy is a proclaimed fact; but it does not portend war. On the contrary, it may impart to those powers such a sense of security, that they may venture to relax their military system and reduce the vast expenditure which it entails. The day of the "Parliament of Man" is not yet, and the Peace Congress is much before its hour: but a sort of European Police for the repression of lawless ambition, by a commanding union of forces, without actual recourse to arms, seems to be gaining ground; nor would there be anything chimerical in proposing an annual meeting of Prime Ministers, or of accredited representatives of each power, for an interchange of views, which might soften differences and promote amicable solutions, though nothing binding on the governments might be done. The circle of subjects with which it would be possible for such a convention to deal, must be limited at first, but it would grow. Mr. Gladstone is in a position to initiate something of this kind, and if he succeeded, he would be for ever blessed by the millions who groan under the military system, even

when their blood is not being actually shed in war. Even the friendly visits sometimes paid in passing by one statesman to another, like Mr. Gladstone's visits the other day to the heads of the French Government, on his way through Paris, seem generally to have a good effect.

It is obviously against France that the coalition of the three powers is directed, and her demeanour fully justifies the precaution. Pity was vastly misbestowed on her when, after attacking Germany with the evident intention of dismembering it of the Rhine Provinces, she was herself mulcted of Alsace and Lorraine. She had brought herself by dint of incessant self-worship to believe that while the territory of all her neighbours was open to her rapacity, her own was sacred and inviolable. Of this fancy she has been disenchanted by the German arms, to the great relief of all nations; but neither defeat nor changes in her form of government have availed to exorcise that restless, unscrupulous, and vainglorious ambition which, ever since the consolidation of the French Monarchy, has been the scourge of Europe and the bane of civilization. Foiled at home, and confronted on every side by a hedge of spears, France indemnifies her vanity by filibustering in Tunis, in Madagascar, and in Tonquin, where she expects to gain easy victories over barbarians. We ventured once to surmise that civilized pirates attacking barbarians who are armed no longer with bows and arrows, but with Krupp guns and Martini rifles, might encounter a resistance for which they were not prepared. The finances of France are in a critical state, and she is beginning to realize the fact that though she paid the German indemnity, it was with borrowed money. Bismarck looks on and smiles, while his enemy wastes her strength and resources on acquisitions which, when obtained, will be only elements of weakness. Nothing shows his profound sagacity and his knowledge of the times in which he lives more than his refusal to encumber Germany, dissipate her forces, and expose her to attack at remote points, by annexing to her distant dependencies.

As to the internal politics of the European nations, there is always the same story to be told. Everywhere, party government is on its trial, and nowhere does it stand the test well. In Eng-

land, the Mother of all the Constitutions, we see the Liberal party in a state of disintegration, which deprives the government of a firm basis, the different sections of the Conservative party wrangling and almost coming to blows in public about the principles and objects of their organization, the wheels of legislation clogged by obstruction, the Minister threatening a penal prolongation of the session as the only means of enforcing attention to business, and a group of Parliamentary rebels hardly numbering more than twenty votes, enabled, by the collision of reckless factions on both sides, to paralyze the action of the House of Commons. In France, the best authority tells us, that "all is difficulty and darkness; that on every side there is an undefinable lassitude, an increasing mistrust, the vague sense of a crisis which, though it has not exactly come to a head, may do so at any moment; a feeling that anything, nobody can say what, may result from a situation in which a policy of passion, infatuation, and blindness has accumulated confusion of every sort." The Chamber is full of sectionalism, demagogism, factious violence; and as the executive is the creature of its passing mood, no government can exist stable enough to afford security for public order, or strong enough to resist any gust of passion which may chance to blow. A serious check in war would be likely to overturn the Republic. In Italy there was not long ago a Parliamentary anarchy. The Left, having overthrown the Right upon a Railway Bill, scrambled into power, but being itself composed of the most heterogeneous elements, Centres, ex-Republicans, Intransigent Republicans, Radicals, and even Clerical Reactionists madly seeking the destruction of the Government, its victory gave birth merely to a series of short-lived Ministries, in which each of the groups successively grasped power without being able to hold it. All the groups were still ready to combine against the Right, which was thus rendered powerless to form a government, but no sooner was the Right beaten than they all fell out again among themselves. At last appeared Signor Depretis, a deft parliamentary tactician, who has managed to keep in existence a weak and precarious administration. He is compelled to bend to every gale, to make concessions, against which his judgment rebels, to folly, to violence, and even

to baseness. But he asks in what other way government could be carried on "with a House of all the colours of the rainbow?" He has been compelled by the political and social revolutionists to accede to a large extension of the franchise, including a measure of female suffrage, and the most serious misgivings are felt whether, after the next election, he or anybody else will be able to carry on government at all. Belgium, distracted by the interne-cine struggle between her Clerical and Anti-clerical factions, is always in a state bordering on civil war. Holland has hitherto been comparatively exempt from trouble, but now her hour is come. The Van Lynden Cabinet, after passing through a crisis, had been for some time dragging out a feeble existence. The other day it fell before the usual enemy, a combination of sections dis-united among themselves, but united against the government, and Parliamentary chaos ensued. A new Ministry has been formed, but it is composed of men of little mark, and gives but faint promise of endurance. Sectionalism is not an accident, it is the natural offspring of times in which thought is ever growing more active and independent. It is certain not to diminish but to increase. If in Spain the ever-shifting combinations and the unceasing intrigues do not bring on daily convulsions, it is only because the people are still intensely monarchical, and the young king is a man of some force. In Germany, Bismarck, towering over everything in his personal renown and power, holds himself altogether above party ties; he carries his measures with such support as he can get, no matter from what quarter it may come. But his Parliament is divided into nine or ten sections which, while they are severally ready to fly at each other's throats, are always forming coalitions for the purpose of factious opposition, and place in no small jeopardy the great work of national consolidation. Bismarck, too, is compelled to buy adhesion by concessions which he probably does not approve; and his attempt to vaccinate Socialism by introducing State Insurances may perhaps be reckoned among the number.

—With the crown on his head at last, the Czar stands victorious over Nihilism, which is far too desperate in character to have

allowed the coronation to pass over quietly, had it retained strength to strike a blow. On the minds of a simple and superstitious people the effect of this triumph cannot fail to be great. The money lavished on impressive pageantry was therefore wisely spent. Nor will any rational friend of liberty repine. The Czar, though an autocrat, is not a mere despot of the sword. He is virtually the elect of a half-civilized people, whose sole idea of government he embodies, and who, if they had votes, would most certainly cast them in his favour. Every impartial observer describes the attitude of the masses towards the Father of the nation as that of the most passionate affection; while the Czar, when Nihilism does not threaten his life, goes about with paternal familiarity among his political children. Suppose the Empire to fall, what would follow? That is the question which everyone but a Nihilist would ask? Not only is Russia unripe for elective government, but apart from the authority of the Czar, she lacks even the first elements of political order. In England, if the Sovereign were, like another James II., to abscond after throwing the Great Seal into the Thames and burning the election writs, confusion might reign for a few days; but municipalities, local magistracies, and leading men would form centres round which society would speedily crystallize, and a fresh government would soon be evolved. In Russia there is no authority, hardly any influence, save that which belongs to the Czar or is delegated by his fiat, and the triumph of Nihilism would plunge eighty millions of people in a weltering chaos, the dark waves of which would soon be tinged with civil blood. Nothing can be worse, at all events, than a despot in constant peril of his life: rare indeed is a Cromwell with nerve enough to plan and execute great measures of improvement while the dagger is at his breast. It will now be seen what is the real temper of Alexander III., and whether he is inclined to revert to the path which the Emancipator of the Serfs was treading when he was scared from it by the shadow of the assassin. There is in Russia a party of reform which the hideous doings of the fanatics of destruction have reduced to silence and inaction: it may now feel at liberty to make its voice heard again; and the Czar, if he has a heart and a brain,

will give ear to its counsels, which are sure to be those of administrative purification and gradual approach to constitutional government, rather than those of sweeping change. The coronation has been wisely signalized by a measure of mercy and at the same time by a reduction of the poll tax; further relief to the people may follow if the Czar proves to be, as he professes, a lover of peace.

—The shade of Carlyle finds it difficult to cross the Styx. First the controversy about his character is revived by the publication of his memoirs; then it is revived by the publication of his wife's letters. The letters will be taken as a warning to women against marrying men of intellect. But literature would be a mere sea of gall if every man of intellect were as dyspeptic, cynical, and cross-grained as Carlyle. A woman would make a great mistake if she allowed these letters to frighten her out of accepting the hand of Wordsworth or Walter Scott. Genius is necessarily sensitive, and to sensitiveness irritability is nearly allied, but so on the other hand is intensity of affection. Mrs. Carlyle, herself, had taken the false step of marrying for ambition instead of marrying for love. What she sought, she obtained: when her husband gains a victory in literature or in the lecture-room, she rides exulting in the triumphal car; and it is amusing to see how eagerly on these occasions she drinks in the applause of "the millions mostly fools." She had also the privilege of receiving at first hand the gospel according to Carlyle; and if salvation was to be obtained through it, she was saved. To one who had said that nobody could stand up for the perpetration of the Jamaica massacre, her reply was, "I hope Mr. Carlyle does: I have not had an opportunity of asking him; but I shall be surprised and grieved if I found him sentimentalizing over a pack of black brutes." Nor had she failed to catch the dialect. "There is at present alive," she writes, "in God's universe a man named Forster." "There is a man named Forster," would be the language of common mortals. For the rest, she was not, and probably she never expected to be, a mother, or in the full sense of the term a wife: with eyes

open she had married a Merman, and she found him a denizen of the sea. Moreover, though eminently bright, quick-sighted, clever to the verge of genius, endowed with no small force of character, she was herself ill-suited for a hard part: she was full of megrims traceable partly, at least, to overeating, overdosing, mistaking stimulants for medicines, and forcing the semblance of sleep with narcotics. Her picture of the world and the people in it is almost as black as her husband's, and her cynicism is not merely an imitation of his. The love which has its seat merely in the brain is to the love which has its seat in the heart as moonshine is to sunshine; and it is attended by a faint lunar kind of jealousy. Such was the jealousy which was excited in the spouse of Carlyle's intellect by his preference for Harriet, Lady Ashburton, and upon which Mr. Froude dwells with characteristic gusto; for nobody is fonder of dallying with delicate secrets and displaying an intimate knowledge of female infirmities than the historian of Henry VIII. Harriet, Lady Ashburton, was the nearest approach that England could produce to a great lady of France before the Revolution. Intellectual power of that kind which sways the *salon* she had in no common measure, and to back it the power of rank and immense wealth. She too was childless. Ascendancy was her happiness, and it is easy to believe that in drawing the renowned teacher to her feet she did not enough consider the feelings of his obscure wife. People in her position are brought up like Royalty to think of nothing but themselves. It is due to her, however, to say that she was a most sincere admirer of Carlyle. Her good genius did not put it into her heart to expend a hundredth part of the wealth at her command in making her philosopher's home comfortable and his partner happy. This is a sad page of the history and leaves a decided stain on Carlyle's memory. Peevishness and frowardness may be easily forgiven in a man who was a martyr to indigestion, and was overworking his brain at the same time; but it is not so easy to forgive anything like neglect of the woman who was slaving to make him comfortable. After all, "his own Queen Margaret," that in Cheyne Row "all lonely sate and wept the weary hour," while he enjoyed himself at Bath House, seems in every gift of mind to have been fully Lady Ashburton's peer.

As to the effect of these letters on our estimate of Carlyle's philosophy there can be no doubt in any reasonable mind. His wife accounts for the comparative failure of one of his lectures by saying that he had omitted the day before to take his pill. Omission to take his pill or some better remedy for indigestion was, plainly enough, the real source of his Stygian cynicism. Dyspepsia steeped the world in its own hue. Worshippers may rend their clothes if they please: they will not deter any sane man from making allowance for the physical condition of a Great Teacher who has swallowed five grains of mercury and then taken a ride in the rain. Once more we desire to do rational homage to the genius of Carlyle. In brilliancy of description the author of the "Battle of Dunbar" and the Escape to Varennes has no superior, and scarcely an equal. High he stands also as a humorist. He restored the comic element to its place in history beside the tragic. As a social philosopher he did service in rebuking the Optimism of Democracy and the blind belief in the Ballot Box: he would have done better service if he had exaggerated less and admitted, as any man of sense must, that, apart from demagogic rhetoric and when all due deductions have been made, mankind has grown happier and better with the progress of civilization and the advance of freedom. History he saw through the glass of his cynicism darkly; and he falsified the Past by turning it into an oblique libel on the Present. His Hero-Worship now is an anachronism; it belongs to the times of Tribalism, when humanity was a herd following a leader; nor has the theorist ever attempted to show how the Hero is to be found, unless society is to fling itself periodically into convulsions for the purpose of throwing a Cromwell to the top. As to Carlyle's Immensities, Eternities, and Infinities, they are wind; and windiness will be the state of every soul of man that is fed on them. The limit of his practical sagacity, as well as of his humanity, was evinced by his ardent sympathy with Slavery in its conflict with Freedom, and his confident assurance that the Slaveowner would win. When we said this before, we were denounced as heretics. Heretics, then, after the long controversy, we must remain.

The publication of Mrs. Carlyle's "Letters" raises again the

question of social morality which was fiercely debated on the appearance of the "Memoirs." But there is no more to be said. A curious world loves carrion and will have it; have it at any cost of right feeling, decency, and friendship. If a word of remonstrance is uttered, the scandal-monger drowns it with denunciations of false sentiment. There are in this volume of "Letters," as there were in the "Memoirs," things, some of them relating to people from whom the Carlyles had received proofs of kindness, such as no true gentleman would have left for publication, and no true gentleman would have published. If you had asked Walter Scott to edit what Mr. Froude has edited, and suggested to him the pretexts for compliance which are complacently pleaded by Mr. Froude, you would have received a brief and proud reply.

If Carlyle was unfaithful or unkind to the wife who was faithful and kind to him, his name must bear the reproach: literary genius will not absolve him. We cannot help thanking a writer in the *Toronto Mail* for the frankness with which he has combated the notion that intellectual distinction is a warrant for moral laxity. If a man whose morals are loose does by his mental exertions great things for his kind, charity, and not only charity but justice, will weigh his merits in the scale against his demerits and allow the balance to incline to the favourable side, not forgetting that the temperament of genius is liable to perils of its own. This is one thing: it is another thing to say or insinuate that wrong is less wrong because it is done by a great poet. The man who wallows in sensuality, keeps a foul harem, behaves ill to his wife, and outrages the memory of past love by lampooning her after their separation, is an object of contempt and disgust, though he may be the author of "Childe Harold." Shelley's conduct to his first love, Burns's filthiness and depravity, may be partly pardoned, but do not the less stand in need of pardon because both the offenders wrote divine poetry. Whatever there may have been blamable in the connection of Miss Evans with Mr. Lewes remains blamable, in spite of her having produced "Adam Bede." It is even the more necessary that judgment on the delinquency should be unflinching, when the delinquent is one whose brilliancy may mislead. Above all, it would be

the height of folly to allow the sanctity of marriage, the central source of all virtue and happiness, to be compromised, out of maudlin tenderness for the reputation of a popular writer.

What we have said about Byron, is said in face of Mr. Jefferson's supposed rehabilitation, which glosses all the facts, but alters none. It does not even persuade us that Byron, in his marriage, was above mercenary motives: if he was, and if he had anything noble in his nature, why did he continue to draw money from his wife's estate after their separation, and when he was vilifying and libelling her? Compared with the lampoons, the matrimonial quarrel, whatever may have been its exact nature, is an every-day affair. Shelley's account of Byron's swinish life in Italy stands unchallenged, even by a biographer devout enough to pretend that when Byron gave a memoir-writer a monstrous story against Lady Byron, he did it for the purpose of stamping the memoir with incredibility; as though he could not have done this in a more direct way. A great deal of nonsense has been talked on this subject by Macaulay and his imitators. Can society be justly accused of hypocrisy and cant because it protests, in a conspicuous instance, against a license which would turn the world into a sty?

—"Those," says M. Caro, in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, "who can for a moment withdraw their minds from politics and take an interest in the intellectual drama, find a moving spectacle in the grand attempt of the positive sciences to extend their dominion over the whole being of man, his conscience as well as his organism, to reduce moral freedom to the level of a universal determinism, and annex to the widening empire of physical law all that which seemed to constitute a nature apart in the midst of Nature, and a state within her state. Human personality is driven successively from all its positions, and threatened in its last retreat by the invasion of science." Not, however, without a struggle. On one hand, there is a passionate determination to bring down the soul to the level of matter as intense as ever animated the most fanatical missionaries of a new religion; but, on

the other hand, a steady resistance is kept up by the inextinguishable consciousness of moral freedom, which refuses to be thrust down into the dark current of material necessity. M. Caro himself, though a thorough adherent of science, points out the fallacy of Mr. Galton's work on "Hereditary Genius." "Genius," argues M. Caro, "is precisely the thing which is not hereditary, and Mr. Galton's induction, especially if the negative instances are taken into consideration, comes to little or nothing. The strongest case of heredity seems to be that of the Bach family, which, in the course of two centuries, produced eight generations of musicians. But," asks M. Caro, "how came it to pass that among all these there was, after all, only one man of genius, only one Sebastian Bach?" The principle of heredity is itself a supplement to that of Natural Selection through the Struggle for Existence, which was originally tendered as the universal solution; and it is so extensive and momentous that we naturally inquire whether any more such supplements are yet in store, in which case it will be well to keep our minds open for the present. In the same journal, M. Alfred Fouillée, evidently a decided Rationalist, urges against the ethical theories of Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Spencer objections substantially the same which have been urged in our pages, though more metaphysical in form. He argues that it is impossible to construct a rule of human conduct without reference to the object of human life and the ultimate destiny of man. "Am I to act as if this life of sense and my individual being were all, or as if they were only a part of something more universal and deeper than sense?" "Supposing the *Unknown* to be a positive idea, belief in it must enter as a motive into all actions, and the highest action will always be a speculation on the great Unknown." "Morality is, of necessity, a seeking after the ideal, and its practice is an embodiment of our beliefs, our reasonable hopes, with regard to the future of humanity and of the world." Agnosticism, we venture to think, as a permanent and practical frame of mind, is an impossibility. In the highest kind of action the agent will have either to affirm that the world of sense and the present life are all, or to admit the influence of a motive drawn from a belief in something beyond: he will have, in fact, to be practically an Atheist or a Theist.

—Methodist Union in Canada is struggling towards accomplishment, clerical reaction forming, as usual, the chief obstacle. It will be a step, though a small step, towards reducing the number of those "Variations of Protestantism" of which Rome has made such telling use. The charge of persecution brought both by Rome and Agnosticism, Protestantism may face without fear. Of course the demon which, during the whole reign of the Papacy, had possessed the Church, did not come out without rending: but we should not hear so continually of the burning of Servetus if it had been a common case. It was more on political than religious grounds that Protestant governments persecuted the Anabaptist, who was the Nihilist of his time, the Quaker who was often a great social disturber, and the Seminary Priest who was the accomplice of Babington and Guy Fawkes. Protestantism never had an Inquisition, never pried with the rack and the thumb-screw into the recesses of thought; it has shown its nature by constantly advancing in respect for conscience; and the unanimous voice of all its Churches would repudiate with horror the principles of coercion embodied in the Syllabus of Pius IX. But of that sort of intolerance which is displayed in the continuance of needless schisms, Protestantism has undeniably been guilty to a lamentable extent, and here the adversary has it at an advantage. Differences of opinion, which to the eye of history were originally due to little more than accident, perhaps to mere idiosyncracies of some eminent teacher, have been perpetuated through the mutual repulsion engendered by dogmatic controversy, and have been afterwards stereotyped by organization. They have even been intensified by intolerant orthodoxy and by their connection with endowments: everybody who has compared the Institutes with later Calvinistic theology knows that the most moderate of Calvinists is Calvin. But, under the influence of a broader education and a growing charity, combined perhaps with a sense of common danger, a process of reunion has now commenced. First, as might be expected, the minor secessions are reabsorbed by the great Churches. Next will come, and indeed is visibly coming, not a fusion of the great Churches, each of which is deeply rooted in its separate ministry, property, and in-

stitutions, but their unrestrained co-operation in good works, their full recognition of mutual communion, and such evidences of that recognition as the interchange of pulpits. Economy will lend its aid; for nothing can be more senseless than the maintainance in one village of three or four Protestant churches, each in a starving condition, where one might be well supported, while the Christian morality taught in all of them is the same, and the differences of doctrine are such as few of their members understand. Methodism is specially fitted for the work of reunion, because, as has been said before, it was born not of dogmatic antagonism, but simply of Christian protest against the irreligion and the vices of society in the last century. On no ground of doctrinal division would it ever have been formed by its founder into a separate Church. Hence it is peculiarly free from rigorous tests, and has managed, in a remarkable way, to preserve its faith without their aid. The Articles of the Church of England, which it recognizes with certain exceptions, are a relic of a previous state of existence, and can hardly bind it with the same stringency as if they had emanated from its own authority; while the sermons of Wesley, to which adhesion is also required, being the discourses of a man, whom no one would deem infallible, cannot possibly command the submission which the conscience of a High Churchman pays to the Nicene or the Athanasian Creed. Methodism, in fact, if we look to its origin, is not so much a Church as the organized perpetuation of a revival; its institutions are still the forms of a revival stereotyped; and its principal danger lies in the retention of such forms, when the fervid zeal which gave them birth having ceased to glow, they have become hollow and inimical to genuineness of religious character. Another danger, also incident to revivals, is a contempt for worldly knowledge, of which it is impossible to speak harshly, when we remember what Methodism has done in both hemispheres for the poor, but which must place every Church at a fatal disadvantage in a highly intellectual age. The debates of the Ministry on Union have, by their occasional narrowness and coarseness, betrayed the absence of high education. Methodism, however, now has its colleges, and we rejoice to hear that the Methodist College of Ontario may possibly leave its seclusion at

Cobourg and transfer itself to a city. To which city it ought to transfer itself, there surely can be no doubt. Little could be gained by going to any city except Toronto, where, in connection with the Provincial University, theological colleges for the Presbyterians and the Baptists, and even a Catholic College, have already been founded. A right instinct leads all these bodies to the centre of influence, as well as to the only place where anything like adequate means for secular instruction can be found. Victoria will surely follow their example, which she may do without the slightest prejudice to the integrity of her religious teaching, or of any system of moral discipline administered within her gates. She will then no longer be constrained to seek an ostensible increase of importance by uneasy and treacherous union with Medical Colleges under the sway of the Church of Rome. A ray of light falls on what seemed the darkening prospect of University Consolidation. If Victoria comes to the centre, Queen's will have some day to follow: she will find that isolation is incurable weakness; and there is nothing in her buildings at Kingston to which it need break any one's heart to say farewell. The accession of the Principal of Victoria to the Academical and social circle of Toronto will not be the least pleasant part of the change.

—At last the English Cathedrals, though built for eternity, seem to be feeling the tooth of time. The tower of Peterborough is falling, and Westminster Abbey is said to be attacked by decay, the consequence, perhaps, in part of that corrosive action of the London smoke which will one day turn the elaborate ornament of the Houses of Parliament into a blurred and blackened mass. In Westminster Abbey would perish, not only one of the most glorious of the glorious sisterhood, but the historic centre of our race. The Benedictine Monastery, which forms part of Peterborough, perfectly presents the life, as well as enshrines the memory, of those who, under an ascetic form, were the pioneers of literature, art, and civilization. We see how the brotherhoods dwelt, in a cloister, unglazed and open to the air, so that in the winter, the writer of a chronicle had to suspend his work, his fingers being be-

numbered by the cold, and his ink frozen. The Cathedrals and the other fine churches of England are not merely monuments of ecclesiastical architecture; they have exercised and are still exercising a deep influence on the religious character of the country. Their august and fascinating beauty has constantly nourished the sentiments which gave them birth, and inspired a desire to revive the sacramental and ceremonial worship to which in form they are essentially adapted, and which alone finds in them a congenial home. They have been the most potent fosterers of Ritualism; nor is it easy to see what Protestantism could do with them. For congregational worship or preaching, they are ill-suited; the whole structure points to the Sacrifice of the Mass. Their grandeur is almost miraculous when we consider the period in which they were built. One of our leading journalists, the other day, was severely arraigned for having said something which seemed to imply that he deemed the Middle Ages better than the modern times. Socially and economically, such a preference would be absurd. A minute investigation recently made into the history of an English village shows the peasantry living in a state of barbarous lawlessness and mutual violence, while their dwellings were wretched huts without chimneys, their food was of the worst kind, and each of them had only a single garment. Even a city was little better than an assemblage of hovels, crowded together for safety within a wall, dirty, undrained, with unpaved alleys, and unsupplied with many things which we now deem indispensable to civilized existence. Out of the midst of these hovels soared a work of art, so vast in its proportions, so daring in its conception, so marvellous in its execution, so full of religious poetry and symbolism, that all the intellectual and architectural science of later times have failed to produce its peer, and it stands, like the poems of Homer and the dramas of Shakespeare, unapproached and unapproachable after its kind. Unlettered were the builders, unlettered were the people for whom they built; but builders and people must have had a something which is not produced by Institutes or by public schools. It is this height of spiritual aspiration, in its contrast with the meanness and poverty of everything material, which, whether it be seen in the Cathedral, or the Crusades, and the Orders of Chivalry, or in the

Universities and their wonderful though barren philosophy, constitutes the historic charm of the Middle Ages, and excuses, in the eyes at least of a student of history, the rash writer who said something in their favour.

—The Liberal party in the Church of England, though it has lost its chief in Dean Stanley, is not extinct. Among its leading members is Mr. Freemantle, Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and author of "The Gospel of the Secular Life." In this book we note the prevalence of two tendencies which in the minds of Liberal theologians grow apace. One is a disposition to embrace the theory of Immanence, that is, to regard God not a Creator and Ruler apart from the Universe, but as its pervading spirit, and to look upon all active Being, and especially the activity of Man, as pulsations of the Divine Life. This view is clearly distinguishable from Pantheism, if Pantheism implies the identification of the Deity with Matter and Force. But it labours under the apparent difficulty of affirming Immanence in Evil, moral and material, as well as in good. Still, on any hypothesis, Evil is there: it is not really eliminated by any verbal artifice such as calling it a mere negation; and its existence can be reconciled with Supreme Beneficence, only, it would seem, by assuming that effort, or an upward struggle, which presents itself as effort to human consciousness, is essential to the production of the highest moral good. As was said in meeting the arguments of Mr. Leslie Stephen, effort in itself cannot be regarded as the good, nor has anyone, so far as we are aware, affirmed that it is; but it seems to be the condition of progress, and under the dreary guise of the Struggle for Existence is in effect accepted by the Evolutionists themselves as the Law of the Universe. If such a theory as that of Mr. Spencer is true, and Being is nothing but an endless rotation between Homogeneity and Heterogeneity carried on by a Mechanical Necessity, belief in a Beneficent Deity, Immanent or Presiding, is at an end; but it is not so if we suppose progress instead of rotation, and progress towards a moral goal. So far as the difficulty may lie in the aspect of physical nature, with its apparent defects and wastes, we cannot too often remind ourselves that our knowledge of phys-

ical nature is derived from our bodily senses, of which physical science can only collect and methodize the perceptions; and that the completeness and finality of the knowledge received through our bodily senses are assumptions totally unwarranted and contradicted by Evolution itself. Phenomenal and provisional truth, so far as the world of sense is concerned, suffices for the guidance of our life. But no shock would be given to our being if we were assured that the lifting of a curtain would in a moment change the whole, and show that Newton's discovery was as far from being complete and final as the primitive belief in the rising and setting of the sun, which is also a phenomenal and provisional truth.

The other tendency which we note, is an indication to care less about the Church as an institution separate from the State, and to regard society at large as the sphere of the Christian and the field for the application of Christian principles. Mr. Freemantle treats the progress of constitutional government, the improvement of international morality, and the introduction of arbitration in place of war, as the great triumphs of the Church in modern times. He would have no mere concordat between Christianity and the ordinary interests of life. Christianity, he says, must take the lead not only in appreciating but in stimulating art, literature, invention, conscience, advances in political freedom, progress of every kind. Nay, he is prepared to see the functions of the Church decline in importance compared with the agencies, hitherto deemed secular, of education and the Press. The Press he holds to be a great engine which dispenses the pulpit from part of its work, and replaces the symbols of Christian worship by the realities of life. The long drawn ritual and sermons of other days were then the instruments not only of public worship but of popular instruction, and are now superseded in the latter function by the school and the book. Life outside the Church has been enlarged, life within the Church has been narrowed. We acquiesce, says Mr. Freemantle, in the change; we cannot tell how far it may go; but we may look at the question with perfect calmness if only life outside the Church can be made Christian and spiritual. The clergy, if they are above caring for the special interest of an order, may look with calmness,

but they cannot fail to look with trembling interest, on the progress of a change which must plainly diminish the importance of their ministry and in the end supersede it altogether. In the Republics of antiquity, Church and State were one; this was the necessary consequence of Tribalism, which assigned to each race or nation its peculiar god. Arnold, whose intellect had been nurtured on Greek and Roman history, regarded the identity of the Church with the State as the ideal, and his theory, reproduced by his disciple, Dean Stanley, has percolated to the other Liberals of the English Church in whose minds, however, it is taking more the form of an absorption of the Church into the State. The saying "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's" abrogated the Tribal system, under which allegiance to Cæsar was necessarily treason to the tribal God and instituted a spiritual society apart from the temporal though acting on it. This, Positivists allow to have been the greatest step in the progress of humanity. To the union of the Church with the State under Constantine, and the perpetuation of that union under the monarchies which arose out of the dissolution of the Empire, we owe the deep corruption of the Church, episcopal and sacerdotal tyranny, fighting prelates, persecutions, inquisitions, religious wars, and most of the crimes with which religion has been unjustly charged. But this was the effect of the conversion, by unspiritual influences, of the Kingdom of Christ into a power of this world. The conversion of the Kingdoms of this World into the Kingdom of Christ by influences strictly spiritual is set before us as the ultimate goal, and when it is attained, perfect union must of course ensue. Whether the consummation is so clearly in view as theologians of Arnold's school think, is a different question; and the terrible results of Constantine's experiment warn us against short cuts. However, let us accept the exaltation of political duty. If the Church is gradually to become less and the community more to us, the stronger are the reasons for refusing to give the community up to organized factions, demagogism, and corruption.

—We wished for a collection of the Sayings of Christ, and re-

sponsive to our wish it comes.* In the exact arrangement of the Sayings not everybody will acquiesce; while the use of the Fourth Gospel is, in the present state of the critical discussion, to say the least, precarious: the Alexandrian spirit of its doctrinal utterances is made more evident than ever by juxtaposition with those from the Synoptics, through which breathes the native air of Galilee. Still, we would draw attention to the book, and we would entreat any candid Agnostic to compare its contents with the sayings of Mahomet, of Buddha, or any other founder of a religion. The reproach constantly cast by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and others of his school, on Christendom, of not acting up to the words of Christ, is itself a proof that Christianity is not exhausted, whereas the exhaustion of Mahometanism and Buddhism is manifest and complete.

—Renan has published a curious pamphlet about the Jews, of whom he has almost become one by living in their history and literature. He denies the unity of the race, maintaining that foreign elements were incorporated to a large extent in different countries during the period at which Jewish proselytism was active, and that the Jews consequently are at present a people of mixed blood. The physiognomy and other physical peculiarities he ascribes to special habits of life, isolation in the Ghetto, and exclusive intermarriage. If he is right, the Society for the Conversion of the Jews will have to qualify its language about the Seed of Abraham: perhaps it may be persuaded to transfer to some enterprise of more promise the money which it now spends in a barren field. It is not the less true, however, that when the period of proselytism was over, and nationalist reaction had set in, Judaism became intensely tribal, and remains so to this day. Renan seems to think that the Jews in France have, by liberal treatment, been completely humanized. But do they not practise circumcision, and is not circumcision a tribal rite intended to cut off those on whom its mark is set from the rest of mankind, and teach them to regard other men as strangers and unclean? That

* The Very Words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Gathered from the Four Gospels according to the Authorized Version (1611), with marginal quotations from the Revised Version (1881). London: Henry Froude. Oxford University Press.

the Jews in France form a financial Ring, the Tunis affair plainly showed.

That Judaism once was proselytizing and afterwards shrank back into more than tribal exclusiveness, and what Bacon calls "secret, inbred rancour against those among whom the Jews live," is a significant fact; and the tendency to become human and universal coincided with the moment at which Judaism, not alone but in combination with a different element, gave birth to Christianity. Renan exaggerates in saying that the Founder of Christianity was Isaiah. What is true is, that there was a Judaism of the Prophets, and a Judaism of the Law, and that the first broadened into Christianity, while the second was narrowed into Pharisaism and the Talmud. "The Talmud," says Renan, "is reaction." It is not only reaction, but of all reactionary productions the most debased, arid, and wretched. To have given birth to such a code of casuistical legalism and to have embraced it as the rule of life, is the brand and the punishment of those who rejected and persecuted the religion of Humanity. It is to the Judaism of Isaiah and the prophets solely that our immense debt of gratitude is due; and this Judaism passed entirely into Christianity. To Talmudic Judaism, which is that of the modern Jew, we owe less than nothing; for it strove with savage energy, while strength was left it, to extirpate Christianity out of the world. As Renan himself says, not much is due to those at whose hands one has narrowly escaped assassination.

The Jews have been renewing in the organs which they can command (and what organs can they not command?) their accusations of persecuting intolerance against Christendom. Even Christendom is entitled to justice, perhaps to more than it sometimes receives at the hands of Christians. In Spain, a deadly conflict for the possession of the country between the Oriental and Occidental races, led to fearful cruelties, in which religious bigotry mingled with and intensified race hatred. But elsewhere the Jews will find it difficult to point to a clear case of religious persecution unprovoked by their usurious oppression of the people. In the Middle Ages toleration was unborn. Is the Jew himself tolerant in profession or even in practice now? Does he not by circumcision, which he imprints with savage indelibility, cut off

those of his faith socially and morally from their fellow men? Does he not refuse to intermarry, and when he is strict, to eat and drink with other people? Does he not draw a line in his dealings between those of his own faith and the Gentile? Does he not declare eternal and immutable a law which makes death the penalty of religious error? Does he not cherish as proofs of the goodness of God to the Chosen People, the slaughter of the Canaanites and the massacre recorded in the Book of Esther? Does he not continue to celebrate with frantic delight the execution of Haman and Haman's innocent sons? Persecution is nothing but intolerance armed with a sword. The Jew has not in recent times had the sword in his hand; when he had he butchered men, women, and children with as little mercy as any Dominican or fanatical Crusader of the Middle Ages. Imagination is active about the sufferings of the Chosen race. The other day a number of Jewish maidens were cruelly flogged at a place in Africa. It was at once assumed that this was the act of a Christian, and the world rang with outcries against persecution. It turned out to be the act of a Jew who had got the maidens flogged for leading astray his hopeful son.

The Jews, it seems, refuse to repeople Palestine. Very good; let them stay where they are, give up their tribalism, cease to put its mark upon their children; learn to eat, drink, and marry with their fellow citizens; identify themselves with the nations of which they become members, labour like the rest, and be as other men. Everybody will welcome them to equal privileges, and gladly accept any gifts of mind or character which they may bring to the common store. Only they must cease to demand sympathy as a race deprived of its country by an unjust world. But if they mean to cherish the distinction of race, to treat the rest of the world as Gentiles, to be a nation apart in every nation, with objects different from those of the rest of the community, to intrigue everywhere, without owing allegiance everywhere, and to form in commerce and politics a cosmopolitan Ring for the purpose of sucking up the world's wealth and transferring it to the coffers of Finance, they will always be in danger of exhausting, not only in Russia and the Danubian principalities, but elsewhere, the sufferance of oppressed humanity.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE TORONTO CITY CHARITIES.

(See BYSTANDER, page 206).

It is with unfeigned reluctance that the members of the Conference find themselves constrained by the facts before them and by the result of their observations to represent to the Council, that the growth of the City and the consequent increase of vagrancy and destitution render it necessary that the question of making some public provision for the relief of the poor should be taken into practical consideration. The action of private organizations, with the occasional intervention of the Mayor, which sufficed in the earlier stages of the City's progress, appears no longer to meet the need.

In the City Jail are a number of homeless, destitute and infirm people, guilty of no real offence, but committed to prison solely to give them shelter and save them from starvation. Mr. Green, the Governor of the Jail, states that at least from forty to fifty persons are thus committed annually for various periods, and "for no other cause or reason than simply being infirm, aged, or sick and poor." He remarks that when in Jail, however innocent or respectable they may have formerly been, they are compelled to associate with the criminals. Many of them, he says, are sent to Toronto on various pretexts, for the purpose of getting rid of them. Some are imbeciles and lunatics. Admission to the Hospital is generally refused to strangers.

The number of persons who were faint to take a night's lodging at the Police Stations in the month of January last amounted to nearly three hundred. This does not include any arrested for offences.

It is the rule of the House of Industry not to lodge the same person for more than two nights; and as the number of nights' lodging given during the month of January was 570, the number of applicants was probably not less than 280. The Conference has not the means of stating how many of these cases are identical with those of waifs who have been sheltered in the Police Stations. It is probable that trivial offences are sometimes committed for the purpose of obtaining food and shelter in the jail.

Cases frequently arise of penniless wanderers seeking immediate relief and the means of making their way to their destination. Recently three French Canadian women in this situation, and wishing to be forwarded to Montreal, applied for assistance to the Conference. The Mayor could only, by a relaxation of the usual rule, grant them a pass as far as Kingston. To send them the rest of the way, private subscriptions had to be collected by Mr. Pell, under whose notice many such cases have fallen.

The Mayor, it is understood, finds the number of applicants at his office for relief extremely burdensome as an addition to his duties.

The labour test can be satisfactorily applied only in connection with a casual ward for the reception of tramps and vagrants ; while a casual ward, in which turbulent characters must often be received, can be well administered only under civic authority and the superintendence of the police.

For the benevolent efforts of voluntary visitors in connection with the House of Industry and other organizations the hearty thanks of the community are due. But voluntary visitors cannot be always disengaged and able to meet an urgent call. It seems desirable that in cases of urgent distress there should be an officer responsible to the public for doing what may be necessary, and doing it without delay.

In view of these facts and for these reasons the members of the Conference beg most respectfully to submit to the consideration of the Council the following resolution which was unanimously passed at one of their meetings.

“ Resolved, that in the opinion of this Conference it has become desirable that a public institution should be established, under municipal authority, for the relief of urgent cases of distress and for the reception of vagrants of both sexes, such institution to be provided with a casual ward, and with the means of applying the labour test to tramps”

Five thousand dollars a year are now granted by the city to the House of Industry. So much of this sum as is expended in lodging and feeding vagrants might be transferred to the casual ward of the City. The sketch of a simple building with a dormitory for men and another for women, a kitchen and a house for the superintendent is sent herewith, and the estimated cost of its erection is about \$5,480. The cost of keeping each waif would be from twelve to fifteen cents *per diem*. If the means of setting them to work were, provided the expense would be reduced. The annexation of the casual ward to the House of Industry, if found desirable with reference to the site, or for other reasons, would be perfectly compatible with the objects of the present proposal, provided the casual ward were under municipal control.

In addition to stone breaking, for which not even every male vagrant is fitted, other simple employments might be introduced. In Montreal, splitting and binding kindling wood is adopted as an employment. In the Institution at Detroit common chair-making is the occupation. Jealousy is sometimes aroused among the working classes by poor house or prison labour, which they fear will compete with their own. But these unfortunates must be fed ; if not set to labour, they must be fed entirely at the expense of the community ; and it is hard to believe that by doing the simplest and coarsest work they can take the bread out of the mouths of others.

For those urgent cases of distress or of wanderers needing to be forwarded to their destination, the task of dealing with which falls at present on the Mayor, the Conference proposes that a Relieving Officer should be appointed.

These municipal provisions for vagrants, tramps, and urgent cases would form as it were the foundation of our whole charitable system, while for other purposes the superstructure of voluntary effort and organization in which the zeal and liberality of our citizens are nobly manifested, would remain intact.

The House of Industry, relieved of the casual ward, which is evidently the most troublesome part of its functions, and also relieved to some extent by the City Officer of the duty of visitation, might be devoted more to the reception of the aged and infirm.

To provide for the transmission of waifs to their homes, with a proper division of the expense between the different municipalities, and to prevent the improper transmission of the destitute from other localities to Toronto it is obvious that general legislation must be obtained.

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BY J. E. COLLINS.

Opinions of the Press.

(*The Hon. Wm. Elder, Prov. Sec., in the Telegraph, St. John, N. B., June 9th, 1883.*)

* * * The book is a valuable contribution to Canadian literature and of permanent value. This is a conclusion to which those who differ from the estimate made in it of some of the public men of Canada, as well as those who agree with that estimate, will alike subscribe. * * * It deals not only with the life and times of its distinguished subject from a political standpoint, but also with the history of Canada, especially since Confederation. * * * The book is a most careful personal and political biography of Sir John Macdonald, and as such will be extensively read by persons of all political parties and religious creeds in Canada.

(*Dr. Mulvany, in the Toronto World, June 11th, 1883.*)

* * * Vividly written in a series of pictures, which gives the book the interest of a novel. * * * That the prejudices of the party are often fearlessly ignored and shibboleths disregarded. * * * Altogether the book is not only a charming series of historical pictures but contains much sound nationalist doctrine, embodied in glowing and evidently sincere patriotic eloquence. * * * We have judged Mr. Collins' book on its merits, and we predict for it a high and enduring place in Canadian literature.

(*Geo. Stewart, Jr., F.R.S.C., in the Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 12th.*)

* * * There is not a dull chapter in the book, but there are many chapters of energetic writing, and a hundred passages can be selected which are very brilliant indeed. * * * His style is pictorial and eloquent. Mr. Collins' book is full of interesting reading from the first page to the last.

(*From the Daily Evening News, St. John, N.B., June 9th.*)

The book merits, and will certainly receive, a very extensive perusal.

(*From The Mail, Toronto, June 18, 1883.*)

“To all Canadians who desire to appreciate at their true value the services rendered to this country by Sir John A. Macdonald, we commend Mr. Collins' biography.

The *Hamilton Tribune*, June 20th, says :

* * * We commend the volume to those who desire to read an interesting account of the life's doings of a statesman who has moulded our destinies for a generation or so, and the sands in whose glass must soon all have run down ; a volume, the interest of reading which will be much enhanced by its surpassingly beautiful typographical appearance, and the charming literary style of its author.

The *Daily News*, Kingston, says :

* * * The various incidents in which Sir John figured in all this time are graphically sketched by Mr. Collins, and every reader may find an interesting resume of the political history of the times in his pages, however he may differ in his estimate of the conduct of those described.

(From *The Globe*, Toronto, June 19th, 1883.)

* * * Mr. Collins has succeeded in producing a very interesting book—one much superior in some respects to the general run of Canadian biographies. His efforts have been well seconded by the publishers, who have spared no expense to produce a really handsome volume. * * * The details of his (Sir John's) early life are here given to the public for the first time with any degree of minuteness.

Mr. G. Mercer Adam in the *Canada Educational Monthly* :

The publication of this cleverly written work by a Lower Province man, now a resident of Toronto, is a gratifying indication that there are writers coming to the front who essay to stir the present generation of Canadians with new mental impulses. So much of our literature has been written by men grubbing in old newspapers and quarrying in uninviting archives, that any enthusiasm in the writer has been dissipated long before the publisher could serve the dish up to the reader. * * * The publishers, in the present instance, have had the advantages of a lively, piquant writer, an interesting regime, and all the enthusiasm that not only party allegiance but great personal popularity, have brought to the subject of the biography. The jauntiness of the author's style and the occasional *brusquerie* of his criticisms, moreover, impart no little charm to the book, and contribute, with the pervading blitheness of the narrative, to one's interest and frequent amusement. Mr. Collins' spontaneity, his springy, marrowy sentences, his impassioned love of country, of nature, and of everything fresh, breezy and wholesome, are each of them elements of attraction which are all but irresistible in their influence on the reader. But these qualities in the writer, though they impart a flavour to the book, seldom cloud his power of discrimination. True, the author here and there describes events and sneaks of his hero in the fervour of partisanship, but he as often takes the bit in his mouth and careers over the paddock of party history with the freedom of an untamed colt. * * * His sketch of Sir John Macdonald and his times is sympathetic and friendly, the portraiture is nowhere overdrawn, nor has he excluded from his canvas the names of those whose share in the history deserves recognition. In this latter respect, the work before us ceases now and then to be a biography of the chief actor on the scene. A glance at the index will show how full is Mr. Collins' canvas, and how extensive is the scope of the work. At times, indeed, we are apt to forget the central figure in the many admirable studies the author has given us of the leading men of the Dominion. Occasionally, in the case of men politically opposed to Sir John, the author's brush is wielded with vigour, and dipped in the darkest pigments. But the sketches are effective, and they present the men not as stuffed lay-figures, but as actors on the scene, who have entered the arena of conflict, and either make their own exits or are helped off the scene. Mr. Collins has not only told his story without reserve, and touched the leading characteristics of his subject with decision, but at times the narrative fairly glows with the concentrated flame of conviction. The career of Sir John is followed for over sixty years with enthusiasm and ever-increasing admiration. The more prominent events of his time are described with minuteness, and with an eye to the main bearings of the history, which preserves the proper sense of proportion and prevents the narrative from ever becoming wearisome. In the early part of the book a strain of radicalism crops out in the story, which enlists the sympathy of Liberalism where Liberalism is beneficent. In the closing pages, the sentiment presents itself in a pronounced Nationalism, which, likely enough, both political parties will sneer at, though the feeling is obviously dictated by patriotism. Here Conservatism will no doubt charge the author with rolling in a tub, though his words have a curious convincing force, and the swaying influence of patriotic ardour.

The literary chapter appended to the work rather divides the interest in the subject of the biography. But here the author is no less at home, and writes of Canadian literature *con amore*. He has given us a discriminating resumé of our literary forces, though here and there, as in the political narrative, Mr. Collins' own predilections sometimes unfeelingly come into view. His literary judgments, however, are not often at fault; and in the case of verse, he has the true poetic instinct, combined with much imaginative and analytic power. The book on the whole is exceedingly creditable to this young author; and his dedication to Prof. Goldwin Smith is a fitting tribute to that gentleman's interest in Canadian literature, and the impetus he has given to literary activity in the Dominion.

650 pp. Royal 8vo. cloth, price \$3.00. Sold by subscription.

ROSE PUBLISHING COMPANY, TORONTO.

(Chas. G. D. Roberts, M. A., in the Daily Telegraph, St. John, N.B., March 19th 1883.)

"Through the courtesy of the publishers, Rose Publishing Co., have come to hand the early chapters of a work which must prove of deep interest to the Canadian public. It is entitled the "Life and Times of the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald," etc., and is by Mr. J. E. Collins, of Toronto; it will be looked upon probably as a counterblast to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie's "Life of the Hon. George Brown." The table of contents indicates that the volume will contain in the neighborhood of forty-five chapters, and will cover everything of direct importance to Canada that has occurred within the last forty years. It is printed in large type, on heavy tinted paper; and with its liberal margin and careful presswork presents a handsome appearance. We should congratulate ourselves that the art of book-making in Canada has made such rapid strides of late. Our books of a few years back show but meanly alongside of those now issued from our presses. In the first seven chapters of his work, Mr. Collins tells the story of our Premier's life, from his coming to Canada with his parents in 1820, a boy of five years old, to the time of his obstinate struggle in opposition to the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, the year of the Montreal riot and the burning of the Parliament buildings. Thus far in the record Sir John appears as a genuine and uncompromising Tory, though always rather contemptuous of the violence and mismanagement which were driving his party to destruction. His Toryism, however, was mitigated by common sense; and with this fact his biographer, who seems by an indifferent Tory, consoles himself and his readers, abiding the time when the narrative shall come to tell of the infusion of the leaven of Liberalism. But there is no suggestion of apology for the intensity of Sir John's early prejudices; these were inevitable, and are displayed as the healthy raw material, out of which was later to be evolved the more acceptable product of Liberal-Conservatism. Even thus early, however, in Sir John's career, and while party strife was relentlessly bitter and he in the foremost of it always, we see him making personal admirers in the ranks of his most strenuous opponents. While candour and fairness rule these pages, and nothing is distorted or conceded for purposes of effect, it will, we think, be acknowledged by readers of both shades of political opinions, that this is a very attractive picture Mr. Collins presents us of the well equipped, courteous, ready, self-possessed young statesman, imparting dignity to the decline of a not very glorious cause. With regard to the style and the structure of the work, if what is to follow fulfils the promise of these chapters, we shall have a production that will step at once into the front rank of our young literature. In the department of history and biography, more than in any other, we can already boast works of dignity and importance. Only one or two of these, however apart from the value of their

matter, can take rank as literary products. But the dullest matter would become readable under the spell of Mr. Collins' vivid and picturesque rendering. Here the attention is held from the first sentence. Every page is delightfully readable. A strong and sympathetic imagination has so grasped and mastered the whole subject, that the narrative proceeds with the unobstructed swiftness of good fiction, while dry but needful details are so skilfully woven in as apparently to heighten the interest. This is indeed a chief triumph of the biographer's art. If the author can throughout maintain the unflinching freshness and *verve* of these one hundred and twenty-eight pages, then his work will have an audience far beyond the borders of Canada, as one of the most brilliant biographies of the day. This is a consummation we may well all hope for, as our literature cannot be said to have made, as yet, any tremendous impression on the reading classes of the world. In language and style these chapters are terse, simple, and eminently Saxon. No energy is wasted in resounding syllables; each sentence is compact and telling, with perhaps an occasional tendency to unnecessary ellipses, arising from the rapid movement of the thought. The tone is temperate, and opposing parties are depicted with even-handed justice. None are painted wholly black or white, but Tory and Reformer appear in probable and natural colors. Perhaps the best abused man in their pages is Sir Charles Metcalfe, that most subtle and dangerous adversary of the cause of Responsible Government. Yet even of him it is shown that "in private life he was kind and courteous;" that he was "good to the poor;" and many tears were shed to his memory. A piece of sympathetic eloquence is devoted to the case, too generally misunderstood, of the unfortunate Pole, Von Shultz, to whose memory is here done a portion of tardy justice. Mr. Collins refutes the common accounts of this General, whose execution we are won't to hear mentioned as the well-deserved punishment of a mercenary and lawless adventurer. But we would fain have seen even a fuller definition of this noble but misguided man, whose heart burned hotly against all tyranny for the sake of his down-trodden Poland, and who so ardently embraced the cause of a country which had misrepresented to him as groaning under almost Russian despotism. It is his glory that he longed to deliver us; it was his misfortune that we happened to stand in no great need of his deliverance. Some of Mr. Collins' powers, perhaps, are displayed to best advantage in chapter vi., which describes "The lights of '44." These pen portraits are admirably done. Here is keen insight, dramatic presentation, most racy and piquant handling. Here also is what never fails to capture the reviewer—a crisp decision of outline and a potent but unobtrusive humor."

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AN ADDRESS

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

(From the Toronto Globe of the 13th June.)

"False Hopes" is the title of a pamphlet in which Mr. Goldwin Smith dissects and lays bare in the most impassioned way, but with the keenest of literary scalpels, the fallacies involved in Communism, Socialism, the Nationalization of Lands, strikes, the various plans in vogue for emancipating labour from the dominion of capital, protection and some theories of innovation with regard to currency and banking. The great number and prevalence of these diseases of the body politic are, he thinks, mainly due to the ostentation of the vulgar rich, who "deserve, fully as much as the revolutionary artizans, the name of a dangerous class;" to the democratic movement of the times; and to the revolution in science, which "has helped to excite the spirit of change in every sphere, little as Utopianism is akin to science."

(From the Toronto Mail of the 12th June.)

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a small brochure, which may be purchased for a few cents, has opportunely put together a plain and concise refutation of the fantasies which possess the advanced democracy of to-day. In style, "False Hopes" is clear, terse, epigrammatic and, brief as the pamphlet is, it constitutes a brilliant exposure of the fallacious theories under review. Mr. Smith points out that these theories have received an impetus from the decline of faith. Men who have come to believe that death ends all must needs strive to enjoy what they can, while they may, no matter at whose expense. Human life, in this view, resolves itself into a game of grab. Moreover, "popular education has gone far enough to make the masses think—not far enough to make them think deeply."

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