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A MONTHLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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THE BYSTANDER.

FEBRUARY, 1880.

THE BYSTANDER now bears a motto embodying our main object and our guiding principle in treating Canadian affairs. Whether our aim is a narrow propagandism or as broad a view as we are able to take of the events of the time, our readers will judge not from hostile or fanciful representations, but from that which is before them. Our success has greatly exceeded our hopes, and promises a circulation at least double of that for which we were prepared.

The next great Canadian event will be the meeting of Parliament. The Ministerial majority is overwhelming; under ordinary circumstances it would be too large for party discipline; but its members will be kept in order by the fear of losing their seats, as some of them undoubtedly would, if they were now compelled to go to the country. Even the friends of the N. P. admit that there is a certain amount of disappointment. Election promises are always pitched too high; and assuredly the N. P. campaign formed no exception to the general rule. But there is a deeper cause of disappointment than this. The new tariff is a right measure in itself, taking for granted the soundness of the general policy to which it has relation, and which consists in carrying Imperialism into our economical affairs; but, as we are persuaded, that policy is the reverse of sound. The other pillar of the party, besides the tariff, is the ability of its chief. There is a good deal of talk, premature and therefore impolitic, about the successor of Sir John Macdonald, and attempts

are made by active spirits, whose efforts are rather on the surface, to press particular candidates. "Dear Brother," said Charles II. to the Duke of York, who had officiously offered him his guard, "depend upon it, nobody will kill me to make you king." The Premier might say something of the same kind to his heir designate, and no doubt he would say it with all the urbanity of Charles II. Sir John Macdonald will have no successor. In England the Conservative party is a territorial aristocracy holding all the landed wealth of the country, flanked by a commercial plutocracy which aspires to connection with it and by a highly endowed State Church. It has definite principles, vital and dear to all its adherents, which may be summed up in the one word 'Privilege.' It forms, and till it is sapped by the economical and intellectual forces will continue to form, a permanent and self-supporting mass, comparatively little affected by the qualities of the leader for the time being. Mr. Pitt dies, Mr. Percival lives; and though the commanding voice is silent, the votes remain with the interest to which they belong. The "beacon on the hill" is extinct; but a candle suffices to light the friends of Privilege into their own lobby. It is not so here. Since the overthrow of the Family Compact, the disestablishment of the State Church, and the abolition of the Seigniories, Conservatism has had no permanent basis except, perhaps, Orangeism and its strangely assorted ally, the Roman Catholic theocracy of Quebec. At most, it has a basis of sentiment, the feebleness of which, compared with material interest, its own victory at the last general election revealed. It is simply a combination formed by a particular leader whose genius and fortune have drawn followers from every camp. When he leaves the scene, the combination will come to an end. Whether among his present lieutenants anyone will be found capable of putting it together again and leading it as it has been led, we shall see when the time comes. We hope better things—perhaps, also, we fear worse. We hope that partyism will have somewhat declined, and that to form a sectional government will not be so.

easy. We fear that financial embarrassment will have reached a point at which it will absolutely compel the nation to put an end to the game.

—There is reason to believe that a Civil Service Bill will be among the measures brought forward by the Government. The clamour of eighteen thousand applicants for appointments, and the maledictions of seventeen thousand nine hundred malcontents, have probably helped not a little to convince the Prime Minister of the expediency of this reform; though we believe it may justly be said of him that when party has let him alone, he has done, in his own way, his best for the public service, and that his appointments, his judicial appointments especially, as often as he has made them freely, have been good. Civil Service Reform in England, also, owes its existence in no small degree to Ministerial desperation. The advantages of high training will, perhaps, not be so conspicuous in a community such as ours as they are in the communities of the Old World; we have no diplomatic service, and the general intelligence and versatility of our people make them pretty good administrators even without special preparation. Even in the United States, the evils of the present system, so far as efficiency is concerned, are apt to be a good deal overstated. But the advantage of a permanent and responsible service, consisting of men whose character and livelihood depend entirely on their integrity, and whom, if they do wrong, no person or party has any interest in screening, must in every country be very great. By its institution, with the necessary adjunct of adequate salaries, British India was turned from a looting ground into a civil administration remarkable for its purity, whatever the general effects of British rule may be. Equally desirable is it to do away with a patronage which aggravates all the evils of party government, and which is rapidly breeding a vast profession of adventurers following the camp of a party, instead of making their bread by honest trades. When Sir John Macdonald came into power with a

great majority given him, not by party machinery, but by a national movement, there were those who hoped that he would show his sense of his position by widening the basis of government. Old ties and old habits were too much for him; the only instance in which he has responded to our hopes is the renewal of his connection with Sir Alexander Galt. But if he will carry a good Civil Service Bill, we shall owe to him no inconsiderable step towards our final deliverance from the reign of faction and corruption.

The mention of Civil Service Reform always sets going a debate on the subject of competitive examinations. In the case of India that system seems to have answered well; the late Lord Lawrence, a man of action if ever there was one, pronounced its results good. But it has its weak points. It is apt to lead to overstraining and cramming. It is apt, also, by the attraction of a prize, which to a boy and his parents seems at the moment great, to draw into a clerk's place a youth who has abilities above it and who presently grows discontented. It would be invidious to dwell on the superior securities which England has for the absolute integrity of the examinations and awards. China has a perfect system of competitive examination which is said to be a screen for corruption from top to bottom. Responsible appointment, with sufficient test examinations, entire immunity from removal on party grounds, and promotion by merit within the office, seem Civil Service Reform enough for a community such as ours.

—As both the leaders of the Opposition have declared for a reform of the Senate and neither of them has been court-martialed, ground will probably be broken on that question. "Reform" is a wrong word, because it implies abuse; there is no abuse, except in the case of any senators who may have taken the honour and the pay without doing their duty; there is only an experiment in constitution building which has failed, and the failure of which, in general opinion, calls for a change.

Nor can the Prime Ministers who have successively exercised the power of nomination be justly blamed for the result. Expectations that "the Crown" would fill the Senate with men of a different class from those who composed the Lower House—men superior in any mental or social qualifications, less involved in the faction fight, better fitted to represent commercial interests or scientific professions—were foredoomed to inevitable disappointment. "The Crown" is the Prime Minister; and no Prime Minister who was at the head of a party could help doing what the Prime Ministers on both sides have done—bestowing the nominations as rewards for party services and making the Senate, what it is, a political infirmary. Under the party system, whatever patronage is put into the hands of Government is sure to fall into the general bribery fund by which a party government is sustained. In England a peerage is now and then given for military or naval services, seldom for public services of any other kind, and an extra law lord has sometimes been created when the House, as a Court of Law, has been in absolute need of reinforcement. Otherwise, the only road to a peerage is through landed wealth and a long course of steady voting for the leader of a party.

Before we debate the question, how the Senate ought to be constituted, we must sacrifice on the altar of truth by frankly declaring our disbelief in Senates altogether. The illustrious Council from which the name is derived was not an Upper House but the government of the Roman Republic, having the executive practically under its control and the initiative of legislation in its hands. The American Senate is a special representation of the Federal as distinguished from the popular principle, in a country where, be it observed, foreign relations being in the hands of the national government, there are real federal functions to be discharged. But the other modern Senates are intended imitations of the House of Lords, and, one and all, begotten of the same illusion. The House of Lords is not a Senate, it is an old Feudal Estate, embodying not a political cast of mind different from that embodied in the House

of Commons, but a different interest, and at the dictate of that interest resisting to the uttermost every measure of change from the Habeas Corpus Act to the mitigation of the Criminal Code, and from the mitigation of the Criminal Code to Parliamentary Reform. In no single instance, we are persuaded, can the House of Lords be shown to have discharged the supposed function of a Senate, by revising, in a calmer atmosphere and in the light of maturer wisdom, the rash resolutions of the Lower House. Its members are not older or more sedate, much less are they better informed or wiser than those of the House of Commons. They are simply members of an hereditary aristocracy maintaining the privileges of their order. For that object they readily passed the most revolutionary measure, in the worst sense of the term, recorded in the political history of England—the enfranchisement of the ignorant and irresponsible populace of the cities by the Tory Reform Bill of 1867. Yet the belief that they are a sage council of political revision has given birth to the double-chambered theory with the multifarious embodiments of which the British colonies and constitutional Europe are overspread.

Under elective institutions there can be no real power but that which rests on the suffrages of the people. Nominated Senates, such as the French Senate under the Restored Monarchy, and our Senate, are nullities, with a latent possibility of mischief, which was manifested the other day by the refusal of the supplies, for the purpose of a party *coup d'état*, by the Senate of Quebec. If an attempt is made to divide the real power by making both Houses elective, the result is a perpetual risk of collision, such as has twice produced a dead lock in Victoria, and in France came near the other day to replunging the country in civil war.

Not in complications, rivalries and conflicts is the necessary Conservative influence to be found, but in the proper constitution of a single assembly, in requiring such qualifications on the part of its electors, filling it up by such instalments, so regulating its legislative procedure that it may be an organ of

intelligence not of passion, and give effect to the settled convictions, not to the transient impulses, of the people. Then, instead of making the executive authority the prize of a perpetual faction fight, let an executive council be regularly elected by Parliament. The separation of the executive power from the legislative is a dream, though Montesquieu has established the belief that it is one of the great securities for liberty. Already Parliament appoints the Government, but in a way which makes it the government of a party, not of the nation.

Of what sort of men is the Upper House specially to consist? We have gone through projects without number, and volumes of discussion, yet we have never met with an answer to this essential question. Electoral or nominative machinery of all kinds is constructed, but nobody seems to know, or think it necessary to determine, what the machinery is to produce. Is the Upper House to be composed of old men?—It will be impotent. Of rich men?—It will be odious. Of the best and wisest men?—The Lower House, which, as the more popular remains the more powerful, will be left destitute of its natural guides and controllers. From this quandary, which, if we had space, might be illustrated historically, we really see no escape.

However, the principle of two chambers is established, and we take it as it is. The only way of giving the Senate real power, and making it a living institution, is to introduce the elective principle; and this, so far as we can see, must be done in one of two ways, either by giving the election of Senators to the Local Legislatures, or by giving it to the people of each Province. Much might be said in favour of the Local Legislatures, if they were what they ought to be, genuine local councils, consisting of the worthies of the districts, and if their members would vote freely. But, as it is, to give the election of senators to them would be to put it into the pocket of the leader of the party in power, which would be very much the reverse of an improvement on open and legal nomination by the Prime Minister of the Dominion. To the people of each Province then, apparently, the election must be given;

and we must hope that the largeness of the constituencies will, to some extent, baffle wirepulling, and that petty local influences being swamped, the feeling which the people always have for eminent leaders will prevail. The substitution of a term of years for life-tenure is a matter of course: it is necessary, both to secure a rotation of elections, and as a practical ordinance of superannuation. If the present Senators are allowed to retain their seats, the change will be gentle, and all fear of revolution, if anybody is so nervous as to entertain it, will be removed.

A mixed mode of election, if different constituencies could be devised, might not be without its advantages. It would introduce emulation, as well as temper dominant influences, and prevent things from running in one bad groove. But to devise different constituencies is not easy, while the principle of representation might be enfeebled and obscured. The simple measure is probably the best, and certainly it is the one most likely to enlist the support of the people.

The Upper House in England is the Court of Impeachment, a function which it has always discharged as badly as possible when any political feeling was involved. Not many years ago a Colonial Governor, who was then in danger of impeachment for arbitrary and sanguinary misrule, was publicly assured, by a member of the House of Lords, that if he was brought before that House he would find in it a sympathizing tribunal. It seems doubtful whether the Canadian Senate shares the power. But either in the Senate, or in some more judicial body, a Court of Impeachment we ought to have. Political corruption, the bane and peril of these communities, is not less capable of legal definition than treason or sedition, and it will not be put down till it is treated as a crime. An investigation in the House of Commons is not a trial, but a faction fight, as we saw in the case of the Pacific Railway Scandal. Mr. Blake is the most eminent guardian of our political morality: the subject deserves his care.

—A field for many a party skirmish will, of course, be found in the new Tariff. The Finance Minister will be expected to say whether it has fulfilled, or is likely to fulfil, its direct objects, by bringing the revenue to the level of the expenditure. If an answer to this question is not at once forthcoming, he may perhaps put in a dilatory plea on the ground that the disturbance caused by the rush of importation which took place in anticipation of the new duties, has not yet entirely subsided. There are faults, such as the tendency to discourage the use of the lighter and more wholesome wines, which he may perhaps volunteer to correct. Debate as to the ultimate effect of the system on Canadian manufactures must at present be premature and inconclusive, though it will probably be copious and warm. It will be hardly possible for the leaders of the Opposition to plant a heavy blow. 'What would you have done yourselves to fill the deficit?' is a question which they have not yet attempted to answer, and till they have answered it, their criticism will be without a basis. One chance of a good division they may possibly have, but it will be one of which they will be unable to avail themselves consistently with their general position. It seems that Yorkshire is not so much concerned at the exclusion of the better class of goods as at that of the 'goods manufactured expressly for the Colonies,' generally termed shoddy. If in one quarter there is a tendency to use us as a slaughter market, there is just as strong a tendency to use us as a shoddy market in another. To the pressure in favour of shoddy, our highly Imperialist government may, it is surmised, be inclined to yield. The manufacturers on the Government side will almost certainly rebel and offer to the Opposition one of those opportunities for casting out Beelzebub by a temporary junction with his own forces from which party tacticians seldom shrink. But it unluckily happens that one of the grounds, if not the principal ground, of the attacks made by the Grits and their organs, especially their chief organ, on the new tariff, has been its disloyalty to British interests, and its consequent tendency to

loosen the bond of connection with the mother country, in the maintenance of which, it seems to be thought, shoddy has more influence than affection. There are two commercial policies for this country, of which every statesman, if he wishes to have firm ground under his feet and to be consistent in his utterances, must choose one. You may either determine to keep Canada economically apart from the continent to which geographically she belongs, and to connect her artificially with England, and with more remote countries; or you may determine to follow the course of nature, and identify Canada economically with her own continent. In the first of these policies, mingled with the economical element, there is a large measure of social sentiment. It is closely connected with the desire, cherished by the aristocratic party in England and its allies here, of erecting the northern part of this continent into a great outwork of the English aristocracy, so as to prevent the final triumph of democratic institutions in the New World. The second policy, on the other hand, is congenial to those who either are democratic in their own sympathies, or hold that the triumph of democracy in the New World is inevitable; and that Canada, if she is made the instrument of a desperate struggle to prevent it, will herself be brought to ruin. The first policy is pursued by the present Government, in perfect consistency with the antecedents of its leading members, though it is already involved in the perplexity and inconsistency caused by the expensiveness of the Imperialist system, which compels its champions to cross and compromise their own main purpose by levying duties, for the sake of revenue, on English goods. The second would be the policy of the Opposition, and the flag under which it would march to attack its enemy, were its Liberal element predominant and able to direct its movements as a whole. But, instead of this, the ruling element is one, if not more anti-continental, more violent and vituperative in the expression of that sentiment than the Tories themselves, who have not gone to Washington for a Reciprocity Treaty and come back forlorn. By the ravings

of the leading Grit organ against American connection, which of course are daily scattered over the States, the door of commercial negotiation with American statesmen is being fast closed against the party. It would be easier at this moment for Sir John Macdonald to approach the American Government on the subject of reciprocity than for the lieutenants of the *Globe*.

If the leaders of the Opposition had in them Liberal or National principle as a grain of mustard seed, there would be a field on which, not only might they give battle with advantage, but it would be alike their interest and their duty to fight again and again, till they had thoroughly impressed their case upon the public mind. The British Columbian railroad, built for the purpose of annexing to the Dominion politically a Province with which it has, geographically and economically, no connection, is a purely Imperial work, undertaken solely in the interest of the Imperialist party in Great Britain and here, of whose ambition it is the most extravagant offspring. A British work it is not, for of the people in Great Britain, not one in a hundred thousand have a wish or a thought on the subject, and if they understood the project they would know that it was a part of a general policy which is at this moment taking the bread out of their mouths, and against which the coming election will see them in arms. To Canada it means a great increase of an already large and growing debt, without profit or advantage of any kind. Here, then, we repeat, is the battle ground for a patriotic Opposition. But the patriotic Opposition is not less deeply committed to the Pacific Railway than the Government, though it is committed more by want of moral courage than by conviction, and has shown its consciousness of the real character of the undertaking by a halting feebleness in the prosecution of the work. The late Finance Minister has received knighthood virtually for his co-operation in the Imperialist scheme.

Thus the action of the Opposition will probably be confined to the scathing denunciation of scandals of which, when Gov-

ernment, in a community like ours, undertakes the building of railroads on a large scale, there is sure to be an abundant crop. The spotless purity of the Outs will be contrasted in glowing periods with the foul corruption of the Ins, and it will be demonstrated, to the satisfaction at least of all the faithful, that had Mr. Cauchon, for instance, presided over the contracts the sweet savour of perfect integrity would have ascended to the skies.

—In our last number it was remarked that if a general election were to take place now, N. C. as well as N. P. would exercise some influence on the result. Party has laid that great fact to heart, and the consequence is a proposal for an increase of the Currency which Commerce is requested to mark, as an instructive offspring of the party system, observing that to increase its significance it comes not from the Radical, but from the Conservative side.

We approach the subject of N. C. rather unwillingly, because we have no sympathy with the insolent attacks which have been made upon the authors of the movement. Currency is notoriously the region of theories, and there are plenty of examples to show that people may be wrong, and even extremely wrong, in their notions about it without being rogues or fools. Anything which can promise relief to the struggling farmer ought to be welcomed and considered in no selfish spirit by the rest of the community, provided that it does not involve robbery of other classes, which we are bound to suppose the N. C. men would heartily renounce. Yet we can hardly pass the question by, because not only is it burning, but the words which we used in describing the general character of the movement and recognizing its importance, seem to have been construed as an adhesion to its doctrines.

The obvious meaning of "National Currency" is a currency issued by the State, not by private banks. This is a question of financial policy, as to which there may be a difference of opinion.

We will only remark that anything placed in the hands of the Government is drawn into politics, and becomes game for the politician; and that it is therefore, as a rule, desirable to entrust to other hands, as much as possible, anything on which the life of trade and the daily bread of the people depend, though the ultimate control must of course rest with the holders of supreme power. In the United States, the tamperings of Congress with the currency for political purposes have long-been keeping American trade in a constant state of trepidation, with proportionate loss to everybody, and especially to the wage-receiving class. It is assumed in those theories that the State is something above us all, thoroughly national and worthy of implicit confidence, whereas it is nothing but a party. We have heard no very great complaints of the present system. Much has been said about the case of the Consolidated Bank: it was a bad one no doubt; and though upset, to the general relief, on a point of law, in the court of commercial morality the verdict stands. But even the holders of Consolidated Bank bills are not likely to suffer anything worse than a temporary depreciation. It might be an improvement to adopt the system of the United States, which authorizes the banks to issue bills against an equal amount of government securities held by them and deposited with the government. What is certain, however, is that a measure of this kind would afford no relief to debtors, and make no great change of any kind, none at least of the kind desired by the advocates of N. C. In England, since the Bank Charter Act, new banks of issue have not been opened, so that the amount of private bank notes is now comparatively small; yet no great effects can be traced.

What is meant, however, on the present occasion, by National Currency, is evidently something more than currency issued by the nation; it is legal tender paper.

Nation after nation, almost every nation on the earth in its turn, has issued paper of this kind, and the result has invariably been the same—commercial confusion and distress, accompanied with moral depravation, immense fortunes made by

gambling knaves, impoverishment and ruin of honest men. This is not the theory of political economists; it is the unanimous statement of historians who were the faithful recorders of contemporary facts, such as Gordon in the case of the United States at the time of the Revolution, and Barante in the case of France. Gordon, so far from being prejudiced, fancied, as will be seen, that the paper money was rendered necessary by the special exigencies of the war. He says (vol. 4, p. 144), "that day week they (Congress) ordered the board of war to make a sale of certain cannon and stores in the State of Rhode Island, for *specie* only. This may be considered as a declaration act on their part against the further circulation of a paper currency. It has, indeed, ceased by common consent. Without it, the Americans could not have carried on the war to the present period. The public benefit it has been of in this instance will compensate, in the estimation of patriotic politicians, for the immense evils of which it has otherwise been the occasion. The tender laws on one hand, and depreciation on the other, rendered it the bane of society. All classes were infected. It produced a rage for speculating. The mechanic, the farmer, the lawyer, the physician, the member of congress, and even a few of the clergy, in some places were contaminated, and commercial merchants and speculators. The morals of the people were corrupted beyond anything that could have been believed prior to the event. All ties of honour, blood, gratitude, humanity and justice were dissolved. Old debts were paid in several States when its paper was more than 70 for one in hard cash; and in Virginia when at 300 for one. Brothers defrauded brothers; children parents; and parents children. Widows, orphans and others, who had lived happily on their annual interest, were impoverished by being obliged to take depreciated paper for the *specie* principal that had been lent; and others were frequently compelled to receive their debts in that currency from men who confessed before witnesses that the cash they borrowed saved them and their families from ruin. A person who had been supplied with *specie* to be paid

at Philadelphia, while the British had possession of the city, repaid it in paper at a tenth part of its value." Gordon dwells more on the moral and social than on the economical effects of depreciated currency; but everybody knows what economical effects follow from the total subversion of commercial morality and credit. How far the currency was from helping the country through the war, as Gordon imagines, any one may learn from Washington's despatches, which reveal his army destitute of powder, tents, food, clothes, leaving as it marched over the snow the track of its shoeless feet in blood, while gold gamblers revelled in Philadelphia on the rich fruits of their knavish speculations. In the late war, as everybody knows, the experiment was repeated; the same effects, depreciation, confusion, fraud, and the saturnalia of gold-gambling followed, and to these was added a labour war, produced by fluctuations in the price of commodities, and consequently in the value of wages. The good sense of the people, rising superior to the cajolery of demagogues and charlatans, pronounced for resumption, which has brought revived prosperity in its train. It is needless to transcribe the chapters of Barante's histories describing the universal wreck which the depreciation of a legal tender currency had wrought in France. It is equally needless to pile up examples of the extent to which, in different countries, depreciation has gone. Towards the end of the civil war, a hundred dollars of Confederate currency would not buy a loaf of bread. In San Domingo, a traveller was charged a hundred dollars for a cup of coffee; infuriated at the imposition, he flung down a silver quarter and told the waiter that was all he would pay; the waiter joyfully pounced on it, and went off to get the traveller his change.

But we shall be told that these instances are not in point. It is true that the proposal which we have now to consider goes far beyond them and belongs to a different class. In each of the cases we have cited, and in all the cases which have hitherto occurred, though the paper was made legal tender, it bore on it a promise to pay, and it retained a value precisely in propor-

tion to the holder's hope that this promise would be ultimately fulfilled. The only instance, we believe, known to history, in which legal tender bills long remained at par, was that of some of the States of Holland during their war of liberation against Spain; and in this case the reason why depreciation did not take place was that absolute confidence being felt in the commercial honour of the States the hope of payment in gold never declined. But the present proposal, as we understand it, is to issue a national paper currency, bearing no promise to pay, but irredeemable avowedly and for ever. The value and purchasing power are to be conferred simply by the fiat of the State. When we give a dollar bill for goods we are apt to fancy that we buy with the bill, whereas the fact is that we buy with the dollar, that is, a certain amount of gold, stamped as good and of the proper weight by the State, which the bill represents, and which the taker can have if he chooses to apply for it. In the same way when we use a cheque, that with which we buy is not the cheque but the gold to which it entitles the holder. For the bill or cheque itself, nobody would give us anything. In this little illusion, we are convinced, the whole theory of inconvertible currency has its origin. Instead of depreciating gradually, like the legal tender currency with a promise to pay, the fiat currency would, we are persuaded, be absolutely valueless from the beginning, except in so far as it might be made a compulsory tender for existing debts, to which extent it would be simply repudiation. Of subsequent debts there would be no question, for no money would be lent, nor would any goods be sold on credit from that moment. It is a pity the plan cannot be tried in Liberia or Bolivia, because one experiment would certainly be enough. Some of the advocates of N. C. appear not to be without an inkling of the fact that their currency would be worthless, since they wisely provide that it shall not be received for customs; there are others whose faith is more robust, and who would be ready to take it for customs and debts to the State generally without any limitation. It is alleged that the currency would have a value as

entitling the bearer to a certain proportion of the wealth of the country, on which the issue is based. But the wealth of the country, the bulk of it at least, belongs not to the State but to private individuals. Is the Government to make the whole of it public by a general act of confiscation? Is it to give its creditor a ticket for A's hat or B's shoes? We have little doubt that a form of fiat bill has been prepared, and we should like very much to see it. Bill we say, not dollar; there is no use in calling it a dollar any more than in calling it a horse: a dollar is a certain weight of gold. A hard-money man in the United States asked a greenbacker who canvassed him why, if the Government could make money by fiat, it troubled him for taxes; the answer of the greenbacker we have not yet heard.

The precious metals were selected in the beginning of commerce as the medium of exchange, on account of their intrinsic qualities, including their rarity, combined with their convenience for the purpose of circulation. Whether the selection was the most fortunate possible may be matter of opinion; though it is difficult to name any other substance which unites the requisite attributes as these do. But they are now the established money of the world; it is too late to think of changing, at least the change cannot be effected by the will of any one nation. The French Republicans wanted to change the chronological era and make time begin with the first year of their republic; they found themselves tugging at the root of a tree the fibres of which were entwined with all human society. Canada could not institute a new medium of exchange without cutting herself off from the commerce of the world. Perhaps there may be some who would rejoice in such excommunication. Mention has been made in the discussion of the iron money of the Spartans; the iron money of the Spartans was the device of a military utopian whose special object it was to render commercial pursuits impossible. That it was not in itself preferable to gold was quickly proved by the conduct of the Lacedemonian officers when they went abroad in com-

mand and met with opportunities of speculation. About the Carthaginian token money, which has also been cited, we know very little, but there seems no reason for believing that it bore any analogy to the proposed legal tender paper; if it did we may be pretty sure that the cunning Phœnicians used it to pay the barbarians with whom they traded and not themselves. The currency standard of the great trading communities of Greece was always remarkably high. The inconvenience which might attend the actual circulation of metals is avoided, as all know, and gold is, as it were, volatilized for the purposes of trade by a representative paper currency which does the business of the world. It is clear, however, that no substitution of one metal or substance for another as the medium of exchange could afford any relief to the debtor if the new medium were equally valuable with the old. To pay an equivalent amount of platinum would be just as onerous as to pay gold. The Silver Bill in the United States was, to the extent of the difference between silver and gold, a measure of repudiation. It really benefited only the owners of silver mines, and the members of Congress whom they had bribed to pass the Bill.

Relief is coming to the struggling farmer in a surer way. By the competition among the numerous Loan Societies the rate of interest is being rapidly reduced. On the other side of the line it is a good deal lower than it is here, and the line is not likely very long to remain a commercial barrier as it is now. By tampering with the currency not a particle of value can be created nor can a grain of honest relief be afforded to any human being. As to repudiation, it is less noxious both commercially and morally when it comes without disguise, under the plea of stern necessity, than when it comes disguised in the form of compulsory legal tender.

There are two features of the movement which command our entire sympathy. It seeks the material welfare of the people without regard for party, and it protests against the increase of the debt. On this second point we hope often to join hands with its promoters. Opportunities are not likely to be wanting

—A Political Economy Society, founded the other day at Montreal, has had the satisfaction of entering the world with *éclat*. The sensation was produced mainly by an effort of the ever-enterprising New York *Herald* to blow a brilliant bubble, and by the unvarnished tales which garrulous malice poured into the ear of the *Herald's* Montreal correspondent. The Society appears to have had its origin in the anxiety caused by the state and prospects of the Province of Quebec, which, in fact, unless it can do something for itself, is not in a hopeful way. Something has been done for the moment by the good harvest, and possibly by the N. P., or rather perhaps by the impulse of self-help and self-reliance which the N. P. has called forth. But the settled feeling is one of gradual impoverishment. The government holds out hopes of encouragement to Beet Sugar which can hardly be fulfilled in any substantial way, while the demand indicates an ominous craving for State aid. The finances of the Province are in an almost desperate condition. She is an applicant for relief to the Federal Government, which she asks to buy of her the North Shore Railroad, and recourse to direct taxation begins to stare her in the face. In the City of Quebec we hear of poor people compelled to eat unclean food.

The Society announces its intention of discussing all questions affecting the policy of the country with perfect freedom, and without regard to the censorship of Knights or to anything but the interest of the Canadian people. For this it has been reviled with farcical fury and warned that it will be attacked "with all accessible weapons" including, as we know by experience, some which are not found in the hands of honour or in the armoury of civilized war. But the dagger has been a good deal blunted by being used for some thirty years upon every character, however upright and respected, the possessor of which crossed or seemed likely to cross the path of a third-rate ambition. The Prime Minister, raised to power by an overwhelming vote of the people, is daily traduced as a common felon. The return of Sir John Macdonald was, at all events, a deliverance, political and social, from a tyranny of libel.

We have surely not come so far without learning the rights and duties of citizens with regard to matters of opinion. We are all bound to render loyal obedience to constituted authorities and existing laws, but we are all at liberty, and even to the extent of our knowledge and capacity, called upon to discuss established systems and suggest needful change. Ancient institutions rested on the divine right of kings, heaven-descended or priest-anointed, or upon some other superstition which naturally shrank from the light. Modern institutions rest on the assent of public reason, and the test of that assent is free discussion. Decisive experience has shown that the modern foundation is stronger than the ancient, and that liberty of thought and speech, instead of being the promoter of violent revolution, is, in fact, its surest antidote. What constitution has been more freely debated than that of the United States or is more rooted in the attachment of the people? For what constitution were greater sacrifices ever made than were made for this in the Civil War? That people who frankly advocate change must be bent on bringing it about by violence or intrigue, is not only not true but precisely the reverse of truth. Under a despotism everybody is tongue-tied, and everybody conspires. That the commercial policy of Canada must be discussed nobody will deny, and it is impossible to discuss her commercial policy to any purpose without taking into consideration her external relations, actual and prospective—trying, in a word, to forecast her destiny. The policy which is being pursued by the present government in extending the Pacific Railroad to British Columbia assumes at every step the truth of a hypothesis as to the ultimate destiny of the country which very few men in private maintain, which some men, who affect to maintain it in public, in private very frankly discard. In the debate on this point, the Canadian press of all shades of opinion, has on the whole been faithful to liberty, though the traces of a long reign of literary terror have not disappeared. The results of Liberal effort would not be very grand if the prejudices and the interests of any self-constituted censorship

were to be the rule and the limit of our debate on the subjects most deeply concerning the public welfare. Whenever one of these ridiculous attempts to gag a nation is made we are sure to be told, with more or less distinctness, that some commercial enterprise requiring British capital is on foot, and that Canadians must hold their peace about their own destinies for fear of frightening away the birds. Let people play their commercial game and call it loyalty if they please; but they will not be allowed, for their selfish ends, to prevent the consideration of any policy which may seem likely to bring wealth, happiness, and the virtue which is their attendant, into the homes of the Canadian people.

A journal which is sometimes pleased to style itself Liberal has received some damaging rebukes from its Conservative brethren, who, feeling their loyalty more above suspicion than that of politicians who once banqueted under the portrait of Lyon Mackenzie, do not care to prove its fervency by flinging ordure at their neighbours. But there is no tyrant like the extinct demagogue. Liberals who voted for a change in 1878 must by this time be satisfied that they made no mistake.

Since the prodigious inflation of the affair each of the two regular parties has been trying to lay this portentous birth at the other's door. It belongs to neither of them, but to a movement which, if we mistake not, will in the end swallow them both. It has its origin in the same growth of opinion as the popular vote of September, 1878, the import of which neither of the two parties yet understand, though one of them owed to it the recovery, the other the loss, of power. By that vote the people clearly showed that they would prefer their material interest, when they saw it, or thought they saw it, to less substantial considerations. The policy of the country has hitherto been directed by sentiment; and the dominant sentiment, in possession of all the places of power and the leading organs of the press, has been able to brand everything but itself, and especially all avowals of Canadian patriotism, as treason. But the economical forces, stimulated by years of com-

mercial depression, have begun to work. The fact has dawned upon the minds of those who toil with scanty returns, and who see a vast burden of debt being gradually heaped upon them, that titles, smiles, vice-regal entertainments, the favour of London drawing-rooms, the social heaven of colonists, lavished upon the few, do not provide bread for the many. They demand that a policy shall be adopted which will give them the fruits of their labour, no matter with what sentiment it may interfere. Their hearts tell them plainly enough that no policy which promotes their material welfare can really break the natural bond of affection between them and their mother country, let knighthood and Professor Fanning fare as they may. It is nearer the truth to say this than to say that there is an increase of adherence to any definite theory of political relations, though the *Globe* has now to confess with anguish, in the face of its recent denials, that "the Separationist movement has more adherents than in 1878, more by far than in 1877 or 1876." Canada, by the lapse of generations, is passing from immigrant into native hands, and the love of country awakened in the breast of the native Canadian by Confederation, which has smouldered on in spite of the most desperate efforts to quench it, has helped to set thought free on the subject of commercial relations. But the movement in its essential character is economical, and being economical it is strong. It will show itself now at one point, now at another, with an intensity varying according to the economical conditions. To-day it is brought to a head by financial embarrassment and commercial misgiving at Quebec. To-morrow Nova Scotia may be its scene. There, the shipbuilders are reported to have been dwelling on the increased cost of shipbuilding under the new tariff, while the poor universally complain of the increased price of food and clothing. The prevalence of this pressure over sentiment is a question of time, however strong among the upper and official classes the sentiment may be. Of New Brunswick much the same thing may be said; and in Ontario itself a change would soon be produced by a bad harvest and a diminished demand for

grain in England, combined, perhaps, with the depreciation of our farm produce and our farms by the influx of grain from the North-West. The movement may be expected to go on in this fitful way, weak in organization and in ostensible adherence, yet gathering strength in public opinion from every pinch of commercial distress, and from every addition to the public debt. But it will go on ; printers' thunder will not stop it, nor will panic cries of rage, which only attest its growing dimensions and show that it is an object of fear as well as of hate. The only effectual way of arresting the action of the economical forces is to board the people in a good hotel. The gradual prevalence of commercial considerations over Party and mere sentiment of every kind is the great fact of the situation, and the Canadian statesman who grasps it will presently find his feet upon the steps of power.

Slander is not seraphic even when in the next column there appears an unctuous Christmas sermon on the beauty of brotherly love. But it is more likely to make an impression, on nervous minds at all events, than transparently weak arguments. What are all the far-fetched and super-subtle reasonings in favour of an artificial system compared with the solid fact that Canada is economically a portion of this Continent, and can look ultimately for a full measure of prosperity only through free participation in its trade, its resources, and its commercial life ? Does not this irresistible argument pierce the flimsy tissue of sophistry at every point ? Where can be the wisdom of putting us, laboriously, and at the cost of immense sacrifices, on a track which no man of sense imagines that we can permanently pursue ? We are told that the abolition of the Customs line must be followed by Annexation. Would the abolition of the Customs line between France and Spain, between Holland and Belgium, be followed by any consequences of the kind ? Did the Reciprocity Treaty, which was a partial abolition of the Customs line, produce any effect whatever on political relations ? If Canada is drawn politically towards the Union, it is by the identity of the people, and of all their fundamental institu-

tions in the two countries ; by the interlacement of the territories and the absence of any natural boundary; and by the apparent advantages of a continental union which would give freedom of internal traffic, and immunity from war. Nothing can contend against the force of these attractions but nationality ; and to kill nationality with poisoned weapons, if fair weapons would not do it, has been the special aim of those who now charge commercial unionists with plotting Annexation. The two nations are being actually fused by the constant flow of Canadian migration into the United States; and what causes that migration but the commercial atrophy to which the policy of Imperialism, extended to economical questions, condemns this country ?

A manifesto in favour of Commercial Union, put forth in the *Penn Monthly*, which is the organ of a great commercial association in the United States, opens with these words—“ Canada is, of all countries, the one which might render America the greatest service—the service of creating a strong and vigorous nationality on our own frontier. Our own policy would be more prudent and sensible if we had such a neighbour close at hand. Rome dates her fall from the day when, at the instance of her great bankers and traders, she destroyed her only rival in arms and commerce, and reigned with no peer on the shores of the Mediterranean.” Without committing ourselves to the appositeness of the parallel, we may say that this paragraph does not threaten violent Annexation. In disclaiming any intention of taking even a peaceable initiative in that matter, the writer, we have not the slightest doubt, speaks the mind of the vast majority of his countrymen. He goes on to say that “ it is not the political but the commercial relations of the two countries which call for readjustment,” and to argue that the readjustment must take the form of a Customs union or Zollverein, not of partial reciprocity, such as was instituted by the defunct treaty. The principal argument urged against Reciprocity is that, while the fiscal relations of Canada with England and our general commercial policy remain what

they are, it would entail the breaking up of the tariff system of the United States, since Canada would become, like Gibraltar, an entrepot for contraband. The manifesto proceeds—

“What we need with Canada, and what both countries we believe are ready for, is such a Zollverein as Austria-Hungary and Germany are said to have recently negotiated. Let us have one Tariff, one Custom House system for the whole continent north of the Rio Grande, with a division of the receipts proportional to population. The whole relations of the two countries point to such a solution. Whether the boundary line between America or Canada is or is not one of those providential lines which Ritter and the other scientific geographers believe to have been created for national frontiers, it certainly never was created for a Custom House frontier. It is a gross absurdity which reflects on the common sense and business capacity of both countries, and will continue to do so under any arrangement except that which we propose. Both countries would save a large slice of revenue by making the seashore their only Custom House line, and would facilitate friendly personal intercourse between themselves. It would take away the chief obstacle to the free flow of American capital into Canada, and would rapidly bring the Dominion up to the industrial level of our own country. The tide of emigration would cease to flow Southward across the line; and the emigrants whom either traditional loyalty or Canadian assistance has carried thither, will not be seeking remunerative employment under the American flag.

“To the lower provinces a Zollverein would be an especial boon. It would throw open to them our vast coasting trade, which employs a greater tonnage than the whole mercantile marine of Great Britain. It would put them on a level with Maine as ship-builders, and enable them to find uninterrupted employment for their ship-yards and their lumberers. On the other hand, it would put an end to the wretched disputes about the fisheries, securing Americans the fullest rights on the banks, and Canadians the perpetual right of free access to American markets.”

There may be an answer to these arguments, but, at all events, they are strictly commercial, and entirely consistent with the disclaimer of any desire to insist on a change in political rela-

tions. When a proposal of that kind comes, it will come from Canada herself; and if there are any who wish to hasten its arrival they cannot do so more effectively than by identifying the commercial with the political question, and making our people feel that their commercial interests are sacrificed to the political objects of keeping a Court at Ottawa and disturbing, in the interest of European reaction, the course of progress in the New World. When these questions are brought before us, we must deal with them, and we shall deal with them, as with all other questions, frankly and without fear; all the more so if attempts are made to gag the country. But we do not wish them to occupy more than their due space in our pages.

—Our readers are grown-up men and women, and they will not thank us for talking to them about the party struggles in the Legislature of Ontario. In the Local Legislatures, at all events, party is the merest child's play. Among the subjects proposed for deliberation in the Speech from the Throne there was not one on which Eldon might not have voted with Wilkes. Of course people may tell themselves off into teams to play a match-game for office, as they may tell themselves off into teams to play a match-game at cricket; but party, in the total absence of party questions, there can be none. The leaders of Her Majesty's Opposition have already accepted their comic rôle, otherwise they might put an end to a noxious farce by saying at once that they came there not to make speeches against the Government, but to do the business of the Province. Noxious we call the farce, and noxious it is. In the first place, though there are no party questions, there is plenty of party spirit, which interferes with rational deliberation. In the second place, a great deal of public time is wasted in declamation: last year a fortnight was squandered over the Address, though, on this occasion, the debate was cut short by a special providence in the person of the Speaker. In the third place, we have all the evils of party organization and

machinery, the intriguing, the wire-pulling, the place-hunting, the exclusion of useful men from all departments of the public service because they will not devote themselves to a petty leader or enlist in a senseless faction, the taking of the representation out of the hands of the people. Compared with these disadvantages, the waste of money on so many liliputian monarchies and parliaments, is really a minor consideration, though it is likely, when surpluses are exhausted and taxation increases, to be the death of the system. The feeling in favour of something cheaper, more modest, more practical, is certainly gaining ground. Those to whom the Parliament of Ontario has become dearer, since their loss of the Parliament of the Dominion, have raised the cry of local self-government. But the very thing contended for is that local self-government would gain by the change of our provincial legislature, with its mock parliamentary majesty, its mock parties, and its mock regalia, into a good working body of leading local men, clear of the influence of Dominion politics, and devoting its attention wholly to our local affairs. Local self-government is infinitely valuable, and is the basis of all sound institutions; but it is impaired when unsuitable functions are assigned to it, and when it is mixed up with the central government, from which it ought to be kept entirely distinct. The relations between Law and Equity are a subject for the highest juridical intellect, and for the best legislative power. They are not a subject for a local council, or for the men by whom local councils are led.

We speak, of course, on the assumption that Canada is a nation with a national legislature, and that the Provincial legislatures are, in the strict sense of the term, local. If Canada is merely a confederation of states, and the functions of the central government are not national, but merely federal, the case is entirely altered. Then the Dominion Parliament, instead of curtailing the authority, or diminishing the sphere of a Provincial Parliament, ought to hand over to it all those subjects of legislation, such as criminal law and procedure,

with which a strictly federal government has nothing to do. But if we were to take this line we might be plausibly accused of wishing to prepare the State of Ontario for admission into the sisterhood of the Stars and Stripes. Yet nobody proposes distinctly to take the other line. Nobody has a clear view on the subject. The present arrangement was dictated by no principle, but by the accidental necessity arising from the separatist tendencies of Quebec. Mr. D. A. O'Sullivan, in the *Manual of Government in Canada*, which he has seasonably given us, cannot help reflecting the unsettled state of the public mind. We are always told that the British Constitution was our model; that the British Constitution is our guide; that to its precedents we are to look for solutions of all our difficulties. But the British Constitution is National not Federal. On questions arising out of the Federal parts of our Constitution it can throw no light whatever. Here we must look either to Switzerland or to the United States.

Whatever may happen to the Local Legislatures, we cannot think the Lieutenant-Governorships have a long life before them. One of the poorer Provinces will probably first demand to be released of the burden, and the rest will follow suit. It might be worth while to consider this possibility before the Park of Toronto is destroyed, and a million spent on a new House of Assembly. Government House might be capable of adaptation to the purposes of the Local Legislature, and a receptacle for the archives might be built on the ground. Otherwise, in case of the abolition of the Local Governorship, the house will be left useless.

— Our Protectionists must prepare themselves for a blow, though it will be dealt indirectly, and in a distant quarter. The policy of Victoria has hitherto been strictly Protectionist; while that of her neighbour, New South Wales, has been Free Trade. The farmers in Victoria are now rising against the tariff. They have formed already more than a hundred unions

to agitate for its revision, and are pressing the Government at once to remove the duties on agricultural implements and other things in which they have a special interest. They offer on their part to give up all the duties on agricultural produce. The Government resists, and is likely to fall. It has been evident for some time that this would come. The country of the United States is a continent capable of producing almost everything in itself, and for them it has been possible, as their economists say, to enjoy at once the advantages of Protection and those of Free Trade. But in a country of limited products and small markets, Protection is an oppressive Ring, and there is sure to be an insurrection against it in the end.

New Zealand, our aspiring rival in the competition for emigrants, bids fair to become a warning to us against ambition. Readers of papers on the Colonial Question know the name of Sir Julius Vogel, a high-flying Imperialist, and a projector of grand schemes of Imperial Federation. This gentleman, who is a Jew, got into his hands some time ago the Government of New Zealand, and inaugurated a gorgeous policy, the result of which was a public debt of twenty-five millions sterling, partly balanced by assets in the shape of railways, for a population of 450,000 whites, all told. So long as the money was being spent, all went merrily in New Zealand. Having dazzled the world, and having obtained his knighthood, Sir Julius Vogel transferred himself to England, where we see he is running as the Jingo candidate for Plymouth. New Zealand has just increased her public debt by another loan of five millions, of which two millions had been fore-stalled, and now the Finance Minister anticipates a deficiency of £911,968 for the current year. Sir Julius Vogel is not the only gentleman of his race with a gorgeous policy, and money may be made to fly in Canada as well as in New Zealand.

Another warning comes from the Cape. Lord Carnarvon, the most estimable of noblemen, having by Divine Grace become Secretary of the Colonies, and being anxious to emulate Canadian Confederation, framed for South Africa, which he

had never seen, a confederation wholly unsuitable, as its ablest statesmen at once said, to its present needs. Mr. Froude, the historian, was sent out expressly to convince the ignorant and stiffnecked Colonists of the beneficence of the scheme, in which he had even less success than in convincing the world of the virtue and purity of King Henry VIII. The Colonial Secretary of course persisted; the Zulu war and the annexation of the Transvaal followed; torrents of blood have been shed—more, perhaps, will yet be shed—and the honour of England has been sullied; yet Confederation remains impracticable, and now Mr. Froude himself takes the stump to plead for its abandonment. Does not this read us a lesson on the danger of investing a British nobleman, merely on account of his title, with wisdom and knowledge, which he does not possess, and setting him to act as a Providence in our affairs?

—A cubit was at once added to our intellectual stature when we saw before us “The Constitution and Laws of the Canadian Academy of Arts.” “The objects sought to be attained by the Canadian Academy are the encouragement of Design as applied to Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Engraving, and Industrial Arts, and the promotion and support of Education leading to the production of beautiful and excellent work in manufactures.” The means proposed are the institution of a National Gallery at the Seat of Government; the holding of Exhibitions in the principal cities of the Dominion; and the establishment of Schools of Art and Design. A National Gallery, by all means, as soon as we have a presentable collection to put in it. But not at the Seat of Government; not at that Arctic lumber-village turned into a political cockpit! It is enough that our only library is there.

The Canadian Academy is planned in the grand style. Beauty and symmetry prevail in its constitution as they will in its works. We see not only the imposing forms of forty Academicians, the counterparts of those of London and Paris, seated

in their chairs of state, but a staff of learned professors and the smiling faces of a grateful train of pensioners. The stock arguments for and against Academies are well known to all whose lot it has been to set subjects for the essays of youth and to peruse the luminous results. From that authentic source we have learned what we should never otherwise have imagined, that these institutions, though formed by celestial minds, are not always free from cliquishness, jealousy, or intrigue, and that if they often stimulate, they sometimes stunt. But we have also learned what is to be said in their favour; and every plan proposed by those who have given us the Toronto School of Art is entitled to our respectful attention. We trust that the attraction to Ottawa is not patronage, which, as reason and history alike prove, can no more create art or literature than it can create a flower. The patronage of Louis XIV. produced toadyism, that of Lorenzo sensuality, nothing more. If art has received much help from anything but genius and national taste, it has been from the emulous brotherhood of schools of artists, in which youths wrought under the eye of a master, whose smile was their best reward. It is true that when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales praised Miss Thompson's picture in the Academy, the picture next day had to be guarded by policemen against the rush. But was it a rush of taste?

In design as applied to Industrial Arts, there is no reason why Canada should not excel, models being attainable; and the promotion of these pursuits among us will be the more desirable, if our agricultural importance is to be dwarfed by the mighty North-West. In architecture we much need a style suited to the Canadian climate, if it is not treasonable to say so, in place of imitations of buildings suited to totally different climates, with projections to give us the full benefit of the cold, and roofs of complicated structure to hold the snow. The Parliament Buildings at Ottawa and the University at Toronto offend true taste by their want of adaptation. As to the higher arts, sculpture and painting, we must consult Astrology to know their future in any nation. Sculpture seems dead. What are

Canova and Thorwaldsen in the presence of the glories of the ancient chisel? The sculptor has no longer before him the forms of the gymnasium or the drapery of ancient life. Portrait sculpture, it would seem the moderns might have; but no! portraiture, whether in marble or on canvas, seems to be vouchsafed only to those who are masters of the general art. In painting there is much more of life and hope. Turner has been the victim of rhapsody, yet in the poetry of landscape, he has really no peer, and we have painters of common life, of animals and of flowers. But in higher lines we still look back to men who wrought three or four centuries ago. The painters of the Church of Assisi, the Arena Chapel at Padua, the Campo Santo at Pisa, had a tale to tell, which the people were eager to read. Perhaps when there is again a tale to be told, the inspiration will return.

—Once more the good sense of the American people and their ingrained respect for law have carried them victorious through a trying ordeal. Victorious, but not unscathed, nor without receiving a tremendous warning. Death has knocked at the door of the Republic. Garcelon and his gang will be numbered among the obscure scoundrels whom fortune, by giving them an opportunity for doing vast mischief, has exalted to the pillory of history. Once let conspiracies like theirs succeed, let the count, conducted by inflamed and unscrupulous partisans, be allowed to supersede the election, and the source of all authority, law, order, in a Republic is destroyed; anarchy, absolute anarchy, must at once ensue. Yet the result in Maine was long doubtful, and it is a fearful fact that from the breasts of the Fusionists almost to a man, faction, in its naked iniquity, completely ousted civil duty. Only two of the men who received fraudulent certificates refused to take part in the usurpation, and the multitude was prepared to follow its ringleaders to any extremity short of civil war, if even they would have stopped there. This is the handwriting on the wall of a nation. What would have been the issue if instead of Maine the theatre had been the

Republic? It is well that this local explosion has occurred to warn the people of the Union that a mine is charged beneath the Commonwealth, which otherwise might have been fired by the Presidential Election. The plea of the conspirators was retaliation for the Louisiana outrage. There is no validity in the plea, because elections at the South are one vast outrage and most flagrantly so on the Democratic side. The negro vote is absolutely suppressed by Southern violence, while it is counted against the Union. But no doubt the defiance of legality in that calamitous contest was the beginning of woes of which the end is not yet. Redeeming features in the Maine affair were the conduct of the Judiciary and that of General Chamberlain, whose clear view of his position and temperate firmness in discharging its critical duties were the chief safeguard against civil war. Many will think that if General Grant is to be constable at the next Presidential Election, he will be able to wield the baton better in a post analogous to that of General Chamberlain, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, than as one of the parties concerned. The blow, having missed the heart of the Republic, will recoil on the Democratic party, whose alliance with Repudiators and Socialists under the name of Fusionism, has also been placed in a glaring light.

Since we last wrote, Grant's chances for the Presidency have suddenly declined. The boom has apparently been overdone, and in the extravagant demonstration at Philadelphia, the form of the couchant wire-puller was too visible beneath the flowers. Curiously enough, Grant alone seems to have remained blind to the fact, and by taking the enthusiasm as a popular outburst, and treating the engineer with disdain, to have somewhat estranged the agencies which were working his machine. A thrill of suspicion and alarm on the subject of military usurpation has run through a portion of the people, especially the Germans, who have not come to the New World for a repetition of sabre sway. The Court party in England have evidently begun to entertain hopes of Grant as a coming king, and to make up to him accordingly. We are persuaded that no such

designs are harboured in his mind. All he wants is to get back into the White House, to smoke his cigar there among his old boon companions, and to bestow the patronage of the State as before on his partizans and friends. The same influences which re-elected him would in all probability make him President for life; and in this innovation, sinister as it must be in the eyes of a loyal Republican, there would be two redeeming features—a long respite for the nation from presidential elections, and the chance which would be afforded of forming a patriotic opposition, for which Grant's government would be sure to afford sufficient reason, and which, instead of manœuvring for the next election, might address itself to the curtailment of that vast bribery fund, the presidential patronage, and possibly even to the removal of the greatest of all political nuisances, the elective presidency itself. The wind which dies on the sails of General Grant, fills those of Sherman, strong in his financial successes, and of Blaine, whose position cannot fail to be improved by his victory in Maine. There is another man of whom we should like to be able to think as possible—General Garfield, the newly elected senator from Ohio. That he was the strongest and most original speaker in the House of Representatives, is not his highest merit; in point of integrity his record is as clear as it is possible for that of any party politician to be, and he is, in the true sense of the term, a strong man; not 'a man on horseback,' but constitutional and temperate as well as firm. His election would be the best thing that could happen, and therefore he is sure not to be elected.

It will be a strong objection to Grant, if he is really bent on annexing Mexico. As President, he struggled with characteristic obstinacy and tenacity to annex San Domingo, and even carried his efforts to compass his object rather beyond the line of the constitution, though he was foiled by the wisdom of the people. That Mexico might be annexed without violence is very likely; her commerce, we may well believe, holds out its hands for a regular government. But to the United States, her accession, if she were all silver, would be a curse in disguise. A

despotism can annex and govern through a Viceroy. A Republic which annexes must incorporate, and receive the political life-blood of the new territory into her veins. The political life-blood of Mexico is of the worst kind, and she would send to Washington a quota of sharpers as bad as the carpet-baggers, or worse. The success, the very existence of a Republic, depends absolutely on the character of the citizens; on their intelligent attachment to the republican principle, and their trained aptitude for its application. Already the number of political aliens in the population of the United States bears a dangerously large proportion to that of the real Republicans. Irish, Germans, and other immigrants not yet assimilated, Negroes and Southerners whose political character was formed under Slavery, must make up something like fifty per cent. of the whole nation. In many parts of the country the political leaven is barely sufficient to republicanize the lump. Let the Woman's Righter have his way; let the suffrage be given to all the women, and the self-governing element, the element accustomed to the use of political power, will be barely one-fourth of the whole. The pyramid will then be on its apex, and unless sentimental eloquence can suspend the laws of nature, the natural result will follow. It is to be hoped that Gynomaniacs in general, and the Governor of Connecticut in particular, will take note of this, before they do what cannot be undone.

Mr. Charles O'Connor, an eminent lawyer of New York, who took a leading part in bringing the Tweed gang to justice, and has always been regarded, for his integrity and his high sense of honour, as a sort of saint in the Democratic party, is moved by what he sees to come out against the Trade of Politics. He comes out with a vengeance. "Pull down the nests and the crows will fly off," said an uncompromising destroyer of Monasteries. Mr. O'Connor proposes to make a pretty clean sweep of every institution, general and local, which can harbour the vermin, leaving barely what is necessary for government, and for the most indispensable legislation. He has been called "an American Bystander," but he

takes away the breath of his Canadian counterpart. He is with us, however, on the subject of the Elective Presidency, and sees as clearly as we do that a national conflict once in every four years for that office, and the enormous patronage now annexed to it, must bring everything that is bad in the nation to the top, and will end in a domination of scoundrels.

—Among the strange phenomena of the age is the appearance of infallibilist ecclesiastics, such as Cardinal Manning, cheek by jowl with rationalistic Liberals in popular magazines. The ecclesiastics do homage thereby, in the most emphatic manner, to the liberty of opinion against which the Papacy thunders and crusades. Cardinal Manning comes out to define the duty of the Church toward that unclean thing, modern society; in other words to determine whether Catholics, in countries which are cursed with free institutions, ought to keep aloof from politics, or to use their votes for the priest. The conclusion is that they ought to use their votes for the priest. In proportion as the civil powers of any state are under the dominion of an erroneous religion, or of a schism, or of a royal supremacy, or of any one of a long list of monsters which the Cardinal gives, ending with the Falk Laws, the Church can hold no relations with them. "But under all these there lies the commonwealth or natural society in all its domestic, social, and civil relations. With this in all the regions of its life and conditions of its welfare the Church sympathises and co-operates for the common good, and that because even toward such states as these the Church has duties, such as First, to guard and conserve all of Christian faith and morals that still remains in them; Secondly, to minimize all the evils of their legislation or government; and Thirdly, to recall them by all influences to a better condition." So Paddy be off to the poll, and vote down the Common Schools if you can. Loaded with the memories of the war against the Albigenses, of St. Bartholomew, of the massacre of the Vaudois, of the Dragonnades, of Innocent III., of Alexander VI., of Jesuitism; encumbered with

the False Decretals, with feigned miracles, and forged relics in number untold ; with the blood of St. Januarius and the House of Loretto ; hopelessly bound to the portentous fiction of human infallibility, the Church of Rome, driven from her haughty seclusion by despair, descends into the political arena to fight her last fight against the great organic principles of modern society, justice, liberty, and truth. Those who have compared the area of popular ignorance with that of Papal ascendancy and seen how the two coincide, will not have much misgiving as to the result.

--The European "war cloud" has now become the familiar companion of the breakfast-table. In former days the cable used only to bring us facts ; now it brings us rumours which, because they come in that way, people take as facts, or, at least, as having some authority and substance when they generally have none. All the Russian people have been swept away by plague, famine or diphtheria, the rest have been sent to Siberia, and the army is honeycombed with Nihilism ; such is the tenor of the news cabled to feed a Russophobia which is supposed to be as strong on this side of the water as it is on the other. Suddenly we are told that Russia is massing her troops heavily on her western frontier. That, troubled at home, as, apart from all exaggeration she undoubtedly is, she will rush into a war with Germany is, in the last degree, improbable ; especially as the organs of Gambetta, who controls the government of France, advise her to be quiet, and hold out to her no hope of the alliance without which an onslaught on Germany would be madness. It is evident, also, that the personal relations between the two Emperors remain unaltered, and though the German Emperor must allow his policy to be shaped, up to a certain point, by the indispensable Bismarck, he would be pretty sure to interpose his veto before it came to war. An attack on Austria would be more likely, because she is acting in concert with the English Tories for the repres-

sion of the Christian nationalities whose deliverance Russia has undertaken in the East, and in this quarter the chance of success would be as good as it would be bad in the other. Everybody beats the wooden Austrian armies, and the Slavonic portion of the motley and jarring Empire would be ready to open its arms to the invader. But at present the veto of Germany would unquestionably be put on a movement in this direction, though some day, no doubt, it will come. The Czar, who after all is master of his Empire, is in such a state of nervous decrepitude that he is not likely to decide in favour of a great war. Should he abdicate and his son succeed, it is not improbable that a concession of liberties at home might be accompanied by an adventurous policy abroad. But if Russia means war, surely it must be war with England, who may be almost said to have struck the first blow by invading what has hitherto been the neutral ground between the two Empires in the East. It is surmised that, besides the weak army which was repulsed by the Turcomans, Russia has another and a stronger one on the ground, and that it would be found somewhere in the neighbourhood of Herat, if the English should push forward to that point. We shall soon know what is to come, and whether we are to expect the pleasure of a visit from Russian cruisers in these seas, for if Russia feels that she has strength enough to cross the path of her deadly foe, and if her ruler has the nerve to cast the die, this evidently is her time.

“Heavy firing” may be said to be the general result of the pacification of the Balkan communities by the Treaty of Berlin. Turks are fighting Montenegrins, Albanians are still in arms, the Greek boundary question remains as difficult and angry as ever. The destinies of these people have been settled without their consent, and with little regard for their claims and interests, according to the convenience of the Great Powers, much as those of the minor States were by the Congress of Vienna. Hence a want of grateful acquiescence which diplomacy cannot understand. Turkey, on whose national independence, territorial integrity, and capacity for self-reform the whole Berlin.

policy is built, persists in shewing the world that corpses, though never so assiduously galvanized, will rot. An incident has also occurred which must be very gratifying to those who, like Mr. Cowen, upheld Islam on account of its tolerance, which they contrasted with the intolerance of Christendom. A Turkish doctor has been condemned to death for taking part in a translation of the Bible, and saved by the interposition of the British Ambassador. Islam offers you conversion, tribute, or the sword. It is well satisfied if you choose the payment of tribute, that is to say if you become its slave, and place your person, your wife and daughters, and your property at its disposal. It wants you to become a Mohammedan as little as a Cuban slave-owner wants his black slaves to become white. This is its boasted tolerance, and Christianity, when she is herself, and not a pensioned handmaid of the State and a tool of State policy, need hardly shrink from a comparison.

—Now comes the meeting of the English Parliament. The Liberals will settle their leadership and take their stand before the nation. A good stand they have not yet taken. In truth, nothing could be weaker or more compromising than their course in Parliament, though out of doors the morality of their cause has been powerfully presented to the people by their real chief. Their councils in the House of Commons have been too much swayed, under the ostensible leadership of Lord Hartington, by legal tacticians whose wisdom is but folly where moral questions are at issue. The true liberal policy—the policy which accorded with all the great traditions of the party—was one of sympathy with the struggling nationalities of the East, the heirs of the future, who, if England had stepped forth as their patroness, instead of appearing as their jealous and selfish opponent, might have been linked to her by the strongest bond of gratitude, and have formed a bulwark of her interests in the Eastern Mediterranean incomparably firmer than the reluctant and wavering subserviency of the decrepid Turk. Such

a policy appealed at once to wisdom and to sentiment ; but the Liberals in Parliament never gave it distinct expression. When the Government asked for a credit of six millions to lend weight to the national diplomacy, instead of raising paltry objections on financial grounds, which could only produce the impression of indifference to the national honour, the Opposition ought to have said, " Take your six millions, or sixteen ; we will withhold from the Responsible Government of the day nothing which it deems necessary to maintain the position of the nation in the Councils of Europe ; but we will annex to the grant the condition that it shall not be employed for the purpose of keeping any oppressed nationality under the Turkish yoke." There, are, it is true, in the Liberal ranks a few Turks, whose votes would have been lost ; but to take up an equivocal position for the sake of keeping two or three stragglers, when you are before the great court of public opinion, is poor strategy, indeed.

It is idle to speculate about the time of the general election. The question will be decided mainly by the personal interest of Lord Beaconsfield, which will counsel him to let the Parliament run out, and then retire from the Premiership, rather than dissolve and go to the country, unless he is sure of a triumph. Sure of a triumph he is very far from being. There is now in England a large amount of unfixed opinion that shifts from side to side with every turn in the diplomatic game ; with every vicissitude of the war in Afghanistan ; with every rise and fall in the state and prospects of English trade ; and no one, with real experience, will pretend now to forecast the result of a general election in August. But at present the omens are against the Government. The *Times*, which is now thoroughly Ministerial, struggles to represent the Sheffield election as a moral victory for the Tories. But it sets Mr. Roebuck down as a Liberal. Mr. Roebuck, in his hot youth, was a Liberal and a good deal more ; but like other men whose Liberalism is not settled conviction but passion, impulse, or personal ambition, he turned Tory in his old age, and was

made a Privy Councillor by the Tory Government before he died. He was a Jingo of the Jingoese, and shocked even his own friends in the House by saying, when an appeal for mercy had been made on behalf of some native race, that the first business of the settler was to exterminate the wild beasts, and that the most noxious of all wild beasts was the wild man. At the last election he beat his Liberal opponent, Mr. Chamberlain, now member for Birmingham, and one of the leaders of the party, by three thousand votes; Mr. Mundella, the other Liberal, keeping his seat only by his strong personal hold on the working classes. The election of a man holding the same opinions as Mr. Chamberlain, in Mr. Roebuck's place, is therefore clearly a Liberal gain, and if the Government does not feel itself stronger at other places than it is at Sheffield, there is little chance of dissolution, glad as the Chancellor of the Exchequer would no doubt be to put off his Budget till after the election. We may, at all events, safely postpone to our next number our survey of the position and relative strength of the two parties.

There is another thing to be corrected in the *Times*. It says that Mr. Roebuck lost his seat for Sheffield in 1868 by his bold denunciation of union outrages. But the union to which the murderers Hallam and Crooks belonged, and which had committed the outrages, like everything else that was violent and rowdy, voted for Mr. Roebuck, while the respectable unions, which abhorred the doings of Hallam and Crooks as heartily as any nobleman in the land, voted for Mr. Mundella, a master manufacturer, who had been a leading promoter of peaceful arbitration. The rowdies in England are Tory and Jingo to a man. The respectable and intelligent working men are for the most part Liberals, and to swamp them with rowdyism was the object of the Tory Reform Bill of 1867.

—A gallant defence, and one which has awakened generous sympathies in England herself, has been made by the Afghan clans. But their meed will hardly be more than a bright page,

or part of a bright page, in the annals of freedom. The Martini-Henri and the Gatling prevail. In the last invasion the invaders had only the Brown Bess, which was not much superior to the rude native gun of the patriot. Military invention has many a time decided, not only the fate of battles, but the course of history. Gunpowder is a hackneyed instance. The long-bow with which the peasant swept a mounted aristocracy from famous fields is hardly less familiar. But the successive improvements of firearms, the introduction of the bayonet, and even of the ring in place of the plug bayonet, have been far-reaching in their political and social, as well as in their military, effects. If we carry back our scrutiny to the history of the ancient communities, we shall find the same influences prevailing. Arms of precision now place the Eastern Civilizations at the mercy of the filibuster, to the great loss of Humanity; for China and the other destined victims of aggression will not have time to supply themselves before the filibuster is upon them. On the other hand, it seems to be proved that the defenders of national independence, where they possess these weapons, will be better able than before to cope with the drilled masses of the invader: to storm an earthwork manned by resolute though undisciplined men, with good breach-loaders, is evidently a serious undertaking for discipline herself. It is at sea that the domination of great and wealthy powers over those who have less money to spend in engines of war seems likely to be most complete. Any inventor who could devise the means of neutralizing the omnipotence of iron-clads would be a deliverer as beneficent as the destroyers of the Armada. To judge by the present aspect of the moral sky, humanity is likely in the coming years to owe immunity from a reign of rampant wrong-doing more to material auxiliaries than to ethical restraints. From the fact that the mass of the Afghans have been found unprovided with rifles, we should be led, as we said before, to infer that Russia was not behind them in this war: it is at least enough to make us suspend our judgment as to the effect of mysterious and compromising documents

till the documents are produced. When the powder magazine at Cabul was blown up, forthwith the report flew abroad that the Cabulese had been taught to do it by Russian artillerymen ; as though a Cabulese artilleryman did not know how to apply a match to powder. No doubt while the two antagonists were facing each other at Constantinople, with swords half drawn, the diplomacy of each was active in providing allies both at Cabul and elsewhere. But when you enter the country of a race of gallant mountaineers, impose on them a foreign government, and plunder and burn their villages, is foreign intrigue needed to cajole them into striking for freedom ? Was it foreign intrigue that sent forth the Swiss to Granson and Morat or brought the Tyrolese to the standard of Hofer ?

It would be unfair, perhaps, to blame General Roberts, still more to blame those under his command, for the cruelties which he is committing in Afghanistan. He was sent not to observe the laws of humanity, but to take "a vengeance which would ring through Asia." He has, of course, established martial law, that is, organized disregard of all securities for justice, and is carrying on a reign of terror. A correspondent of the *Pioneer*, the official journal of India, writing from Cabul, says : "Nothing can be more quiet than this city which has been so notorious for bloodshed and turbulence ; the shadow of the scaffold is over it. They have hitherto traded upon our known weakness—the quality of mercy ; and it is only now that they understand the new principle of retribution we have introduced into our policy. Like Pollock, General Roberts might have destroyed their bazaar and left Cabul to its fate ; but whether we withdraw again or not, there will be the tale of lives taken by our hangman to be counted over in the city and villages ; and who knows yet what powerful names may top the list." Nothing could present more vividly the inevitable progress of the conqueror's character from that of the ordinary aggressor into that of the demon than the words, "They have hitherto traded upon our known weakness ; and it is only now that they understand the new principle of retribution we

have introduced into our policy." The Englishman in India may in time match the Spaniard in Mexico.

It may be thought that the executions were confined to those convicted or suspected of complicity in the attack on the Embassy. Not so. The crime for which forty-one Afghan soldiers were hanged was simply that of having stood in a fair fight for their country against the invader at Charasiab. They were not even taken in battle; they were refugees hunted up afterwards in the villages. They were marched into Cabul and brought before a military commission. The only evidence of their identity was the muster roll of their regiment, so that, had they chosen to give false names, identification would have been difficult. But every one of them gave his right name. They were turned off ten at a time and met their fate with perfect fortitude. The crime with which they were charged was rebellion: but if they could even have formally owed any allegiance to a parricidal usurper, set up as a tool of the foreigner, that allegiance ended when the usurper was in turn dethroned by those who had set him up and became a prisoner, with sentence of death hanging over him, in their hands. To appeal once more from our judgment in our own case to our judgment in the case of others, suppose we had found all this in a history of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, what would have been the verdict? Yet State Bishops in England say that they vote for the Afghan war because it promotes "spiritual objects." Fancy missionaries preaching "under the shadow of the scaffold" at Cabul a religion of love and mercy, a religion which bids you turn the other cheek to the smiter, and forgive your offending brother not seven times, but seventy times seven!

Nothing in history is more repulsive than the hypocrisies of conquest; nothing is so demoralizing to the conqueror. Frankly to unfurl the black flag is better than to wrest to the purposes of piracy the principles of right and law. Afghan patriots are put to death for "rebellion" against a prince who is not only a puppet of the foreigner, but a prisoner in the foreigner's hands.

The annexation of the Transvaal was an act of violence for which no pretence of legal right was ever put forward; the motive here, as in the Zulu war, being to round off the territory of the projected South African Confederation. The Boers had gone out to make their own home in the wilderness, and had as perfect a right to that home as the English people have to theirs. But Boer leaders who have protested against the robbery are now arrested and, we presume, will be tried for "treason." If they are put to death it is judicial murder.

Nine-tenths of a nation's history are character; and the great events are those by which character is critically affected. Plainly enough such events are taking place in England now. We read the other day, in the leading English journal, an elaborate editorial debating what was to be done with the Afghans. The question of expediency was treated in all its phases, but of morality there was absolutely no mention; so far as that was concerned the article might have appeared in an organ of Timour or Genghis Khan. It happened that at that very time the proprietor of the paper was presiding over a religious meeting and lecturing the Christian clergy on their duties. The *Standard*, the great organ of the party which upholds the Establishment, lays it down as a maxim that the possession of India gives England a right of way to it, and that if anything is necessary to the security of that right, she must take it, no matter whose property it may be. "Whether this be morality or not," says the *Standard*, "we need not stop to argue: it is politics." Burke said that nothing which was morally wrong could be politically right; but in the days of Burke, Warren Hastings was impeached with the concurrence of Pitt; in these days he would receive an ovation.

—Mr. Parnell has preached to the Ireland of the dispersion, which, upon the whole, has responded with enthusiasm. The undying love of the Irish in all quarters of the globe for Erin, the passionate sympathy with which they follow her sad fortunes, and the generosity, be it well-advised or ill-advised,

with which they come to her aid, are enough to cover many a defect and confute many a harsh saying. But clearness of aim is not the Hibernian forte, and it is difficult to understand whether Mr. Parnell is asking for bread or gunpowder. Irishmen are ready enough to give him both; perhaps they would rather give gunpowder than bread. But the Americans are less ready to subscribe to insurrection than they were before their civil war, and they have no notion of an anti-rent movement. On the question of property they are ultra-Conservative, showing thereby that it is not a Court that makes Conservatism, but contentment. The so-called anti-rent movement in New York was nothing but a rising against obsolete dues and services, which vexed the holders of land on the old Van Rensselaer estate.

In Ireland, meantime, famine advances, and sedition with it; starving men are not apt to be loyal to the system. Irish landlords write in the papers to the old tune. They say it is not their fault; that they behave like fathers to their tenantry; that a good tenant is never ejected. There is a great deal of truth in their plea, and as a class they deserve far more sympathy than reprobation. It is undeniable that Lord Leitrim provoked his murderers by a tyrannical use of his legal rights; that he was not the only harsh landlord in Ireland; and that the number of absentees, whose estates are managed by agents, is large. But, on the whole, the Irish landlords of the present day are suffering, not for their own sins but for the sins of their predecessors. It is too true, also, that the peasantry are thriftless, and that they multiply recklessly. But what makes them do so? The common explanation is that they are Celts. But the French peasantry are Celts, and yet they are the thriftiest people in the world, and those who most narrowly restrict the increase of population. Even the intemperance of the Irish is, to a great extent, an intemperance of misery; it wears off in kinder lands.

What will be the result in Ireland itself? It is very likely that the agrarian part of the movement may attain some

measure of success, because the mass of the English people care nothing for the Irish landlords, and would willingly see their estates divided among the peasantry to-morrow, if that would settle the Irish question. But the English people care a great deal for the Union, with good reason; and the National aspirations of the Irish would encounter a far more serious resistance. By a perfectly united nation, thoroughly in earnest and well led, even a power which seems overwhelming may sometimes be overcome. But Ireland is very far from being perfectly united; the leaders of society generally are British in sympathy; while in the North there is a population alien and hostile to the Celt, which has more than once shown itself nearly a match for all the rest of the Island. And now it is evident that the hierarchy and all but the most national of the clergy, satisfied with having achieved Disestablishment, have severed their cause from that of the people, and yielded to the reactionary bias of their order. This, it is true in one respect, helps the patriots, since it enables them to cast in their lot with other oppressed nationalities, whereas they have heretofore been in the false and somewhat scandalous position of crusading, at Papal bidding, against the Italian struggle for independence, while they were calling upon the world to sympathize with their own. If the Liberal party in the English Parliament were timid in supporting Italy, it was because they were afraid of alienating their Irish wing. But the masses cannot succeed in any movement without leaders, and the only leaders the Irish masses had were their priests. It is almost certain that a large extension of local self-government will be proposed by the Liberals if they return to power. The Central Parliament is overwhelmed, and the wheels of legislation are clogged by a mass of business, much of which might well be delegated to local councils, subject to the supreme authority. In this way, Ireland may obtain a measure of Home Rule; and her division into four Provinces lends itself aptly to such an arrangement. Irish Nationality we are not likely to see.

It is easy to sympathize with the aspirations of an Irishman who wishes to see a Parliament on College Green, though the only Parliament that ever sat there was a sink of political villainy. No doubt Ireland would be far happier if she were an island by herself in the Atlantic Ocean with a government of her own. But she lies under the guns of England. To part in peace after all that has taken place would be impossible; severance would be mutual enmity, and the weaker island would be able to escape reconquest, and a second train of calamities, only by becoming the vassal of some protecting power. Rebellion appears utterly hopeless. The only rational alternative is cordial union with the Liberal party in the English Parliament for the purpose of obtaining as large measures of relief as possible, both in the matter of land tenure and in that of Home Rule. But first of all the priest must be taught to confine himself to his own sphere; till that is done, there is no political hope for Ireland.

With famine stalking and sedition burning through one of her own Kingdoms, Great Britain is spending her resources and energies in the subjugation of tribes in Central Asia. This, surely, is either the height of statesmanship or the depth of folly. When the people of Spain were starving and in rags, when Spain was losing her hold over her own peninsula, Portugal having broken away from her, and Catalonia being in a state of chronic rebellion, flashy adventurers, like Alberoni, were still appealing too successfully to the insane desires of her people for empire over distant countries, and leading her into a policy of dreams. England is not a Spain, but she may make herself a Spain if she prefers filibustering to honest industry. For the wealthiest nation in the world to be accepting alms from other countries for her suffering poor is hardly true dignity: there would be more dignity, though less brilliancy, in devoting to that purpose the fund which is now being spent upon the Afghan war.

—In France, from Waddington to De Freycinet is a step toward the Left; but not a very wide one, for the ex-Premier was asked to remain in the Cabinet, though he declined. De Freycinet is deemed superior as a Parliamentary tactician and as a speaker to Waddington, who is a poor speaker with a weak voice, a serious disadvantage in that vast cave of the political winds. But no mere turn of the kaleidoscope either way will put an end to the difficulties which beset Parliamentary government, the violent sectionalism of the Chamber, and the temper of the Republicans, who seem to have lost in victory the self-control which they showed to an unexpected extent in the hour of danger, and do their best to drive the Government on the rocks by inexorably demanding the dismissal of all state officers, high or low, in the least degree open to the suspicion of disaffection to the party. Official is an improvement on personal decapitation; and the French aptitude for constitutional government generally may be said to have improved in about the same ratio, but it is still very far from being perfect. Reliance on the good effects of time and discussion has evidently not yet found a place in the French mind; if the suspected office-holders were let alone, nine-tenths of them would most likely be converted or become harmless. Besides being a little less Conservative than Waddington, De Freycinet is more distinctly a warming-pan for Gambetta. The time cannot be far off when Gambetta will have to take out his last warming-pan and be Minister himself. He has reckoned on having the awkward things, such as the recall of the Communists, done for him by deputy, and at the same time by the failure of all other leaders, proving himself the indispensable man. But his own popularity has, apparently from some mistakes of manner, been somewhat impaired of late. It is said that he has been studying the science of war. Whether he has or not, and whether he brings with him a war policy or not, there is the enormous army, with the life of the Republic absolutely at its mercy, and spreading military sentiment through the country. The people seem to have thoroughly accepted the Republic; but

while the nation remains organized as a military empire a military emperor will be always at the door.

In Italy even more than in France the Liberal Government has been tossed on the short, chopping waves of a multitude of political sections, and the result has been a new political invention, something like the double ship devised to carry people smoothly over the waters of the English Channel. A Ministry called the Cairoli-Depretis, has been constructed, with two leaders, in the hope of combining the support of two or more of the sections. A smooth passage, however, seems not to have been obtained. Some day the political architects of Europe will discover the absurdity of reproducing as a universal constitution, the combination of historical accidents and hypocrisies called British Party Government, and they will have recourse to that which alone can assure adequate support and lend stability to a Government, the regular election of the Executive Council for a fixed term by the Legislative Assembly. The Liberals are likely to feel the necessity first because their party, being a party of opinion, is more liable to sectionalism than the reactionary party, which is generally a party of interest.

—It was said that Books would be noticed if they were events in the history of opinion.

That the moral faith of the masses of mankind at least has hitherto rested on the authority with which conscience was invested by religion, nobody who knows the history of opinion will deny. A collapse of religious belief, therefore, is likely to be followed by a break-up of popular morality, whether the morality of the *élite* be affected or not. Nobody sees this more clearly than Anti-theists (to use a term at once distinct and courteous), such as Renan and Taine, who for the purpose of securing the social order which is conducive to their comfort, propose a concordat with the priests. This would be jesuitism, and like all jesuitism weak as well as wicked. Mr. Herbert Spencer takes a better and wiser course. He tries in his "Data of

Ethics," to place morality on a scientific basis. Morality we ought hardly to say, for in the ordinary sense of the term it vanishes. He entirely excludes the existence of any moral law, of any moral ideal, of conscience, except as accumulated and inherited opinion, tinged with mysterious authority by the shadow of human coercion. He draws no decisive line between the ethics of the oyster and those of man. The only difference is that the conduct of the highest of mammals is more evolved and more exactly adjusted to an end.

The end is not the realization of any ideal of character, but simply the preservation of life—of life as intense as possible and with the utmost possible amount of pleasure. According as they are adjusted to this, human actions are good or bad; other test or criterion there is none. Ethics are treated successively in their physical, biological, psychological, and social aspect; but Mr. Spencer's philosophy is fundamentally mechanical. "Moving equilibrium is ethical perfection." "A greater coherence among its component motions, broadly distinguishes the conduct we call moral from the conduct we call immoral." We may remark by the way, that the theories of motion upon which Mr. Spencer's philosophy is built, are regarded as very questionable by some of the highest authorities on that special subject. If they are not more in accordance with the facts than his statements about history in general, and the history of religion in particular, the foundation of his imposing edifice is far from sound. His account of mechanical formation and progress, through moving equilibrium to disintegration, has absolutely nothing, so far as we can see, corresponding to it in the real annals of nations.

That the "Data of Ethics" contains much that is very instructive, especially in the shape of criticism on previous theories, all will admit, as well as that it bears the invaluable impress of honest inquiry. But suppose it to be the truth, so far as physiology is concerned; suppose it to give a real account of the genesis of coherent conduct in the highest of the mammals; may there not still be something beyond coherent conduct and

beyond the mammal? Did the upward progress, the ascent of man, stop when it ceased to be cognizable by physiology as evolution? Are the phenomena which in their human aspect we call moral, in their apprehended relation to the Unseen spiritual, worthy of no notice whatever? Has not man, as a matter of fact, now before him a moral ideal towards which he bends his endeavours, let its genesis be what you will. There is proof in Mr. Spencer's pages that he has given his mind more to physiology than to history or philosophy—to the study of the human organism more than to the study of man. Yet even in his pages there are inklings of something for which the philosophy does not account: there are outbursts of burning indignation against wickedness and the wicked—against Jingoism and their political burglaries; against Fifeshire militiamen who, so long as they are sent to war are ready to fight on either side; against Christian Bishops who lend their sanction to invasions of Afghanistan. But if his philosophy is true, might not the Jingo or the Fifeshire militiaman or the war-preaching Bishop reply: "Your indignation is unscientific? By the operation of the great mechanical law which you have so luminously expounded, I have been brought to a certain point of evolution; that it is not a higher point is no fault of mine, I am far below you, it may be, but still I am above a scorpion or a tiger. My conduct is adjusted to my own ends, what more does your theory require?" Under Mr. Spencer's language in these passages there seems to us to lurk the admission that man is not merely a highly-evolved mammal, but a being that owes allegiance to a moral ideal, and that conscience, whatever its origin, has now an authority of its own. Even his habitual use of the terms "higher" and "lower" is suggestive of some criterion, different from mere complexity of organization. If Religion and Science are ever reconciled, it will not be by any reversal or curtailment of the conquests of science, but by our finding that beyond her domain there are still real phenomena to be examined. Religion need not shrink from accepting the doctrine that the supreme end of action is life, and the test, pleasure, provided it is not

assumed that the life is only this life or that the pleasure must be enjoyed here. The dawn of a religion in harmony with Science is faintly visible even in Mr. Spencer's book. After observing that conflicting ethical theories severally embody portions of the truth, he proceeds: "The theological theory contains part. If for the divine will, supposed to be supernaturally revealed, we substitute the naturally revealed end towards which the Power manifested throughout Evolution works; then, since Evolution has been and is still working towards the highest life, it follows that conforming to those principles by which the highest life is achieved is furthering that end. The doctrine that perfection or excellence of nature should be the object of pursuit is in one sense true; for it tacitly recognises that ideal form of being which the highest life implies and to which Evolution tends." For "Power" read "God," as we may, without any essential change, and this is Natural Theology. It is even Christianity, if we may conceive that one way in which the Power has manifested itself is by presenting a moral ideal as the mark of human effort. And Mr. Spencer himself says that, "a rationalized version of the ethical principles of the current (Christian) creed may ultimately be acted on;" though it hardly consists with certain theories about the evolution of the Sciences that the true principles of the crowning Science of Ethics should have been discovered in a wholly unscientific age by a peasant of Galilee.

That Mr. Spencer's own morality is high, both his writings and his action prove. That he has supplied the needed prop for the morality of the world at this perilous crisis, we must confess ourselves unable to believe. He looks forward to a millennium of social perfection, to be brought about by the progress of Evolution in a million of years perhaps, if the planet lasts so long. This may serve his scientific imagination in place of a Future Life. The unscientific and unimaginative will hardly sacrifice the lust of the hour to a remote vision, which after all, if it is ordained by Evolution, they may leave Evolution to bring to pass.

—Another event in the history of opinion is the success of Canon Farrar's "Life and Works of St. Paul." Its popularity, like that of his former work, shows the intense interest which, in spite of all those doubts and perplexities, is still felt in Theology generally, and the special craving for a more intimate knowledge of the founders of our religion. That craving is not to be satisfied by heaping up topographical and archaeological details, interesting in their way as these may be. How much should we learn about the character of Bismarck from a minute description of the streets and customs of Berlin? The figure which we strive to realize mocks our longing gaze and recedes still farther into the mist. But the most significant feature in Canon Farrar's book and its reception, is the constant and manifest struggling of this dignitary of the Church of England to get rid of miracle. Under a cloud of that mystical and somewhat rhapsodical rhetoric of which he is rather too great a master, he reduces the vision of St. Paul to a natural occurrence—the effect of high spiritual excitement combined with a burst of thunder, a vivid gleam of lightning, or some blinding, suffocating, maddening breath of the sirocco. And then he asks—"Is the essential miracle rendered less miraculous by a questioning of that objectivity to which the language seems decidedly to point?" Most assuredly it is; and the question at once discloses the state of the writer's mind on the subject. What is "objectivity" but reality; and what are miracles if they are not real? "Are the eye and the ear," asks Canon Farrar, "the only organs by which definite certainties can be conveyed to the human soul? Are not rather these organs the poorest, the weakest, the most likely to be deceived?" To what do all the miracles in the New Testament appeal, if not to the eye and to the ear? Again, who reading the passage in the Acts (xx. 9) can doubt that its plain meaning is that Eutychus was killed by his fall and restored to life by miracle? But this is Canon Farrar's gloss—"It was dark, and the poor lad lay senseless, and was 'taken up dead.' A cry of horror and wailing rose from the bystanders; but Paul, going down stairs,

fell on him, and clasping his arms round him said, "Do not be alarmed, for his life is in him." *After he had calmed the excitement by this remark, he left the lad to the effects of rest and quiet, and the kindly care, perhaps, of the deaconesses and other women who were present*; for the narrative simply adds that the Apostle went up-stairs again, and after "breaking the bread"—words descriptive, perhaps, of the Eucharistic consecration—and making a meal, which describes the subsequent Agape, he continued in friendly intercourse with the congregation till the dawn of day, and then went out. *By that time Eutychus had fully recovered.* "They led the boy alive"—apparently into the upper chamber—"and were not a little comforted." It may truly be said that an equivocation such as is here ascribed to the writer of the Acts would be more destructive of our confidence than a detected fiction.

An analogous mode of treatment is applied to the Miracle of the Gift of Tongues on the Day of Pentecost, which, in Canon Farrar's estimation, is thus brought "into strict accordance with the known laws of psychology," and after undergoing this process is to furnish a fresh proof of the truthfulness of the history. So it may appear to Canon Farrar, but others will think that a history so worded as to make all readers for eighteen centuries believe that there was a miracle when there was none, would deserve the praise of ingenuity rather than of truthfulness. The same tendency is visible in Canon Farrar's "Life of Christ;" notably in the strange, and more than strange, version of the Miracle of the Devils cast into the herd of Swine.

The world of opinion is being rapidly divided by a pretty distinct line into Theists and Spiritualists on one side, Anti-theists and Materialists on the other. But the Theist and Spiritualist section is again divided in itself. On one hand, there is a large body of Supernaturalists, who, in different churches and with many varieties of specific creed, still maintain their faith in Miracle and Dogma. On the other hand,

there are not a few who, having accepted the results of science and criticism, find themselves compelled to relinquish the Supernatural, yet cling to Natural Religion and to Christianity in its natural aspect. With these last the day at present goes hard. On one side they are denounced by Orthodoxy, which brands them as unbelievers, and points to their perplexities as the condign punishment of their apostacy; on the other hand, they are derided by Materialism, assured of the correctness of its sudden conclusions, and without mercy for hesitation. Under this double fire they have to reconstruct their evidences, and to present the Theistic hypothesis anew to themselves and to the world. Yet among them are many men of high education, and not a few eminent in physical science. The religious instinct, by faith in which they are sustained, is evidently not only unextinguished, but still strong in the mass of men. To say that they will certainly and totally fail seems at present a little premature. The disarray of Orthodoxy apparently is hopeless; but it may yet turn out that Materialism also has been rather too cock-sure.

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