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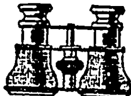

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The DOMINION REVIEW is an attempt to meet the existing want of a Canadian Weekly Critical Journal. It aims to combine along with the highest literary excellence an independent discussion of the more important questions in Politics and Literature as they arise from time to time.

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The want of a first-class Canadian Weekly Journal devoted to Politics and Literature has long been felt. Without in any way reflecting on the present state of the Press in Canada, no one can deny that there is scope enough for a weekly journal aiming to combine the highest literary excellence with a broad, comprehensive, independent discussion of political and literary questions.

The DOMINION REVIEW is an attempt partially to meet this want. It is modelled after a high standard, which its pro moters will spare no pains to realize. It thus confidently appeals to the intelligence and patriotic sentiment of the country for support.

For good or evil the influence of the Press is now universally admitted. The modern journal is no longer merely a medium for transmitting news. It is the chief organ through which public opinion finds expression; it is also one of the most powerful factors in its formation. The responsibility and importance, therefore, attaching to the eductional function of the Press cannot be over-estimated. It helps to form and control the action of public opinion—the supreme motive power in modern life. The aim of this REVIEW is, therefore, critical and educative: to become a factor in the formation of a sound, healthy, public opinion and sentiment on all the great questions of the day.

It is thus the organ of no clique or party. Party government is a necessity, and with it, newspapers devoted to the interests of the party represented by them. But, however valuable in itself, discussion on such lines is not the highest: it is too narrow and one-sided; it does not look before and after. There is, therefore, ample room for a journal not identified with any party.

But "no party" has practically often been equivalent to "no principles," its advocates not seldom being mere trimmers who shift their sails to every passing breeze. Having no ideas to impress upon the minds of their contemporaries, they pander to prejudice, self-interest, and religious bigotry alike, if personal and immediate ends are only served. The DOMINION REVIEW, however, will be the advocate and representative of well-defined principles. Civil and religious freedom in the highest sense, just and equal laws for all, the interests of the whole community as opposed to those of any privileged class, the right and duty of the State to regulate and control its own affairs, absolute toleration in matters of opinion, are among the fundamental principles it will seek to vindicate in every variety of circumstance. Its mottoes are the watchwords and marching symbols which the 19th century has made its own.

In Canada the pulses of a national life are beginning to be felt. A national consciousness is growing. Canada is beginning to realize that whether as an organic member of the British Empire, or of the Republic of America, or alone, it must work out a destiny for itself. In some way its national life must find expression, and be embodied in political forms. The range of political ideas and the sphere of political action are rapidly extending. Statesmen are called upon to deal with large and complicated questions of state policy. To a great extent they have now the shaping of the future in their hands. Will the foundations of future greatness be laid, and a starting point made from which progress and further development may proceed? Or shall the action of the present have reference to it alone, and, for the sake of immediate ends, difficulties and future troubles be stored up? On all such questions, whether social, economical, educational, partaking of a national or international character, it is important that clear and comprehensive ideas should prevail. These it will be the aim of this REVIEW to develop and maintain. It will always endeavour to apply to the particular circumstances of Canada those great principles which a long and wide experience has proved to be conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the people as a whole.

Political in the best sense of the term, this journal will not, however, be exclusively occupied with politics. Literary criticism will receive a prominent place. Recognizing the supreme importance of a culture of ideas, and a high literary taste and standard, as counteracting forces to the demoralizing influences of a material civilization, the DOMINION REVIEW will constantly endeavour to discharge the function of true literary criticism. A selection will be made of the more important works in the various branches of literary effort, as they appear from time to time. A critical account of these will be presented, and the public regularly put in possession of the best that is known and thought throughout the world.

Aims such as these are at least worth striving after. In the long run they must be realized; for here too, past failures become stepping stones to ultimate success. Whether, therefore, destined to succeed or fail, in the meantime no further apology is necessary for an effort to establish an organ through which the best thought of the country may find expression.

The Editors of

THE DOMINION REVIEW.

Montreal, July 15, 1882.

THE DOMINION REVIEW.

MONTREAL, JULY 15, 1882.

Among the closing days of last May a new association for scientific and literary purposes was inaugurated at Ottawa, under the name of the Royal Society of Canada. This is the second institution for the promotion of higher culture in the Dominion which owes its origin to the present Governor-General. Amid the social excitement in prospect of a general election, and under the pressure of the industrial occupations which are peculiarly urgent during our early summer, the meeting of the Royal Society could attract but a limited attention throughout the country. Indeed, neither the Academy nor the Royal Society can generally expect to be invested with much interest or importance in the eyes either of the industrial classes or of the mere professional politicians. The action, therefore, of the Governor-General in establishing these associations has either passed altogether unnoticed by the popular newsmongers, or been belittled by a depreciatory recognition of its import. It is true that the condition of a young country prevents such associations from exhibiting, in the roll of their membership, a formidable array of celebrated names; but no country is too young to make a beginning in the association of its people for the advancement of the higher aims of human life. If the Academy and the Royal Society must pass through a day of small things, in which their proceedings may be at times the subject of jest to enemies and of discouragement to friends, they will only obey the universal law of growth. But it is of infinite value to any community to be reminded perpetually that its life consists not in the things which it possesses, that men are richer by what they *are* than by what they *have*; and the time may come when the historian of Canada will record, as among the most important events of this generation, the fact that its Governor-General started two associations for the promotion of scientific and literary and artistic culture among its people.

The speech of the President of the Bank of Montreal at the recent general meeting of shareholders drew attention to the startling fact, that, whereas in 1875, immediately before the late financial crash, the aggregate discounts of Canadian banks amounted to $160,000,000, they have now reached the enormous expansion of $176,000,000. The General Manager of the Merchants Bank, on a similar occasion, dwelt with equal seriousness on the warning which various symptoms reveal in regard to the financial outlook of Canada. The whole country is indebted to these eminent financiers, not only for the timely alarm which they have sounded, but still more for the confidence they inspire in the policy of our leading banks with reference to the further expansion of discounts. At least it is to be hoped that the tone of both speakers is indicative of their determination to prevent their banks from encouraging excessive importation, but more especially that excess of domestic production which is too likely to be stimulated by the recent general election. The prudence of bank managers may do more than any governmental policy to secure the financial prosperity of the country, and may even neutralize some of the evils which our present fiscal system is calculated to produce.

Granting even the absurdity that manufactures would perish from the soil of Canada under a Free Trade régime, are the interests of the manufacturers identical with those of the nation as a whole? In what ratio do they stand to the other industries of the country? What proportion do they contribute to its trade and commerce, therefore to its wealth? Take the Export Trade, the fairest criterion of all, and how does the matter stand? For the year from 1st May, 1880, to 30th April, 1881 (the last year's figures are not before us) the Exports were as follows, viz.:—

1. Produce of the mine	$ 1,696,674
2. " " " Fisheries	6,620,488
3. " " " Forest	24,802,064
4. Animals and their produce	21,970,426
5. Agricultural products	31,972,643
6. Manufactures	4,104,491
7. Miscellaneous	854,040
Total	$92,020,826

That is to say, that of the whole Export trade of the country, manufactures represent 4½ per cent Out of every $100 of exported goods, the manufacturers se. · $4.50 ! ! The home market is a common factor, and need not be taken into account. In face of such facts, he would be a man of no ordinary audacity, who claimed that the manufacturing interest was so important that all the other interests of the country must be sacrificed to it; or that the interests, after all relatively of a very few individuals, were identical with those of the country as a whole. It is incredible that Lumbermen, Farmers, Agriculturists and those engaged in the Mines and Fisheries, as well as the working men of the large cities, all of whom it is impossible for Government to protect, should submit to the annoyance and injustice of a system by which they are being robbed in order that a few favoured individuals may speedily amass a fortune.

Of all the methods ever suggested to solve a problem in economical science, that adopted by the late House of Commons in Ottawa is probably the simplest and most original. It has been usually taken for granted that those who have spent their lives in the study of a science are the most competent men to give advice on any question involving the application of its principles. Parliamentary Committees have, therefore, never hesitated to apply to medical men before legislating on questions affecting the public health, or to seek the assistance of scientific engineers in the construction of great public works; and the lawyers of the House would be justly indignant if the opinions of laymen were preferred to their own in any reform of jurisprudence. But the House evidently regarded this method as altogether inapplicable to the solution of our economical difficulties.

Accordingly, instead of obtaining the advice of scientific economists, the House went through an elaborate process of inquiry to find out the opinions of farmers; and as a result of all the labour and expense, the country has the gratification of learning that 54 farmers thought this, and 114 thought that, and 26 thought something else, with many other tabulated statistics of similar value. Now, we have sincere respect for the farmers as a class; but our respect would have prevented us from inflicting the insult of catechising them on a subject on which they make no profession to be especially informed. The opinion of a farmer on a question involving the complicated action of economical and social laws, is probably as valuable as that of the average merchant or manufacturer, if none of them have qualified themselves for giving an opinion by previous scientific study of the subject. Without such study, the vote of any class of men, even if unanimous, is as worthless in discovering the mysteries of national economy, as it would be in deciding the truth of the Darwinian hypothesis, or in settling the controversy between homœopathy and allopathy in medicine.

In the whole history of Canada there is no record of a political condition so calculated to make honorable men blush for their country, as that in which the Province of Quebec is placed at the present moment. It seems as if all the safeguards of constitutional Government had here proved utterly ineffective in securing a just or economical administration of public affairs. The passions of political partisanship not only corrupt the popular assembly, but have extended their infection into the upper chamber, and even into the gubernatorial residence. It is sufficiently alarming that an irresponsible council should have the audacity to break down the one effective defence of popular Government, by tampering with the supply bill, and that they should be supported in their audacity by the Lieutenant-Governor; but it forms a more mournful outlook still, when this political trick has the design and the effect of displacing one of the most incorruptible ministers ever entrusted with public affairs, and throwing the Government of the Province into the hands of a clique who have not even the restraint of party principles, but are simply receiving and disbursing the public revenue with the view of keeping to themselves as much as possible in its passage from receipt to expenditure. Notwithstanding the clever budget speech of the Provincial Treasurer, no intelligent man is blinded to the fact that the expenditure of the Province has been regularly in excess of its revenue; and yet the representatives of the people, in such a serious crisis, betray their sacred trust not only by throwing away some of the most valuable assets of the Province, and by sanctioning all manner of unnecessary grants, but even by voting a large increase to their own sessional allowance, and to the income of ministers. Who is responsible for the continuance of the present Government in Quebec? Undoubtedly those men in the Province who usurp the name of Conservatives. But we have a higher conception of the great historical party which distinguishes itself by this title, and in the name of true conservatism we protest against its being identified with the administration of affairs in Quebec. At all events we have a right to demand of the Conservative party in Canada whether that is what Conservative Government means.

The famous Bill to restrict the immigration of Chinese into the United States is but an outcome of the general principles which the American people have adopted for the restriction of their internal and international trade. The policy, which protects capital invested at home from the competition of foreign capitalists, is but legitimately applied when it endeavours to prevent the depreciation of home labour arising from the entrance of foreigners into the labour market. But this policy is a game which may be played by more than one, and within the last week or two the Chinese have shown that they are not disposed to accept with tame submission the breach of treaty, as well as of international courtesy, implied in the legislation of the United States. It is safe to say that the conscience of the civilized world will not disapprove of any reasonable retaliation which the Government of China may adopt for the insult to Chinese nationality inflicted by the Government of the United States.

The progress of the United States in the solution of its economical problems becomes of increasing interest to us in the solution of ours. From the beginning the science of National Economy had the disadvantage, in American eyes, of having been first taught by Englishmen, and of having moulded the legislation of England before that of any other country. Then the rapid development of the nation's wealth relieved it from the pressure of economical problems. Even when the great civil war forced on them a financial problem of almost unparalleled difficulty, Mr. Lincoln and his supporters were too intensely absorbed in the main issue of the conflict, to take any serious interest in the subordinate question as to the justice or prudence of the methods adopted for raising the required revenue. In fact, the necessity of a heavy taxation in order to the success of the war enlisted the entire loyal population in the defence of the war-tariff, all the more that that tariff was the object of disloyal attack from the Northern democrats, who were in sympathy at once with Free Trade and with the Southern Secession. But these various influences, combined in their hostility to economical justice, have for years been losing their force, and there are numerous indications that the equitable principles of Political Economy will control ere long American legislation.

The science is now represented in all the leading universities of the United States; and the rising intelligence of the country is made aware of the fact, that Free Trade is not a mere crotchet of a few economists with the insular prejudices of Englishmen, but a doctrine on which all scientific economists, American and European alike, are agreed, as demanded by national justice and prudence. Moreover, the necessity for an enormous taxation is diminishing every year, in consequence of the surprising rapidity with which the war-debt is being reduced. Last year a surplus of $100,000,000 was applied to this reduction; and already it has become evident that the high tariff, demanded by the war, is no longer a necessity. The Commission, which has been recently appointed to revise the tariff, may be thoroughly under the control of the privileged classes; but it will require to make some show of reducing

taxation. It may succeed for a time in satisfying the public without touching any duties that are really protective; but the unprotected classes cannot be always blinded by that trick. Ere long it must become evident that the high tariff is not a legitimate burden on the nation as the cost of the great struggle by which it maintained its national existence, but an illegitimate artifice to swell the profits of a few by reducing the profits of the many.

The last act in the tragedy of the assassination of President Garfield is over, and the civilized world has the satisfaction of knowing that social justice has not been defeated in its effort to reach one of the most monstrous crimes of modern history. The character of the foolish knave who perpetrated the crime forms, and will always form, a curious psychological puzzle, but any doubt of his legal responsibility could arise only in a mind that has been betrayed into perplexities of special pleading, that are incompatible with accurate mental and legal science. The definition of insanity is still, indeed, a problem for psychologist and physiologist, for moralist and jurist alike; and, consequently, there is no department of medical jurisprudence more perplexing than that which seeks to settle the limits of responsibility in cases of mental disease. But the murderer of Mr. Garfield could be classed among the insane only in the sense in which every criminal is the victim of insanity, inasmuch as he is dominated for the time by some irrational passion or whim. If, however, men were absolved from punishment on this ground, society might abandon its punitive function altogether; and all law, as necessarily implying a penalty attached to its violation, would be abolished. Under any theory of punishment, one of its chief purposes must be to protect society against the madness of passions and whims that destroy social order.

In the settlement of the vexed questions between Labour and Capital, the principle of co-operation is destined to play an increasingly important part. Although hitherto efforts to reduce the theory to practice, especially in co-operative production have not fulfilled all the hopes of its advocates, in other respects it has been attended with remarkable success. At the recent annual Co-operative Congress, held in England, Lord Reay expressed his satisfaction with the principles and progress of the movement, as an attempt to solve certain social and economical difficulties. The charm of the co-operative movement, he said, was its benevolent character; but its strength, he justly added, resided in the fact of its being a pure economic institution, in which all the great principles of political economy were not only adhered to, but seen in actual operation. Unlike certain irrepressible would-be economists nearer home, he did not claim for the new movement that it set all sound economical principles at defiance as belonging to a set of theoretic dreamers. He took the only position compatible with common sense. Orthodox political economy, he said, had no greater ally than co-operation, and he significantly added that no social reform could be permanently successful which attempted to run counter to those economical truths which were not the result of vain imaginings, but of the experience of centuries.

The reports submitted at the Congress shewed a considerable progress in the co-operative movement during the year. There are now in Great Britain 1189 retail distributive societies, with 573,000 members, a share capital of £5,747,907 stg., and a loan capital of £1,496,143. The last year's sales amounted in the aggregate to £20,365,602, and the profits to £1,949,514. The English Wholesale Society, with which societies representing upwards of half a million members are associated, has, since its establishment, nineteen years ago. done a total trade of £28,670,878, with a profit of £349,120. Its annual trade now amounts to nearly £4,000,000 stg., and its expenses to about 3½d. in the £1 on the business done. In the last four quarters the Society made a net profit of £47,101. It gives employment to 1100 persons, and pays nearly £60,000 a year in wages. The Society has share capital amounting to £1,731,276, part of which is not paid up, and nearly £390,000 of loan capital also, an insurance fund of close upon £18,000, a reserve fund of over £20,000, property which has cost £212,295, and which the board of management have depreciated to the extent of £52,169, and it had a banking sum over of nearly £13,000,000 a year. It is evident that the co-operative movement in England is growing rapidly in importance and influence.

On the motion for the third reading of the Prevention of Crimes Bill in the House of Commons, the Government were unexpectedly defeated by a small majority. Mr. Gladstone had accepted an amendment of the Irish party, the effect of which was to lessen the severity of the Bill, by limiting the right of search to the day-time, except in the case of secret societies. The amendment was strenuously resisted by the whole force of the Tories, and, as it soon appeared, was regarded by many Liberals with displeasure. With a characteristic want of earnestness and candour, the Irish party joined the opposition; and though the amendment had been accepted by the Government to meet their express wishes, they refused to give it their support They preferred to place the Government in a difficulty, rather than help to secure what, on their own shewing, was a valuable concession. It was a miserable attempt to add to the difficulties of Mr. Gladstone, the only statesman who, in the face of almost insuperable obstacles, has attempted to discharge conscientiously the duty of the Imperial Parliament to Ireland. To suppose, however, that it can in any way weaken the position of the Government, is to attach far too much importance to it and its authors, Mr. Gladstone being still enthusiastically supported by the public opinion of the country. But it affords additional evidence, if that were needed, that the Irish party whose voice is lifted up the loudest, is animated by no truly patriotic sentiment, but only by the basest motives of political charlatanry. Such conduct can only help to deepen the feelings of contempt its authors have already aroused in the minds of thoughtful men. Even with those who have hitherto openly sympathised with their professed aims, such petty action can only issue in alienation, and despair of the cause of Ireland ever being advanced by those who so blatantly profess to be its sons.

Prince Bismarck has fared badly at the hands of the German Reichstag. His pet Tobacco Bill has been rejected by a vote of 276 to 42. Notwithstanding his most strenuous efforts, his favorite financial schemes have suffered shipwreck. As a sign of the times this is deeply significant. It shews that Bismarck's is no longer a name to conjure with; that, however great his administration of Foreign Affairs, the intelligence of the country has pronounced decisively against his mischievous protective schemes. It points, moreover, to the growth throughout the country of a liberal spirit, impatient of Bismarck and his paternal theories of government. The object of the Tobacco Bill, by giving the Imperial Government sole control of the tobacco trade, was to provide it with a source of revenue independent of the contributions of individual states, and thus enable it to carry out its policy without the check that possession of the purse strings always gives the people's representatives. Bismarck is not the man to give up, under any circumstances, a scheme on which his heart is set, and more will doubtless be heard of the Tobacco Bill. Meanwhile, however, the stubborn opposition it has met with, shews that a spirit, whose force he has not accurately estimated, is rising in the nation, hostile alike to the absolutism of the Empire, the galling yoke of military bondage under which it groans, and the pernicious financial schemes which the Chancellor, in his short-sighted eagerness for a well-filled treasury, has devised.

The attitude assumed by the German Social Democrats in the debates on the Tobacco Bill, was noteworthy. They opposed the Bill, but they recognized its socialistic character and tendency. Prince Bismarck out—herods Herod in his zeal to pander to the socialistic cravings of the people, and thus deprive the social democrats of the influence they possess. These, therefore, are foremost among his political opponents. The necessary connection between Bismarck's paternal theories of Government and protective schemes, and socialism, they readily admit and welcome. They oppose them only on the ground of their aristocratic, anti-democratic character.

"Theoretically," said Vollmer, a social democrat, "we " accept the socialistic character of the monopoly as a payment " on account of our claims and as an acknowledgment of our " just demands. If a trade is carried on by the Government, it " is socialism; confiscation of large means of production is an " essential injury to private property, and on that account, " although only as a means to a definite end, will be welcomed " by my socialistic brethren. We reject the tobacco monopoly, " although it bears a socialistic character; we do so because it is " not a democratic measure."

This is plain speaking. It is a public avowal of what has long been evident enough; that between Protection and Socialism there is a necessary connection; that the latter is merely a more extended application of the principles, as it certainly is the logical outcome, of the former. Once adopt the maxim that the State, as such, can become a source of wealth to any class, and Socialism in its worst forms is reached by easy and inevitable stages. If to one class, why not also to all? And between trade or commercial interference on the part of Government so as to increase the wealth of any class of the community, and monopoly of one or all of the sources of wealth, there is no essential difference, but only a difference of degree.

The origin of life upon the earth has of late years been attracting increased attention. The remarkable discoveries in Biology in connection with the attempts to verify the theory of Evolution, have only served to bring it into greater prominence. Hitherto amongst the most obscure, and by many confessedly regarded as among those ultimate problems of thought to which no answer is possible, the dawn of life upon this planet may be expected to engage still more earnest thought, and prove the occasion of some startling discoveries, especially if the possibility of its having been derived from some other planet can be demonstrated, as seems to be the case from the researches of Dr. Hahn of Berlin. A year ago Dr. Hahn announced the discovery of organic remains in meteorites. His investigations had been carefully made, 600 genuine specimens in the museums of Tübingen and Vienna having been examined by him. In these he claimed to have detected organic remains, which he identified as chiefly belonging to the most ancient forms of porous corallines, and including no fewer than 50 varieties of these creatures. The worthy Doctor and his discoveries were laughed at by many at the time. They seem, however, to have impressed Dr. Weinland, who at once set about to verify or disprove them. After a year's patient microscopic investigation, it is now reported that oh has satisfied himself of the entire correctness of Dr. Hahn's observations. If true, this is an astonishing discovery, both in itself, and in the boundless field for investigation and speculation it will open up.

The demolition of the forts at Alexandria by the English fleet, was an act of self-defence. In spite of warnings and promises to the contrary, Admiral Seymour found that the fortifications on the harbour were being steadily increased, and the safety of his ships being thus imperiled, he had no alternative but to reduce them to ruin. The tension, however, continues, and at any moment a crisis may be precipitated. Arabi Pasha and his followers are a set of military adventurers. It is the height of absurdity to talk of the existence of a National party in Egypt whom they represent. They are striving merely to place the country under a miliary despotism, beneath which the very semblance of justice and good government, would disappear. Arabi's removal is, therefore, imperative, as the first step towards a lasting settlement; and on this point there can be little doubt that the Imperial Government will adhere to their ultimatum. The recent rioting at Alexandria revealed a dangerous condition of affairs that cannot be ignored. The interests of other nations in Egypt may be more or less sentimental; those of England at least, are real and vital, and demand the removal of a state of things by which not only the lives of Europeans, but the peace of Europe, is constantly endangered. Meanwhile the Government have acted wisely in seeking to preserve a European concert, and to avoid unnecessary complications, by a conference of the great powers. But whatever may be the outcome of its deliberations, the policy of England is clear. Along with the other powers as the mandatories of Europe, or, if need be, by itself, Arabi and his unprincipled adventurers must be summarily chastised, and order and a settled Government once more established.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CANADA.

A general election usually alters, more or less materially, the status of political parties. The most remarkable feature of the recent elections which have taken place throughout Canada is the insignificance of the change they have effected. For all practical purposes the relative strength of political parties remains the same as in last parliament. But there is one result of the election which may in some measure solace the vanquished, if they will accept such a consolation: the verdict at the polls has made clearer than ever before what must be the dividing line between the two parties, if that line is to be a fixed limit which can be definitely traced by honest intelligence, and not an indefinite "debateable land," on which the unreasoning passions and prejudices of men may find an appropriate sphere of interminable conflict.

The circumstances in which the election was held render its decision all the more unmistakable. The general election of 1878 could not be accepted as a deliberate expression of opinion on the righteousness or expediency of Protection. The country was then in the depths of financial despair, and the vote of the people was almost universally regarded as a frantic leap into the darkness of an untried policy, under the conviction that its uncertainties could, at the worst, contain no gloomier fate than that which was endured at the time. There is no such cloud of financial ruin overshadowing the minds of electors now; they are rather dazzled by the glare of a present prosperity. It is true that this prosperity throws a false glamour over the policy of the present Government, as the gloom of 1878 was unfairly charged on the Government of the day. But the people are not now adopting Protection in blind despair. They have made a trial of it, a short trial, it is true, but a trial still, and their vote must now be understood as determining the deliberate policy of this country for some time to come.

It is neither unnecessary nor unimportant to insist upon accepting the verdict of the electors as an approval of Protection pure and simple. Not long ago Mr. Goldwin Smith, in an English periodical, produced a sort of explanatory apology for the increase in our tariff by representing it as not intended for the protection of manufactures, but as a sheer necessity for providing an increased revenue; and he even charged the blame of a tariff so hostile to British interests on the British people themselves, inasmuch as they have encouraged the Canadians in those imperial aspirations which have rendered an increase of revenue necessary. Such a plea for our tariff may pass without challenge among Englishmen, who usually possess but slender information on colonial affairs; but any average Canadian audience would have received the plea as a jest, the merriment of which consisted in its ludicrous discordance with familiar facts.

But if there had been any doubt as to the object of the present Administration when they increased the tariff in 1879, that doubt is entirely removed by the perfect explicitness of the Speech from the Throne on the dissolution of the late parliament. In that Speech, not only is the fiscal policy of the Administration made a subject, it is the sole subject, on which they ask the verdict of the people. In some cases, indeed, the journals and speakers on the side of the Opposition protested against regarding this question as the main issue of the election; but the country at large paid no attention to their protest. There is not a single other aspect of public policy on which the election can be fairly regarded as implying approval of the Government. Many who endorsed unequivocally the protection tariff, were quite as unequivocal, eighteen months ago, in their condemnation of the contract with the Pacific Railway Syndicate.

The fearlessness with which the Government threw down the gauntlet of Protection was in striking contrast with the timid hesitancy with which it was taken up by the Opposition. Not only did some contend that the prominence given to the subject was merely a *ruse* to withdraw the attention of electors from more important subjects on which the policy of the Government was less likely to give satisfaction to the country; but not a few went the length of declaring themselves in favor of Protection as decidedly as any supporters of the Government. All this vacillation and discrepancy in the tactics of the Opposition formed not only a misfortune to the cause of the so-called Liberal party, but, what is a far more serious affair, a misfortune to the cause of true liberalism. It was fair enough, of course, for any critic of the Government, to refer to other features in their policy besides their protective tariff; but any hesitanc on the part of a professedly Liberal politician to assert the right of every man to freedom in buying and selling, indicates either a want of clearness in apprehending the principles of true liberalism, or a want of courage in their defence. It is to be regretted that even the leader of the Opposition should, in his electioneering address, have spoken as if there might be some conciliation between the restrictive commercial policy of the Government and a thoroughly liberal legislation in regard to trade. From numerous public utterances Mr. Blake has made it evident that he accepts the teachings of National Economy in all their uncompromising hostility to restrictions on the freedom of trading either at home or abroad; but it appears as if the exigencies of party warfare had obliged him to tone down his electioneering utterances to chime in with the overpowering popular clamor for Protection. It is little less than startling to be told by him that Free Trade is an impossibility, that even a liberal trade policy allows protection to some industries, and that the protection which a liberal policy offers is distinguished from that of the present Government merely by being moderate.

It is surely no wonder that an Opposition of such a character should have evoked but a moderate enthusiasm on the part of its supporters. Nor need the Liberal, who has none of the interests of a partisan at stake, feel that any unmitigated calamity has been sustained in the late elections. To him Protection is not a policy which is allowable in a moderate degree, and wrong only when it becomes immoderate; it is inevitably a wrong to the unprotected classes, and it is essentially a delusion when it is supposed to increase the aggregate wealth of a nation. Every educated man who has familiarized himself with the results of scientific thought on National Economy knows that this is the verdict of science on the policy of Protection. The system is therefore doomed, like everything else which is in conflict with reason; and in the long run there is no course for us but to find our way, as best we can, out of the labyrinth of perplexing customs regulations into which we have been betrayed.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

Ireland continues to monopolize the time of the Imperial Parliament. But Parliament can do little in the way of curing Irish troubles. These are the product of many complex forces that have been at work for centuries. It is absurd to think, therefore, that their action can be arrested and undone at once by any legislative measures. Causes social, economic, educational, have all been powerful factors in the production of the present state of things in Ireland. They can only be effectually checked by other forces of a like nature working in opposite directions. A nation, no more than an individual, can be reformed in a day; and it is worse than useless to expect that Ireland can be cured of its chronic maladies by any Bill that may be passed.

Legislation, even of a healing kind, is, however, made almost impossible by the condition of the country, which, as Mr. Gladstone said, is in the throes of a social revolution that threatens to overturn the foundations of society itself. The most atrocious murders are committed; helpless victims are despatched with a tiger-like ferocity, characteristic of the lowest types of savage barbarism. There seems to be a wide-spread, well-organized conspiracy against order and good government, which has cast a malignant spell upon the people. So far the Government have been comparatively powerless, the absence of anything like a public moral sentiment to which they could appeal for support, having weakened their hands and paralyzed much of their energy.

Meanwhile, the prevention of Crimes Bill is being pressed in spite of the most violent obstruction by the Land League section of the Irish party, whose existence is imperilled by the settlement of the country. The first duty of a Government is to maintain order, sternly to put an end to intimidation by a set of ruffians, and to teach the people, by force if necessary, obedience to the laws. The stringency of the Prevention Bill was, therefore, a necessity. Trial by jury becomes a farce, and defeats the end of its existence, when no jury will discharge its duty by convicting. If crime had not to go unpunished altogether, therefore, a commission of judges was imperative. So, also, with the large discretionary powers entrusted to the Lord Lieutenant. Desperate cases require desperate remedies. And only the guilty and their associates need stand in awe of the Prevention Bill. To peaceful, law-abiding citizens, it will cause little permanent inconvenience or hardship.

Along with the Prevention Bill, the Arrears of Rent Bill is being steadily advanced, the fundamental principle of the policy of the Government being redress of grievances, as far as possible, along with any system of coercion. The Arrears Bill is the necessary complement of the Land Bill of last year, many tenants, on account of arrears of rent, being unable to take advantage of its provisions. The clauses providing for partial payment by the Government, out of the surplus funds of the Irish church and the public treasury, of arrears of rent in certain cases, are assailed by the opponents of the Bill for their communistic tendency. In this respect, however, they are trifling when compared with Lord Salisbury's celebrated plan for making the State the sole proprietor of the island. Theoretically, the Arrears Bill may have something of a socialistic character, but the good, practical, common-sense of the English people, the most successful and the most illogical people in the world, may be relied on to prevent its ever being used as a precedent for the realisation of communistic dreams.

Amidst the many voices crying in the streets, the demand for Home Rule grows louder. Ignoring altogether the fact that the causes of the Irish troubles are not even mainly legislative, it is arbitrarily assumed that they have arisen from the want of Home Rule, and that possession of it will prove their cure. On this unwarrantable assumption the late Canadian Parliament based its singularly ill-timed attempt to interfere in a matter entirely beyond its jurisdiction. Canada itself was pointed to as an example of the successful working of the system, and the example has been quoted since. But Ireland can never be allowed to stand to England in the same relation as that of the Dominion at the present. And it is premature to point to the successful operation of the system among the Provinces themselves. Apart altogether from the fact that Canada possesses undeveloped resources that are practically limitless, and that Home Rule, so-called, in Canada, is only a temporary cutting of the knot, not a final solution of the problem of how to fuse the scattered parts of the Dominion into one organic whole, it is a hasty inference that Home Rule in Canada is a success. In the very province where the difficulties it was meant to obviate were most felt, a large and influential number of the population are looking forward to a legislative union as the only safe-guard for their liberties, and the only means of escape from the baneful influence of the Government of Quebec.

Hitherto its advocates have refused to face the question: What is Home Rule? Home Rule for Ireland means either national independence, or practically nothing. The possibility of the former does not admit even of discussion; and the latter becomes evident the moment an intelligible definition of Home Rule is attempted. In the *Nineteenth Century* for June, Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., writes: "The interest of Ireland is "not necessarily divided from that of England in the matter of "Imperial taxation, or of postal arrangements, or of colonial "and foreign policy, or even of tariffs and commercial treaties." And, in his Home Rule scheme, the Imperial Parliament is charged with "the monarchical establishment, the maintenance "of the army, the navy, and the post office, and the conduct "of foreign and colonial policy, and the imposition and collec-"tion of such taxation as would be needed for these objects." What is left, then, after adding education and a reform of the land laws to the list, both of which, in the peculiar circumstances of the country, could not with safety be left to the control of any local legislature? Nothing that a good system of county boards could not accomplish equally well, and at far less cost.

It is hopeless to expect that Ireland can be cured of its evils within one or even several generations; least of all that so desirable a result can ever be achieved by Home Rule, or any other merely legislative measures. Justice will be done to Ireland, as well as to England and Scotland, by the British Parliament; real grievances will be redressed as far as possible. But beyond this, and as more powerful agents in the regeneration of society, the Irish people must look to the spread of a better education, the recognition of economic laws, and the counteracting influences of higher social forces, whose operation, though less obvious, is none the less real.

GEORGE ELIOT AS AN ARTIST.

George Eliot was an artist in the highest sense; her works possess the qualities of true works of art. There is in them a constant recognition of the universal. The poet of nature embodies in his verses the spirit of nature as it were, so that they become luminous, and produce in the reader the same feelings which true communion with nature itself would have called forth. And if the poet of human life is to produce real and lasting work, he must body forth something of universal human interest. George Eliot possesses this quality in an eminent degree. Her works do not deal with the brief questions of the passing hour, with morbid, sentimental feelings, having no deep root in human nature. She has turned her gaze "from that grosser, narrower light by which men behold merely the petty scene around them, to that far-stretching, lasting "light, which spreads over centuries of thought, and over the "light of nations, and makes clear to us the minds of the immortals who have reaped the great harvest, and left us to glean "in their furrows." The questions with which she deals are of eternal interest, and press for ever on men's spirits. This involves a profound insight into human life; and, tried by this test, George Eliot's works stand on a very high level. They reach into that region, above which such forms as those of Homer and Shakspeare alone are seen. George Eliot saw into the very heart and soul of life. What subtile analyses of character has she drawn! Her works abound with pictures of the very inmost thoughts, feelings, and spiritual experiences of men and women. Her characters think aloud; the processes of the growth and decay of their spiritual natures are laid bare; with what sometimes terrible truthfulness are the soul's most secret struggles rendered visible.

The true artist is in sympathy with his subject; and George Eliot was full of genuine love for humanity as such. She overflowed in sympathy. Nature even was embraced within it,—her constant, sympathetic references to natural scenery lending an additional charm to her works. Round the common people especially her interest gathered, and her affectionate regard for them alone rendered possible those wonderful delineations in her earlier works. Her figures are, therefore, not merely life-like but alive. They are not mere skeletons of men and women. The bones have been covered with flesh, and the whole infused with streams of fresh, warm life. Real men and women are met with in her pages. Hence they teach as life itself teaches, with this difference only: their inner heart is laid bare, and the reader is permitted to look into their very souls. A microscope, as it were, is put into his hands, through which the mysterious struggles of the human spirit are discernible, conveying by their bare exhibition both warning and instruction. Take *Romola* for example. As a work of art it is the highest specimen of the author's genius. *Adam Bede* may be almost perfect in its way, but there is as much difference between it and *Romola*, as between a picture of the simplest scene and the more complex work of a Michael Angelo. Florence, and the great European life-currents then coursing through it, as well as the deeper struggles of individual souls in contact with those everlasting problems which human life presents, are all reflected in this polished mirror.

George Eliot taught a profound philosophy of life, all the more so that it was through artistic forms. To her the universal shone always through the particular. She had a vivid sense of the eternal laws and principles that govern human life. She saw and gave magnificent expression to the truth that there is a moral harvest, a process of reaping and sowing, going on. Actions are like living seeds cast into the soil. They spring up, mature, and become centres of living energy for ever. Man's life is controlled by laws as inexorable in their operation as those which regulate the physical world. George Eliot had thus a grand conception of human life as a whole. The idea of Humanity, to her no mere abstract term but a living reality, received a splendid setting in her works. Human life was a vast organism rearing itself in the world, spreading its leaves and branches throughout the centuries. Men were related to each other as the members of any other organism, differing from them only in their consciousness of that relationship. Her law of life was, therefore, simple, but sublime. Self-sacrifice, the giving up of purely selfish and personal aims for the larger life in which all the good and great have shared, was the beginning and the end of life to her. "It is only a poor sort of happiness that could "ever come by caring very much about our own narrow pleasures. We can only have the highest happiness by having "wide thoughts, and much feeling for the rest of the world as "well as ourselves; and this sort of happiness often brings so "much pain that we can only tell it from pain by its being what "we would choose before everything, because our souls see it "is good." It is the vivid recognition of this that makes George Eliot one of the greatest teachers of the century. She teaches as life teaches; her figures, while alive, being also transparent. And, according as they follow or reject this law of life, they grow into fulness and splendour of manhood and womanhood, or wither, shrivel up, and perish, as the chaff driven before the wind. George Eliot does not go outside of life to find a motive-power to action of the highest kind. The grand theory she held supplied one of the strongest, which thoughtful minds in every age have recognised. Work: realise this true life, live in this wider life, so that from you something may proceed that will be built up into the structure of humanity itself! On the development of George Eliot's religious ideas an interesting chapter might be written. Her works throughout are infused with a genuinely religious spirit, though, intellectually, she differed widely from conventional ideas. She lived in the purest atmosphere and under the constant influence of the most exalted thoughts. And there can be no reasonable doubt that her works contain "the highest ideals of Christian life and character and "the purest exposition of Christian ethics." She also had a gospel for her age; no new gospel it is true, but something better. It set forth, in imperishable forms of art, old, yet eternal elements and principles of human nature and life, which belong not to this or that individual or age, but to all time, and possess enduring interest to men as men. George Eliot has joined the company of the mighty dead who still live in the thoughts, feelings, and lives of their successors. But she has left an enduring record of her life, and must continue to be a fountain of inspiration towards the right and the true and the good throughout many generations.

THE SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK.

It is impossible to disguise the fact, that the final results, towards which scientific discovery seems to point, are viewed with more or less serious apprehension by many minds. These results, whether they should excite uneasiness or not, cannot be avoided by timidly shutting our eyes to their perpetual advance. There is nothing for us, in fact, but to take a brave outlook into the future of science, and set our mental house in order, to meet any result which may be disclosed.

The future of science can be surmised only by an inference from the course which it has followed in the past. Now, it is a commonplace remark, that the aim and the result of science have been to reveal the universal order, the invariable law,—in a word, the absolute uniformity which prevails throughout Nature. It would not be difficult for the philosophical thinker to show that this feature of scientific progress is no mere accident of the course which science has happened to take. The direction of scientific effort is not accidental, it is determined by the very nature of science. For science is simply the intellect of man striving to comprehend the universe as an intelligible system; and this end can be attained only by reducing the perplexing multiplicity and variety of phenomena to some sort of unity and order. The inherent unity of Nature, therefore, forms an indispensable article in the creed of the scientific student; were this faith abandoned, the progress of science would be at once arrested.

The career of science, in its quest of the universal harmonies, has been fraught with high inspiration; and the minds of men may well be flushed with ardent anticipation of the sublime prospect which is opened up. It is especially in the very days in which we live that the achievements of science have raised the expectations of men to the intensest eagerness; the marvels of recent scientific appliance have won the interest even of those who feel little attraction in science for its own sake. It is true, that we must not, in the pride of our own progress, forget the work of the long line of predecessors by whom our success has been prepared. The fact is, that not a few of the most brilliant discoveries of modern date had been conjectured long ago, in some cases by thinkers of the ancient world. We may recognize, in all its fulness, our obligation to the genius that was able to rise to an intuitive anticipation of discoveries which it could not establish by the processes of logic; such a recognition does not detract from the value of the intellectual labor, by which the intuitions of ancient wisdom have been brought down from the airy region of mere conjecture to the solid ground of verified fact.

There are two aspects which Nature presents, which may perhaps, with sufficient accuracy, be described as the statical and the dynamical, the former referring to the existing relation of natural forces, the latter to their development in time. In both these aspects of Nature a fascinating study is offered in the history of the scientific researches, by which unsuspected resemblances have been brought to light, where the first view detected nothing but an apparently irreconcilable diversity. In the former aspect the phenomena of Nature have long been ranged under three great divisions, which are still familiarly distinguished as the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. All scientific researches have assumed that there must be some identity underlying all the differences that separate these groups of natural products. The very earliest efforts of European thought with which we are acquainted attempted to explain all things as modifications of a single form of matter, like water or air; but it was reserved for modern chemistry to trace, by unerring analysis, the precise quantities of the elementary materials that enter into the composition of all things, through the various combinations and separations by which they build up mineral, vegetable, and animal forms alike. It has long seemed as if we were thus forced, in the last analysis, to recognize a considerable number of ultimate units of matter or force—those units which are commonly called the chemical elements. But it has also been long conjectured, that this is not really the last analysis that science can effect; and now the chemistry of our day, in its latest researches, seems fairly on the way to vindicate the soundness of this conjecture,—to show that the so-called elements are merely different combinations or modifications of some primitive substance or force.

But the process, through which this primitive material has been transformed into the elements of the chemist, leads us to that other aspect of Nature, in which it is regarded, not as a stationary condition, but as a development that has been going on unceasingly through all the ages. The faith in the essential unity of Nature must assume, that the agencies at work in the present are substantially identical with those of the past and the future. Accordingly, the uniformity of Nature has always, even among the oldest thinkers, been supposed to extend over the period of time embraced within the records of human experience; but a bolder career has been opened for scientific research by the speculations of modern astronomy and geology. When in last century Kant, and in the present century Laplace, suggested that the formation of planetary systems might be explained by the gradual cooling down of vast spaces of gaseous matter; when, fifty years ago, Sir Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* established the assumption, upon which alone geological science is possible, that the agencies which have produced the crust of the earth are identical with those which we find operating on its surface at the present day; then the conception of the uniformity pervading all Nature's operations began to expand through the inconceivable periods of the past. But the living generation has witnessed the most startling application of uniformitarianism to a new sphere of objects. Long ago, even among the early thinkers of Greece, the idea had been broached, that the original production of organic forms was due to existing agencies of Nature; the idea had also been developed in modern times by Lamarck and by the author of the *Vestiges of Creation*, but it is not yet a quarter of a century since Darwin and Wallace gave to this idea a shape which has made it almost universally accepted among the naturalists of our time. Whether the Darwinian theory has succeeded in formulating completely the agencies by which the innumerable varieties of organic being have been produced, certain it is that the world can never recede from the step which has thus been taken towards the recognition of a unifying thought evolving the manifold diversities amid identity, the manifold identities amid diversity, that are discoverable in all the realms of Nature alike, throughout every region of space and throughout every period of time.

MODERN PREACHING.

The Decay of Modern Preaching. An Essay. By J. P. Mahaffy. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1882.

Mr. Mahaffy's Essay is mainly negative and critical. Its object is to exhibit the decay, not to attempt the reform of modern preaching. The author has specially in view the Church of England; but he has raised a question of increasing interest, and much that he says applies to modern preaching as a whole. By many, however, the title of his Essay will be regarded as a begging of the question. They will point to the fact of the spread of churches and increased activity in ecclesiastical work, and that the average sermon of to-day in many respects is an improvement on its predecessors. Multiplicity of churches, however, does not necessarily imply increasing pulpit influence. Nor can it be denied that with the spread of a higher culture, the former relative positions between a preacher and his audience have been changed, and the church's influence in the formation of the world's thought and life proportionately lessened. As a sign of the times it is significant that the greater number of the best students at the Universities ignore the pulpit. "How few men of talent turn to preaching," writes Mr. Mahaffy with authority. "We cannot but conclude that the abler young men of our day do not adopt this profession, and that our preachers, as a body, are below even the average in intellect." The other learned professions, the newspaper press, literature, politics, science and art, absorb much of the talent that would formerly have found its way into the church. The higher material inducements held out by them will not altogether explain the fact. They offer a better medium as a rule for the expression of the best thought of the age, and a larger audience to those who wish to leave their impress on contemporary life. In a profound sense, therefore, it is true that modern preaching has decayed. The preacher is no longer an oracle whose words are final. The test is simple: who are moulding the thought and life of the world, and where are they found?

The causes of this decay are sufficiently obvious. To a large extent the church has become divorced from the affairs of every-day life. Its preachers fail to awaken interest because their sermons bear no vital relation to the experience of their hearers. The stereotyped platitudes of which a modern discourse is to a large extent composed sound like words of an unknown tongue, familiar by repetition, but possessed of no real significance. They are no longer living words of truth from one who is himself consumed by them. It is absurd to urge that piety alone without intellectual power is all-sufficient. If so "we may give up the case as "lost," writes the learned author of this Essay, and he adds:—"Want of brains is a capital defect, and no amount of moral excellence will make a stupid man a preacher." Nothing is more calculated to help on the decay of modern preaching than the existence of a half-educated ministry, ignorant of the nature and extent of the moral and intellectual forces working in society. Such men are out of sympathy with the age in which they live. Having received all their own ideas at second hand, they are not in a position to understand the difficulties of others who are thinking for themselves. The falsely so-called *safe* men of the church are its greatest danger. They are a drag upon its progress, causing it to stand still while the world and its life are for ever moving. The church is an organic unity or it is nothing; and if its life is arrested by being cast into enduring forms, theological or ecclesiastical, decay and death must necessarily follow. "The man who avoids unpleasant doctrines, and avoids all bold statements of his own opinion, who keeps within the narrowest bounds set him by the theological public, and takes no lead in the march of opinion, will never be a good, far less a great, teacher. These are what we call the *safe men* in the Church. They may appear safe at the moment; in the long run they contribute to the ruin of the Church they represent. For they are essentially cold, and they repress in their surroundings all the glow and fervor of enthusiasm. I repeat it again on account of its importance—the so-called safe men in a Church are among the surest causes of its decay." (p. 130.) Each age has its own peculiar difficulties, and its own solution of them to work out. These may be old as thought itself, or change with the changing years; but if the church is to exercise any real influence for good, it must ever keep in close contact with the great currents of life, not content to lag behind them but anxious to shape their course. It cannot long afford to exclude learning and men of culture from its ranks; and it can only retain them by keeping pace with the progressive spirit of the age, by perfect toleration in matters of opinion, and by proving to the world that it is not identical with, but infinitely more than any sect or party merely, however numerous or pronounced. If it is not able to understand the anxious questions that disturb the minds of thoughtful men; if it can offer no solution to the great problems modern times have made their own; if men cease to find in the pulpit any recognition of the perplexities with which they are beset, and find instead only the cold repulsive attitude of a self-conceited ignorance, the result is inevitable: men of culture will gradually withdraw both from pew and pulpit, and the church, given over to the domination of a narrow party, become the synonym of a namby-pamby sentimentalism destitute of any living power.

Mr Mahaffy despairs of preaching: "I confess that among the better classes, and with educated congregations, I think its day is gone by. They no longer want instruction from the pulpit when they can find it in thousands of books; nor will they be led by the opinions of men who are not superior to themselves in intellect and culture, often not even in training. They will, no doubt, continue to attend sermons for years to come, by way of occupation on an idle day,—it may be from some intellectual interest in special preachers, or as an example to young people. But the days for any average minister to lead and influence such people *by his preaching* are gone by." (p. 155). But it need not be so of necessity. The Church has the remedy in its own hands. And, as Carlyle has well said: "The Speaking Function,—this of Truth coming to us with a living voice—with all our Writing and Printing Functions, has a perennial place. That a man stand there and speak of spiritual things to men—it is beautiful"—could the speaking one only find the point again. The Church has still an exalted mission to fulfil, would it only rise to a worthier conception of its nature. Never was a greater work demanded of it, nor a better opportunity afforded for doing it. Although the present is an age of criticism, of so-called scepticism, men were never more earnestly seeking for true light and guidance. Moreover, with the inestimable privilege of the Sabbath day and pulpits erected in every town and hamlet, the church has access to the hearts and consciences of men in a way such as no other institution can hope to rival—were these only used aright. The representative of the spiritual elements of life, "the lifter up to the nations of the banner of righteousness," holding the key to the solution of many of the problems or the age, social as well as moral and intellectual, going forth to save the world from the gross materialism that threatens to engulf it, and preserve society from the dangers that menace its very existence, the Church has a work to do in the nineteenth, as great, as arduous, as full of blessing to humanity, as that of any century preceding.

THE MAKING OF ENGLAND.

The Making of England. By John Richard Green, M.A., LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1882.

The "Making of England" covers the period from the beginning of the Saxon conquest to the union of England under Ecgberht, in A. D 829 Hitherto comparatively unknown, such a period possesses great importance to the student of English history as "the age during which our fathers conquered and settled on the soil of Britain, and in which their political and social life took the form it still retains." To the elucidation of it the author brings talent and capacities of a high order. Possessing a brilliant historical imagination, a patient industry that leaves no source of information neglected, a critical acumen that enables him to distinguish between the relative importance of events, and a charming literary style, Mr. Green has succeeded in reanimating the dry bones of the past, and investing them with warm flesh and blood. His "Making of England" is a valuable contribution to the existing state of knowledge of an obscure period of English history.

The story of the English conquest and settlement of Britain is full of interest. The fall of the Roman Empire precipitated a crisis in the history of the provinces attached to it. Corrupt at heart, the spiritual forces that give vitality to national life having become dead, with no organic principle of unity, either of race, religion, or anything beyond the ring of armies that encircled it, to bind its scattered parts together, the unwieldy mass fell to pieces when its legions were no longer able to resist the hordes of fierce barbarians that had pressed so long upon its frontiers; and the provinces that had grown up beneath its shadow became the prey of the invaders. It was so especially in Britain. "In its Western Dominions, where the German peoples were its foes, the triumph of its enemies was complete. The Franks conquered and colonized Gaul; the West Goths conquered and colonized Spain: the Vandals founded a Kingdom in Africa; the Burgundians encamped in the border-land between Italy and the Rhone; the East Goths ruled at last in Italy itself; and now that the fated hour was come, the Saxons, too, closed upon their prey." The removal of the legions for the defence of Italy, left the Celtic population of Britain which had submitted to the Romans, to the mercy of their foes. Picts from the north of Scotland (Celts who had not submitted to the Romans), Scots from the coast of Ireland, Saxon pirates of the channel, already terrible from their savage cruelty, leagued against the now defenceless people. For the four centuries of Roman rule had developed the arts of peace at the expense of warlike skill, and the legions on which they had hitherto depended for protection had left them, to return no more. Moreover, the alliance which, in despair, the Britains had made with warriors from the low German tribes, proved *their ruin. From allies these soon turned to mortal enemies. With the* help of Hengest and Horsa, the Picts and Scots were driven back. But, once landed, these allies refused to leave. Bands of their countrymen arrived in quick succession; and a wave of the great barbarian deluge by which the Empire was destroyed, spread over Britain.

In many respects, however, the conquest of Britain by Engles, Jutes, and Saxons was unique. Nowhere else was the work so difficult or tedious. The Britons fought with the courage of despair, their defence being materially aided by the nature of the country, then a land of forests, bogs, and fens. "In Britain the invader was met by a courage and tenacity equal to his own. So far as we can follow the meagre record of the conquerors, or track *their advance by the dykes and ruins it left behind it, every inch of* ground seems to have been fought for. Field by field, town by town, forest by forest, the land was won; and as each bit of ground was torn away from its defenders the beaten men sullenly drew back from it, to fight as stubbornly for the next."

"Instead of mastering the country in a few great battles, they had to tear it bit by bit from its defenders in a weary and endless strife. How slow the work of English conquest was may be seen from the fact that it took nearly thirty years to win Kent alone, and sixty to complete the conquest of Southern Britain, while the conquest of the bulk of the Island was only wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare. The conquest of France *by the Franks, or that of Italy by the Lombards, proved little more* than a forcible settlement of the one or the other among tributary subjects who were destined in a long course of ages to absorb their conquerors. But almost to the close of the sixth century the English conquest of Britain was a sheer dispossession of the conquered people; and, so far as the English sword in those earlier days reached, Britain became England, a land that is, not of Britons, but of Englishmen." (pp. 130-1).

The Celtic population, its language, institutions, laws, almost every vestige even of Roman civilization, disappeared, driven off into the inaccessible mountain fastnesses of Wales and Scotland. Engle supplanted Celt, the religion of Woden, Thor, and the gods of Teutonic mythology, that of Christ; while an entirely new social and political order arose. "The settlement of the conquerors was nothing less than a transfer of English society in its fullest form to the shores of Britain. It was England that settled down on British soil, England with its own language, its own laws, its complete social fabric, its system of village life and village culture, its principle of kinship, its principle of representation. It was not as mere pirates or stray war bands, but as peoples already made, and fitted by a common temper and common customs to draw together into one nation in the days to come, that our fathers left their homeland for the land in which we live." (p. 149.) The new people continued as they had been. The social and political principles peculiar to the Teutonic race, were adopted in their new settlement; and there already existed the germs of that stately edifice of ordered freedom represented by the British constitution of the present day. This "settlement of the conquerors" has been *well* set *forth* by Mr. Green in one of the most interesting chapters of his work

As yet, however, there was no national unity. Engles, Jutes, Saxons had settled in the land, and after two centuries of conflict with the Britons and each other, the Island was still divided into three independent kingdoms. But political union was inevitable among kindred peoples who spoke the same language and possessed the same social and religious institutions. By and by, therefore, a national consciousness arose, and found expression in a national religion. The English were at length converted to Christianity, and the Roman triumphed over the rival Irish bishops. For the Christianity of the Empire had perished in the wreck of Roman civilization, and its very memory had passed away. In *the interesting story of* this period Mr. Green narrates a striking incident in connection with the conversion of Eadwine, King of Northumbria, told by Baeda: "Moved it may be, by the appeal, or convinced by the long musings of th[illegible] inter-tide, Eadwine declared himself a Christian, and in the spring of 627 he gathered the wise men of Northumbria to give their rede on the faith he had embraced. The record of the debate which followed is of singular interest as revealing the sides of Christianity which pressed most on our forefathers. To finer minds its charm lay then, as now, in the light it threw on the darkness which encompassed men's lives, the darkness of the future as of the past. 'So seems the life of man, O King,' burst forth an aged *ealdorman, 'as a sparrow's flight through the hall when one is sitting* at meat in winter-tide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door, and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then, flying forth from the other, vanishes into the darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight; but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it.' Coarser argument told on the crowd. 'None of your folk, Eadwine, have worshipped the gods more busily than I,' said Coifi the priest, 'yet there are many more favoured and more fortunate. Were these gods good for anything, they would help their worshippers.' Then, *leaping on horseback, he hurled the spear into the sacred temple at God*manham, and with the rest of the witan embraced the religion of the Kin[illegible] (pp. 255-56).

The national consciousness, expressed at first in ecclesiastical, soon also found expression in political forms. In the 9th century Ecgberht, King of the West Saxons extended his dominion over Mercia and Northumbria, whose power as independent kingdoms was now completely broken, and "England was made in fact, if not as yet in name."

CANADIAN EXPOSITORS OF KANT.

Kant and his English Critics. a Comparison of Critical and Empirical Philosophy. By John Watson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada:

Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution: a Critical Study. By J. Gould Shurman, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Acadia College, Nova Scotia. Published by the Hibbert Trustees.

Last year the philosophical world was celebrating everywhere the centenary of one of the greatest works in modern philosophy,—the *Critique of Pure Reason* by Immanuel Kant. The celebration called forth a considerable number of works in exposition or criticism of the philosophical system, which was then evoking the enthusiasm of its admirers. Among the numerous contributions to Kantian literature which appeared at the time it is extremely gratifying to observe that perhaps none have attracted more attention among competent judges than two works which have emanated from Canadian universities.

The earlier and larger of these two works is by a writer who was already well known throughout the Dominion, among those who take an interest in such subjects, by several striking articles in the *Canadian*

Monthly and in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. Professor Watson belongs to that new school of British Transcendentalists, of which Ferrier of St. Andrews has the merit of having been the early and unappreciated forerunner, which is now working, though with no slavish imitation, in the spirit of Hegel, and which, under that lofty influence, is rapidly extending its power over the higher thought of the empire. Dr. Watson's book represents one aspect of Kant's philosophy, its theoretical aspect, in which it aims at a rational explanation of the world as an object of knowledge. But there is another side to all philosophy. For we are related to the world, not merely as *knowers*, but also as *actors*; and we demand of philosophy a rational explanation, not merely of human knowledge, but also of human action. This latter problem forms the subject of the second Canadian contribution to the exposition and criticism of Kant's philosophy. The author, Professor Shurman, was the Gilchrist Scholar of seven or eight years ago; and during the tenure of his scholarship carried on his studies mainly in London. There he received the additional honor of obtaining a Hibbert Travelling Scholarship, which enabled him to continue his studies for two years at the universities of Germany. On his return to his native province of Nova Scotia in 1880, he was appointed to the philosophical professorship in Acadia College; and we are pleased to learn that he has just been transferred to the new chair in Dalhousie College, Halifax, endowed by Mr. George Munro of New York.

The two works under review represent the two sides of philosophical speculation,—the theoretical and the practical. The former grapples with the problem, how the world has come to fashion itself as it does in our knowledge; the latter seeks to explain how we come to react on the world as we do. Both works, moreover, deal with these problems of philosophy from a similar point of view: not only do they both expound the Kantian solution of each problem, but they also both discuss the solution of each problem by that English school of thinkers, which stands in most direct antagonism with the philosophy of Kant. In England, especially when contrasted with Scotland and Germany, the predominant tendency of speculation has been towards Experientialism, the system which bases all knowledge on experience, on facts. Unfortunately, however, the Experientalist takes an extremely inadequate view of what experience means. He forgets that a fact of experience must be a fact to some conscious being,—an interpretation which some intelligence forms of a phenomenon excited in his consciousness. Now, the Experientialist insists upon limiting our knowledge to facts; he proclaims, not for the sake of epigrammatic fun, but in sober earnestness, that

> "He knows what's what, and that's as high
> As metaphysic wit can fly."

He allows, therefore, no inquiry which goes beyond the actual existence of facts: he excludes all question about the reason of their existence; or, if such a question is admitted, the only reason adduced for any fact is, that similar facts have been observed in other places or at other times. That is to say, he falls back, in the last resort, on the dogma of the Uniformity of Nature; and this unexplained dogma is assumed as the inexplicable starting-point of all our knowledge.

Now, to Kant this is an unphilosophical, because uncritical, attitude of mind. For him it is not enough that a dogma, like Fate or Chance or the Uniformity of Nature, happens to exist among our thoughts, or that a fact takes the particular form which it happens to have in our minds. He insists upon knowing what right any idea has to determine our thoughts about things, why a fact presents itself in the particular form it assumes.

The endeavor to solve this problem may be said to form the inherent aspiration of the human intellect at all times; but it describes, with special appropriateness, the form which the higher aspirations of men assumed at the time precisely when Kant's Critique of Pure Reason appeared. It appeared, as we have seen, a hundred years ago, and therefore at a time when the eighteenth century was nearing the close of its task. At all times men are apt to outgrow the forms of thought and the customs of life, which have been fashioned by an earlier age; but few generations of men have ever so completely outgrown their mental and social clothing as the Europe of last century, while fewer still have ever so unceremoniously cast aside their worn-out garments. There arose an universal, uncontrollable yearning to get back to Nature after her artificial trappings had been removed,—a yearning which, in phrases rendered familiar by Kant, might be described as seeking to get beyond mere *subjective* forms to *objective* facts, to realities.

The profoundest historians of last century have taught us to read the evidences of this universal aspiration in all the great movements of the age. In the revolutions of social usage, of moral and spiritual life, of literature, of educational theory, of theological speculation, of science in general, we may trace an endeavor to get beyond traditional forms of thought and conduct to what is purely natural, purely rational. It was of course in the political science and the political movements of the time, that the most startling evidences of the universal revolution were seen. Here, as in educational theory, Rousseau became the exponent of the spirit of the age. Under his lead political science became a speculation on the natural condition of society, political action directed itself to the realization of that condition. The French Revolution, in which this tendency culminated, was but a practical application of the doctrines of Rousseau; it was an effort to introduce a natural social condition,—an effort unfortunately, not only inspired, but guided, by the frantic despair of millions of men who had been suffering unendurable misery from the artificial inequalities of human life.

Such were the general strivings amid which the Critique of Pure Reason wrought itself into shape in its author's mind. It is a philosophical interpretation of these strivings,—a speculative exposition of their aim. For they are all endeavors to find out what is true and real, not to this or that man, not to this or that nation, not to this or that time, but to all men, and, for that matter, to all beings endowed with reason. Now, that is, in its essential meaning, the drift of Kant's Critique. It is a critical investigation of pure reason. It is an inquiry into what is true for all reasonable beings,—true for them because they are reasonable,—true, therefore, for reason purely as reason. That this inquiry was exhausted by Kant, his most ardent admirers need not, and do not, maintain; but they hold that he has opened a new insight into the essential drift of philosophical speculation,—into the ultimate aim of all scientific effort. For all science proceeds on the assumption, that the universe is an intelligible, a reasonable, system. The processes of science are, therefore, simply the processes of reason finding itself in the world. That language is in fact not too sacred for the subject, which describes all scientific labor as an aspiration of man's finite reason seeking communion in Nature with the infinite reason of its Maker.

THE PROBLEM OF PHILOSOPHY.

The Problem of Philosophy at the present time: An introductory address delivered to the Philosophical Society of the University of Edinburgh. By Edward Caird, L.L. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1881. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1882.

It is now a truism to assert that the present is an age of criticism and transition, marked by the passing away of one, and the coming of a new and higher order: "old things are passing away; all things are becoming new." The Mediæval order of society—its feudalism and ecclesiasticism—which between them divided the control of man's whole life, is slowly dissolving. The principle of individual freedom—political, intellectual, religious—implicit in the critical movement of the 16th century, has since become explicit; it has been realized in outward form in church and state, and has made imperative the task of rebuilding the new and higher order of the coming time. Intellectual freedom, and the corresponding impetus to activity in every branch of inquiry; the rapid strides made by physical science, and the adoption of the scientific method, have revolutionized thought. The period of the intuitions of childhood has passed; that of reflection has come, when ideas and systems implicitly received, must be re-thought, and the hidden logic by which they were arrived at, brought to light; when their temporary and accidental elements must be discarded, and their eternal elements remoulded in a higher form. Men cannot live on negations

merely, on stones instead of bread; and the work of destructive criticism must end at last.

This rebuilding of the broken gods and ruined temples, the restoration of the broken unity of faith and reason, is, according to Professor Caird, the constant problem of philosophy, and the particular work it is now called upon to perform. Standing before the ruins of the beautiful world his own criticism has destroyed, the philosopher must undertake the further task of buliding it up in his own soul again, in a new and higher form. Professor Caird shews little sympathy for the hypotheses of the materialist, which reduces consciousness, thought, and will to the level of mere physical phenomena, making even their existence an insoluble problem, and the subjective idealist, which reduces all experience to a series of states of the individual soul, or for the self-contradiction of the agnostic, that we know that we can know nothing. The problem of philosophy, he claims, is not merely to construct a logical theory of the universe beyond experience: "The task of philosophy is to gain, or rather perhaps to regain, such a "view of things as shall reconcile us to the world and ourselves."

Admitting the principles on which the Positive Philosophy is based—the limitations of man's powers, and the imperative wants of his moral being—Professor Caird rejects the system of Comte as inadequate, illogical, self-contradictory, and uniting all the difficulties of both extremes it would avoid—the difficulties of an absolute philosophy, which seems to go beyond the limits of human knowledge, and the difficulties of a scepticism which leaves the moral and intellectual life of man without a principle of unity. "If," he argues, "philosophy is incapable of a universal synthesis," as Comte declared, "it cannot make any synthesis at all. If it admit any "absolute division, whether between the ego and the non-ego, or between "man and nature, or even between the finite and the infinite, it is driven "of necessity into scepticism. Unless it reconcile us with the universe, it "cannot even reconcile us with ourselves. If we cannot—know God, we "cannot know anything." Professor Caird is fully alive to the difficulties in the way of such a task, and has the rare merit of stating them fairly. Between science and religion, however—the universal religion of Christianity,—he sees no impassable barrier. Man must accept the facts of his finite life; but as a self-conscious being "who knows the world in relation to the self, and who, therefore, cannot but realize more or less distinctly the unity of all things and of the mind that knows them, he must equally reject any attempt to confine him to the finite world." The scientific impulse itself presupposes an idea of truth as the ultimate unity of being and knowing, which in all our inquiries into the laws of the universe we can only develop and verify. It is the consciousness of this unity that makes the apparent discord of things with each other a mystery, as the practical impulse, whenever it goes beyond a craving for the satisfaction of immediate sensuous wants, "implies the presence in our minds of an idea of an absolute good, which "is at once the realization of the self, and of a divine purpose in the world." Philosophy, he thus argues, may begin its work by vindicating the religious consciousness as presupposed in the very consciousness of the finite, which at present often claims to exclude it altogether, or to reduce it to an empty apostle of the unknown and unknowable. And he finds in Christianity, which brings to light "the idea of the unity of man as spiritual with an "absolute spirit," notwithstanding the ever-changing forms in which it may be necessary to express it, a principle of universal synthesis, which is adequate to the task of solving the difficulties suggested by the increasing knowledge. At the same time, Philosophy must come into close relation with the work of science, shewing that its facts and laws are capable of a higher interpretation than that which has been drawn from them by those who have attended to these facts and laws alone. "It must emerge from the "region of abstract principles, and shew that it can deal with the manifold "results of empirical science, giving to each of them its proper place and "value."

Men are near waking when they dream that they dream, Novalis has said; and there is hope for a speedy solution of difficult problems when once they are clearly defined. Professor Caird's address is, therefore, a most timely utterance upon an all-important subject. It is needless to add that it possesses in an eminent degree those high qualities of profound thought, clearness of insight, and felicities of expression, that are so characteristic of all the works of the accomplished author.

TABLE TALK.

Mr. Morley has retired from the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review*, and it is announced that Mr. T. H. S. Escott has accepted the position. Mr. Morley was appointed editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* when it changed hands and sides in politics some time ago.

Readers of Carlyle's "Diary of his Irish Tour" will be interested to know that there exists in MSS. a diary of a visit he made to Paris after the Revolution of 1848, which contains sketches of several of the notable statesmen of that time.

A new work by Mr. Edward Jenkins has just appeared, bearing the title: —*A Paladin of Finance: Contemporary Manners.* A translation of the work is appearing as a *feuilleton* in *La République Française.*

The admirers of Mr. Herbert Spencer throughout the Dominion will be pleased to learn that he is expected to attend the meeting in Montreal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Gentlemen still living can remember when the Kilmarnock edition of Burns' poems could be picked up at an old book-shop for sixpence. To-day we see a copy advertised for £50 sterling; and Dr. Laing's copy, containing some marginal notes by the poet, was sold last year for £96. It is an interesting fact, moreover, that an autograph of the Scottish peasant usually commands a larger price than that of any crowned head whose manuscript has come down to us.

It is not generally known that Mr. Grant Allen, whose writings have attracted so much merited commendation of late, is a Canadian. He represents three of the nationalities that go to form the people of Canada. His father, an Irishman by birth, occupies the hospitable mansion of Alwington in the suburbs of Kingston, where Mr. Grant Allen was born. His mother is a Grant, and therefore of Scotch descent on her father's side; but her mother represented the family of De Longueuil, one of the oldest of the Canadian *noblesse*, its patent of nobility having been conferred by the Grand Monarque.

Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., have returned from Eastern Palestine to England, bringing with them the map of a large district, covering 500 square miles of country, with a very large quantity of notes, plans, drawings, and photographs concerning the antiquities of Moab and Gilead. Captain Conder will proceed at once to arrange these materials for publication. He has also brought with him a considerable quantity o notes and additional information made by himself and his party in Western Palestine. These will be included in the next volume of the Society's work,

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies has given its support to a proposal to reproduce by photography the celebrated Laurentian Codex of Sophocles at Florence. It is hoped to obtain one hundred subscribers among private individuals and public libraries, at £6 each.

Mademoiselle Dosne (the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*) has found a portfolio containing a number of notes in M. Thiers's handwriting, forming a history of his time. They include memoranda of conversations, ideas that occurred to him, anecdotes, and sketches of celebrated men with whom he was personally acquainted. There are portraits of Louis Philippe, Sir Robert Peel, Jacques Lafitte, Lord Normanby, and Louis Napoleon, written after the *coup d'état*. Mdlle. Dosne recoils from publishing these notes, but the literary executors of M. Thiers urge her to bring them out or to deposit them in a sealed packet at the National Library, with directions for them to be printed hereafter.

At the sale of the Hamilton Palace Collection several fine pictures were disposed of at large prices, several of the most important being bought for the National Gallery. The sum of 4,050 guineas was paid for a landscape by Hobbema, and Rubens' "Daniel in the Den of Lions" fetched 4,900 guineas. The great contest was over the large work of Botticelli, "The Assumption of the Virgin," which was acquired by the trustees of the National Gallery for £4,777 10s. "The Adoration of the Magi," by Botticelli, brought 1,550 guineas; the Andrea Mantegna mono-chrome, 'Summer and Autumn," 1,700 guineas; the Giorgione "Story of Myrrha," 1,350 guineas; the small portrait attributed to Leonardo, £525; and the large work of Tintoretto, "Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet," 150 guineas.

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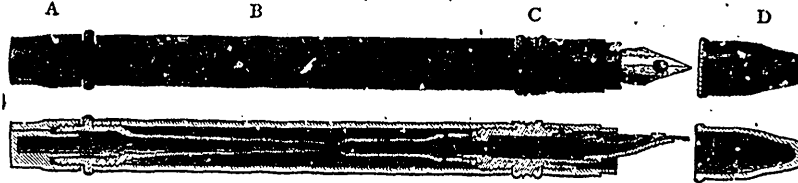

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465	L. H. Davidson........	10 "	2500	54 30	18 10	19 45	20 40	23 15	25 97
1727	M. Hutchison...........	9 "	10000	405 10	118 30	130 10	138 50	159 00	179 90
1754	W. Clendinnong.......	9 "	5000	152 80	47 28	51 80	55 40	63 60	71 97
1821	J. H. Mooney..........	9 "	5000	172 20	53 00	58 16	61 85	71 05	80 44
2194	T. Logan...............	8 "	5000	194 75	47 55	54 20	59 15	69 25	79 50
2195	M. C. Mullarky.......	8 "	5000	186 90	45 80	52 10	56 90	66 60	76 55
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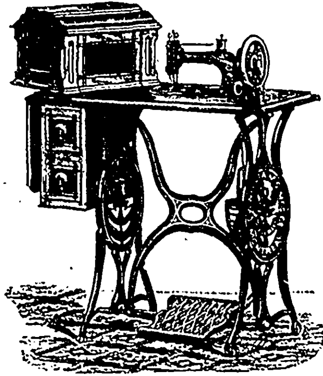

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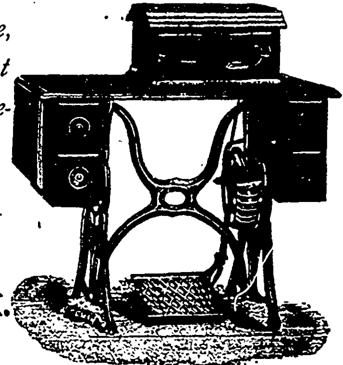

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