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A MONTHLY  
 REVIEW

**THE BYSTANDER**

OF  
 CURRENT EVENTS,  
 CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

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**Agents:**

**HUNTER, ROSE & COMPANY, 25 WELLINGTON ST.**

**PUBLISHERS.**

**WHOLESALE AGENTS:**

**TORONTO NEWS CO., TORONTO.**

**MONTREAL NEWS CO., MONTREAL.**



# THE BYSTANDER.

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DECEMBER, 1889.

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IN describing the character and object of the Jesuits' Estates Act at Baltimore the other day, Mr. Mercier was bold and explicit. Amid loud cheers he spoke of it as "having repaired the despoilment of the Jesuits by the same George III. who had despoiled the American Revolutionary Fathers of their rights and liberties." It was intended as a reversal of the Conquest Settlement. It did deny the right of the crown and treated the exercise of that right as robbery. Where now are the soft subterfuges of the Minister of Justice? Are not those words of Mr. Mercier in themselves enough, if this is a British Colony, to warrant the protest against the Act?

At Quebec Mr. Mercier proclaimed that red and blue were to be blended in the Tricolor. From Quebec he telegraphed to the Pope the homage of the French Canadian nation. At Baltimore he changes his note and says that the tendency of his compatriots is not to nationality but to annexation. Plainly his opinions take their colour from his audience. Perhaps he also feels that he had hoisted the Tricolor a little too high. But if nationality is not the object, what is meant by the designation *Parti National*? The steadfast aim of Mr. Mercier's compatriots for the last quarter of a century has been to elbow the British and Protestant elements out of Quebec and make it a French and Papal community, which to all practical intents and purposes will be a separate nation. By some of the leaders this aim is openly avowed; those who

do not avow it still work for its attainment, and it is rapidly being attained. Such is the solid fact, avowed or unavowed, with which we have to deal. When Mr. Mercier himself threatens the minority in Quebec with reprisals, does he not imply that the minority are intruders and that Quebec is a French and Papal, not a British, Province ?

—Political circles are still debating what effect the Equal Rights' movement will have on the Machines. It is a serious matter for those whom it concerns. Equal Rights men have simply done a plain duty to their country and humanity by opposing the endowment with public funds of a dark and murderous conspiracy, not against Protestantism only, but against civil rights and human freedom. If they have been baffled by the exigencies of political party bidding for the Irish Catholic vote and countenanced in its surrender of national right to the Papal encroachment by the representative of the Sovereign who sits on the throne of Elizabeth and William III., that is no fault of theirs ; nor was it their business to inquire what the effect on Machine politics would be. We are quite prepared to see the Machines for the present reassert their power in the elections. It is surprising, and to the lover of freedom somewhat afflicting, to see to what an extent our people have been brought into thralldom to mere party names and Shibboleths. Conscience and substantial interest alike seem to give way at the crack of the party whip, and votes are cast for men who in private are admitted to be unworthy because they are the party nominees and because, if a scoundrel were thrown out, the Tory or the Grit, as the case may be, might come in. The phenomenon is not confined to Canada. Have we not just seen the farmers of the United States voting against that which clearly was, and which many of them knew to be, their own interest in the tariff question simply because they were "Republicans," though the name since the abolition of slavery has meant

nothing except the maintenance of a war tariff. We have the consolation of knowing on the best evidence that the intensity of partyism varies in inverse proportion to education, and your most fanatical Tory or Grit is a man who can barely read the campaign literature of his party; so that there is hope in the progress of intelligence. But such fetters are not to be struck off in a moment, especially when the wearers belong to a party which has a large bribery fund in its hands. Still the waters have been stirred; public feeling has been manifested on a question of principle in a manner which has impressed the politicians; and should the subject again come before Parliament we shall be surprised if the same servility or anything like the same levity is displayed.

Naturally, and it must be added, deservedly, the Liberal party suffers most. In allying itself with Jesuitism and Ecclesiasticism it has been guilty of a more flagrant breach of principle than the party which professes to be that of Reaction. It is also out; to get in it requires a motive power; whereas its rival, being in, has in its favour both the *vis inertia* and the force by no means inert of patronage, and appropriations. Looking out for a principle to justify the existence of an organization is a curious reversal of natural order, but it is one with which the history of Party has made us familiar. One thing seems clear; the Liberals have no chance of bidding successfully against Sir John Macdonald or his lieutenants, Messrs. Langevin and Chapleau, for the support of the priest party in Quebec: the priest party knows whom it can thoroughly trust and to whom its gratitude for the passing of the Jesuits' Estates Act is really due. The only sound, or even possible, alliance for the Liberals in Quebec is with Liberals, that is to say, with the friends of Equal Right and Disestablishment. Of these, there may not at present be many, but their number will grow. Even sheep so patient as the *habitans* grow tired at last of being fleeced. We commend the consideration especially to young Liberals who have a political future.

In the progress of the controversy, the Jesuits' Estates Act has become almost a secondary matter and questions have been opened which the Machines have no more power to close than a steam engine has to alter the day of the week. The conflict between ecclesiastical aggression and civil right is just as irrepressible as was the conflict between slavery and freedom, though happily it is not likely to assume such tremendous proportions, or to be settled at such fearful cost. It extends, as daily events show us, over the States as well as over Canada, albeit there is not in the States a counterpart of the solid block of Ecclesiasticism and Papalism presented by Quebec. It extends to every part of the world in which the Church of the Middle Ages is still struggling for dominion. In an Australian review the other day there was an able and thoughtful essay on the institutions of the Colonies, the writer of which, after suggesting some improvements, wound up with the pensive remark that all improvements would be in vain so long as the Irish Catholic vote continued for objects of its own to hover between the parties, playing off one against the other and making honest and stable government impossible. The Catholic vote in Ontario is cast in the local election for Mr. Mowat's Government as the payment for patronage and Separate Schools. In the Dominion election which immediately follows it is transferred to the other party also for goods sold and delivered, the goods being the organic principles, the interests and honour of this Commonwealth. By way of turning the eye of the public from the mark and at the same time scaring the clerical leaders of the movement it has been said that the movement ought to be directed not against the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church alone, but against those of the clergy generally. All bodies of men who possess influence are apt to take too much upon them, and when the clergy of any denomination do this, repression will become a duty. But the clergy of churches other than the Church of Rome do not pretend to temporal power; on the contrary, they with one voice abjure

it. The Church of Rome has always pretended and does still pretend to temporal power, or rather to temporal supremacy; her very last manifesto solemnly reasserts the claim and lays a curse on all who dispute it. In former times she sought to make it good by means of the swords of Catholic Kings; now she seeks to make it good by means of the votes of Catholic electors. Before she had to be encountered in the field and at the stake; she has now to be encountered at the polls.

In any resistance to the union of the temporal with the ecclesiastical power the place of honour is justly claimed by the Baptist Church, which held its conference in Toronto the other day. This, above all other Churches kept, in its true sense, the words of a Founder who said that His Kingdom was not of this world, while almost all other Churches have at one time or other more or less treated the words as if they meant that the Church of Christ was to renounce the sword where she was weak, but to use it where she was strong. To bring the pressure of a powerful Church vote to bear on a government for the aggrandizement of the Church, let it be remembered, is not less a breach of the great principle than the legal acceptance of State support. When we consider of what wars, massacres and murders political Churches, above all the great political Church of Rome, have been the cause, and how enormous also has been the scandal of their greed and corruption, that Christianity should still be received as a message of good-will, mercy and purity seems no small proof of its divine character.

—Another question has been raised which so far as Canada is concerned is perhaps more pressing still, though it cannot be of graver import. Quebec having now openly unfurled the standard of a French and Papal nationality, and the bearers of that flag having apparently the leaders of her people and the mass of her people itself with them, what are our future relations with her to be? **THE BYSTANDER** has the heartiest



sympathy with those who strive to make Canada a nation, and perhaps it may trace its own pedigree to the Canada First movement in which that aspiration was embodied. But there is no use in attempting manifest impossibilities, and no impossibility apparently can be more manifest than that of fusing or even harmonizing a French and Papal with a British and Protestant community. Mere political lines or uniformity of colouring on the map will not make a nation: if they would, Austro-Italy might have been a nation, and so might Holland and Belgium. To make a nation there must be a common life, common sentiments, common aims, and common hopes. Of these, in the case of Quebec and Ontario, there are none. Quebec tells us in the plainest terms that she is pursuing an ideal different from ours, that the connection is merely provisional, that she looks forward to being a nation of herself, and even in the end to supplanting us, and not only cancelling Wolfe's victory but realizing the visions of Louis XIV. If this were a sudden access of sentimental excitement it might pass away as it came; but it has been a steady growth, and moreover it is perfectly natural; a British colony conquered by France and feeling the conquerer's grasp relaxed by his fears would have done exactly the same thing. The extrusion of British population has at the same time been continually going on. Foreseeing the catastrophe, Lord Durham tried to avert it by union. Union failed and thereon followed a partial divorce under the deceptive name of Confederation. French nationality has all the time been gathering strength; at last it has found a leader and declared itself. What chance is there of subduing or absorbing it, and, if it can neither be subdued or absorbed, what chance is there of forming out of two masses, antagonistic in all respects, a united Canadian nation? Switzerland is cited as an example of the successful union of different races and religions. But in Switzerland the races and religions are intermingled; they do not confront each other, like opposing cliffs, as they do here. Moreover the territory of Switzerland is compact, with boundaries most clearly

traced by nature, and her union, which was formed under the strongest pressure of necessity, has endured through centuries, and has been consecrated by historic struggles. After all, Switzerland, when the Jesuit crept into her, had her civil war of religions.

Ontario by herself might be a nation. There is nothing at least in the nature of things, however much there may be in actual circumstances, to prevent her. She has sufficient unity of race, her territory is compact, and a strong British population would easily deal with any attempt which the wielders of her Irish Catholic vote might make to divide or dominate her in the interest of the Papacy. Her population is as large as that of Denmark ; and if her resources could only be developed by free trade with her continent, it might in time equal that of Switzerland, Belgium or Holland. Quebec would hold the lower course of the St. Lawrence, but she would never venture to close it. Besides, now that we have direct railway access to the coast through Maine, a waterway which is closed for nearly half the year is likely to lose some of its importance. Even the Mississippi is less important than it was ; and to retain it would hardly now be a sufficient motive for a four years' war.

The actual crisis may be deferred. The government of Sir John Macdonald may contrive to carry the Dominion elections in Quebec. To allow it to do this suits the policy of the Nationalist and Ecclesiastical party, which is thus enabled to prevent any interference of the Federal Parliament with its aims, and to draw on the Dominion treasury for its rather urgent financial needs at the same time. But though the Conservatives are allowed to carry Richelieu, the Nationalists, under their own flag, carry Joliette, and they purge the Club National of influences alien to their cause. Those who can see anything good and noble in itself, or tending to what is good and noble, in the management of Quebec and her retention within the pale of Confederation by means of patronage and government appropriations may have some years of satisfac-

tion and hope still before them. Something in the march of events here will be determined by the relations between the two mother countries. Mr. Hamerton, who has studied the French people most thoroughly and most sympathetically, says in his "French and English" that peace and courtesy may be maintained between the two nations, but that they never can be friends. It is too evident that Sedan has not effaced Waterloo.

—The signal success of Mr. Wiman's meeting at Toronto set two questions at rest. It proved that in the very centre of Separatism and Protectionism the desire for freedom of trade with our continent is strong, and it proved that in Canada public discussion is not to be put down by personal slander. To pretend that the meeting was not with Mr. Wiman is shameless: whether it was with the particular scheme could not be decided, as the scheme was not submitted to the vote; but it clearly was with the general object and with the injured man. Mr. Wiman called attention to the important fact that immense masses of English capital are being invested in the United States, so that England is acquiring an interest in the internal commerce of this continent which bears a large proportion to her interest in importation, while this vast redundancy of wealth is a pretty conclusive answer to the assertion that she has been impoverished by free trade. Very timely, too, was the warning to us in Toronto that our prosperity must ultimately depend on the condition of the farmer, and that we have consequently the deepest interest in any policy which will increase his earnings by giving him a better market. Our city is at present draining the country towns, most of which are consequently going backward: this is the source of her present growth; but it is a cornucopia which must presently cease to flow: we shall then have to look almost entirely to the farm, and the farm, let it be remembered, has been declining in value. Mr. Blue rates the depreciation since 1883 at twenty-two mil-

lions and a half. The farmer of Ontario moreover will be exposed in ever-increasing measure to competition with the harvests of the North-West, all forced in this direction by the tariff wall which bars their egress to the South. Belleville cries out that her prosperity is departing. Then let her support a policy which will bring it back again, instead of taking some petty bribe from the government and voting under the party-whip.

Is it not possible to advocate Commercial Union or a Zollverein without betraying the political independence of Canada? Hear what the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Conservative patriot and Protectionist to boot, said at the conclusion of a review of the commercial situation in 1859: "The natural policy of Canada is seen clearly therefore to be the establishment of an American Zollverein, such as exists among the German States. Under this, the United States and Canada would neither of them levy any customs taxes on their interior frontiers, but only at the seaports from Labrador to Mexico—the same duties being levied and each country getting its share in the proportion of its population. Let it be therefore resolved that for our commercial system the principle should be adopted by Canada of an American Zollverein, or, in other words, free trade with America, but not with Europe. And this will be a fair compromise between the views of the two classes of friends of the Canadian farmer, one of which holds that our farmer is to be most benefited by general free trade and direct taxation, and the other by keeping our money in the country through the restriction of importations and indirect taxation." It is noteworthy that in commending his policy to the Americans Mr. Buchanan uses the very phrase which when used by Mr. Wiman has been distorted into treason. He says that a Zollverein "would give the Americans all the commercial advantages of annexation."

Mr. Buchanan was not always in the right; certainly he was not on the question of currency. But he clearly saw the great fact that the fiscal unity of the empire had been abandoned

and that Canada must thenceforth be at liberty to do the best she could for herself with reference to her own commercial circumstances, which are those of a community sharing this continent with the United States.

—The air has been full of rumours of a dissolution of the Legislature of Ontario. There could be no justification for such a step. No constitutional crisis to warrant an appeal to the people had arisen. There could be no assignable reason except a desire on the part of the holders of power to nip in the bud the Equal Rights' movement; in other words, to prevent public opinion from being fairly matured and finding expression at the polls. It is time to protest against the usurpation by the heads of party governments of a power of dissolving Parliament whenever it suits their convenience, and for the purpose of snapping a verdict. Such a practice, besides the turmoil and expense of frequent elections, would be subversive of the independence of Parliament, the members of which would hold their seats, not for the term for which the people in the exercise of its legal power has elected them, but during the pleasure of the Prime Minister. When to this usurped power of dissolution are added those of gerrymandering and of passing such party measures as the Franchise Act, together with a great command of patronage and government appropriations, there is no saying to what extent an unscrupulous Minister might entrench himself in power. Dissolution is the prerogative of the Crown, to be exercised for the purpose of providing the Sovereign with advisers who have the confidence of the people. In England we do not believe that the Sovereign would consent to a purely tactical dissolution. It is true that in 1874, when Mr. Gladstone was allowed to dissolve, there was no constitutional crisis; but Mr. Gladstone had been beaten the year before on the Catholic University question, had then resigned, and had consented to resume office only on the understanding that there was to be an early appeal to the

country. A heavy responsibility rests on the late Governor-General who abandoned to Sir John Macdonald the last prerogative of the Crown. The fact is that a Governor-General thinks of little beyond having a smooth passage through his term, and making a good fund of social popularity, which the English take for administrative success and accept as a certificate for higher employment. Yet the Governor-Generalship, with its seven Lieutenant-Governorships, must, since Confederation, have cost us in the aggregate something like six millions. This would be a heavy price to pay for figure-heads however beautifully gilded. We may fairly expect that the Governor General shall, at all events, act as the guardian of the British North America Act and see that the people enjoy the rights and securities which it gives them. To be just to Lord Lansdowne, let us say that he reduced the expenses of his office as much as possible, paying for his own trips over the country, whereas Lord Dufferin's trips to the West alone cost the Dominion twenty-eight thousand dollars.

—The *St. Thomas Journal* asks pertinently enough why the national veto on local legislation should be essential to the preservation of nationality in the case of Canada when it is not necessary in the case of the United States. Our answer is that in the first place there are in the United States checks of other kinds upon State action which we lack. The Governor's veto, unlike the veto of our Lieutenant-Governors, is a reality and is often used. There is sure access to the Supreme Court, whereas we see what a shifty government can do here. There is a power of amending the Constitution, which has been used for example to put an end to Slavery with its disruptive tendencies, whereas our Constitution is locked up in the keeping of an Imperial Legislature to which it is hopeless to appeal. Besides in the last resort the national government of the United States possesses and has used on the largest scale the power of coercion, whereas the Dominion has no such power, and Quebec

knows well that the Imperial Government will never venture to interpose with force. But more than all, the American Commonwealth, now that slavery has been eliminated, is homogeneous and moves of itself with sufficient uniformity on a national line, the same political parties with identical aims and issues pervading its whole frame. The Dominion, on the contrary, has in the midst of it a subaltern nationality, French and Papal, with distinct aims of its own, and unless the action of this subaltern nationality is controlled by a central authority, so as to keep it in tolerable unison with that of the Federal nationality, the federation, will become a mere league. A league with a French and Papal nation, the *St. Thomas Journal*, we believe, does not desire.

—The West Lambton Election was the old story—the two Machines bidding a gainst each other for the Catholic vote and victory in the Dutch auction remaining, as was natural, with the Mowat machine, which beyond doubt has the strongest claims to ecclesiastical gratitude. The outcome to the Province, as usual, is ecclesiastical domination. No Equal Rights candidate was in the field, the Association having expressly declined to take part on this occasion; but an Anti-Machine candidate, who combined Equal Rights with Prohibition and Third Party, polled a vote respectable in itself, and which, if it were added to the Conservative vote, would turn the scale. The Opposition, perhaps in time will learn its lesson. Its leader by hauling down his flag before the last general election did not gain a single Catholic vote. The priest knows who is his true friend in Ontario. If the Opposition is to be led as it is now, it may as well disband at once; indeed it had better; for all it does now is to mask the responsibility of the Government. Sir John Macdonald said that Mowat must go. But did he mean it any more than he meant that he was dying to catch Riel? The Catholic vote is given to Mr. Mowat in the Province and then to Sir John in the Dominion. This arrangement proba-

bly suits Sir John well, and it would be at once disturbed if life were put, by the only conceivable means, into the Ontario Opposition. The men who occupy the place of leaders of the party did not even show themselves in the Riding. Independence of Ottawa seems to be the first condition of an effective Opposition in Ontario. Another condition, however, is the appearance of some stronger men than Mr. Meredith has at his side.

—In Sir Richard Cartwright's fierce indictment of the Government there was much that is only too familiar. No one can doubt that we are governed to a deplorable extent, by corruption, or that the consequence is the demoralization of a community well fitted by nature, if ever a community was, for the working of representative institutions. Indeed Sir Richard's instances were not taken from the worst class of all. When, on the eve of a general election, a Prime Minister assembles the representatives of a particular commercial interest in the parlour of a hotel, takes from them subscriptions for his election fund, and virtually pledges to them in return the commercial policy of the country, corruption assumes its most dangerous and noxious form. The most novel and startling count in Sir Richard Cartwright's indictment was that relating to the corruption of the Press. It would be difficult to substantiate the charge by proving the motives with which advertisements and printing patronage are given: but when a government such as ours spends two or three hundred thousand dollars a year on the journals we may be sure that a sinister influence is exercised, and that poison, to use Sir Richard's apt metaphor, is cast into the well of public truth. The excuse, as has been said before, is the difficulty of holding together provinces geographically scattered, differing in race and without unity of commercial interest. This may amount almost to a plea of necessity. But the system is not the less immoral or the less injurious to the political character of the people.



—In scattering benedictions over the North-West the Governor-General has bestowed a share on the Mormon settlement. We are assured by Mr. Mackenzie Bowell that none of the settlers are living in polygamy. The sect, however, is nothing if not polygamic; a detachment of it is rather a sinister accession to our civilization; and Mr. Bowell is hardly to be congratulated on having to appear at once as the champion of Jesuitism in the East and of Mormonism in the West. Shreds of outlandish nationalities and equivocal sects—Icelanders, Skye Crofters, Mennonites, and Mormons—are hardly the stuff out of which a strong, sound, and patriotic community is made. Of the motley collection the Icelanders are probably the best. The Mennonites are materially the most prosperous, but their prosperity is very material: they generally decline the duties of citizenship, and when they do vote are said to be weak. To transport the herdsmen and fishermen of Skye from the mild air of the Hebrides and set them to farming in the North-West was not an unquestionable act of benevolence, though it may be hoped that their children will do well. What the North-West wants is the Canadian immigration which is now peopling Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, and Washington Territory. But this it will not get, nor will it enjoy, in any respect, its destined measure of prosperity until it has thrown down the tariff wall and brought itself within the commercial pale of its Continent. Manitoba wishes for rest after her struggle against railway monopoly. This is natural; but in time, having gained freedom of construction she will have to strike for freedom of trade over the road. The country will not fill up while it is commercially kept out in the cold. The writer of a Tory account of Canada and Canadian sentiment in the *Quarterly Review*, the other day, had sufficient confidence in the faith of his readers to tell them that there was a cordon of towns and villages from Port Arthur to Vancouver. In the whole of the region, two thousand miles long and of infinite breadth, there are not, we will venture to say, more than two hundred thousand whites, say one-fifth of a man

to the square mile of the habitable area ; and this twenty years after the assumption of the territory by the Dominion.

—The country gave a guarantee for thirteen millions to indemnify the C. P. R. for the surrender of a monopoly to which, as far as Manitoba was concerned, the Company never had a right. Having got the guarantee the Company, with the manifest connivance of the Government, maintained the monopoly by blocking the construction of the rival railway. It is now doing the same thing again, and as before with the connivance of the Government, the object probably being to secure the exclusive handling of this year's harvest. So at least Manitobans are complaining. But, as Sir Richard Cartwright says, if any one calls attention to the wrong in Parliament, he will be voted down, perhaps without debate, by a majority at the command of the Government. Not only so, but Manitoba herself, as likely as not, at the next election, lured by some paltry and perhaps illusory bribe, will send up representatives to uphold the wrong. "Considerable indignation," says the *Winnipeg Sun*, is felt over the matter. Then let the people, instead of merely "feeling" indignation, show it.

—A curious letter signed "Maple Leaf" appeared the other day in the *Toronto Telegram*. It was written in support of a proposal to treat the English subjects of Her Majesty as aliens and impose on them a year of naturalization as a condition of eligibility to municipal office. From this it went on to inveigh with extreme bitterness against English immigration. Other writers have followed in the same strain. We believe the letter to have been a symptom of a feeling, which though unavowed, is growing. There is a singular contrast in this respect between American and Canadian sentiment. To Americans England is an object of traditional hatred ; yet the Eng-

lishman is received by them without the slightest prejudice on the ground of nationality and made heartily welcome to everything to which he is eligible by law. Canadians, while they profess and no doubt feel great love of England, are disposed in an increasing degree to look upon the English immigrant as an interloper. The appointment of an Englishman to any office or place, even in a bank, excites jealousy, and it appears to be easier for Americans than for Englishmen to make their way here in public life. The true explanation no doubt is, not that Canadians are unkind, but that in the last generation immigrants from the Imperial country enjoyed a preference approaching to a monopoly, of which the memory lingers in the minds of the natives who are now determined to have Canada to themselves. With this perhaps is combined a suspicion that natives of an Imperial country imagine themselves superior to colonists, so that the jealousy may be looked upon as one of the moral incidents of Colonial dependence. It is only in Old Canada that the English immigrant has this adverse feeling to encounter : in the North-West there can be no nativism, because there are no natives.

—The Harvey case raises once more the solemn question as to the conditions of capital punishment. For our part we incline to the stern opinion that, if a man takes human life knowingly and under no hallucination or misconception, his life ought to be taken. No one would propose to hang a lunatic who did not know what he was doing or a man who imagined he was defending himself against a robber and assassin. But the plea of criminal propensity, we think, ought not to be heard. It is to compel men to restrain their criminal propensities that the law is made. If criminal propensity were to be a ground of acquittal a man by indulging his evil passions till they became his masters might qualify himself for cutting our throats with impunity. It is very likely that the criminal propensity of "Jack the Ripper" has become uncontrollable.

Medical experts ought not to be heard unless they can attest positive hallucination. When they say that a propensity is uncontrollable they only mean, at least they can only prove, that it has not been controlled. If a man has really been miscreated the responsibility for the necessity to which society is driven of protecting itself against the influence of his example by putting him out of the way must rest with the Creator. Motives are a ground not for acquittal but for pardon or commutation. Nobody would propose to let the law take its course in the case of a modern Virginius. What we ought to do with an Othello it might be difficult to say ; but we know what an Othello does with himself. When a man has committed a wilful homicide without a palliating motive, surely it is better for him as well as for society that he should leave the world. What is life worth in a criminal lunatic asylum or a solitary cell?

—American politicians believe in a mysterious law by which the Republicans are doomed to lose at the off-elections. It is possible that the party may contain more than its share of those quiet citizens who go to the poll only on great occasions. Whatever may be the cause, there can be no doubt in the present instance about the effect. The Republicans have lost and lost heavily. Nor can we doubt that Mr. Cleveland is right in saying that the leaven of Free Trade works. In the farmer's mind all leaven works slowly and this combined with the strategical error committed as we think in the introduction of the Mills Bill accounts for the failure of the farmers to support their own cause at the last election. But even the farmers must begin to see the flagrant folly and iniquity of a system which takes from the people a hundred millions a year and squanders them in pensions to protect the inordinate gains of master manufacturers. The Republican Government has had to put a limit to the use of that waste-pipe. It will probably next try to get rid of surplus by large appropriations for washing the blackamoor white. But the end must come. Protectionism has

hitherto been supported by the mechanics in the belief that it raises wages ; but the increased vote cast by artisans in favour of Free Trade at the last Presidential Election shows that this fallacy is losing hold. To withdraw all at once the foundation, however erroneous, on which the industrial edifice has been built, would plainly be dangerous, and many who in principle are Free Traders will desire to move cautiously on that account. The same thing may be said with regard to our Protectionist policy in Canada. But tariff reform is coming and it will help us to Continental Free Trade. The Republican party itself, we repeat, can have no better policy than that which would reduce revenue while it extended trade.

—So quiet and commercial a transaction as the termination of monarchy in Brazil can hardly be called a revolution. It seems to have been brought about mainly by mistrust of the clerical tendencies of the heiress and her consort. Not unlikely Pedro himself foresaw a catastrophe. There is no great change, since the monarchy was constitutional, and the monarch, we are told, at New York rode to his hotel in a hack robed in a common duster. Yet the news sounds like the passing bell of Old World institutions in the New World. We are now fairly face to face with Democracy, and while the foolish and thoughtless will exult as if humanity had finally entered into a political Paradise the wise and thoughtful will bend themselves more earnestly than ever to the arduous task of making democracy a government not of popular will but of the reason and conscience of the community. The will of the people no more constitutes a right than the will of a despot; nor, if this is a moral world, is it a better and surer foundation for a polity. Feeble attempts to engraft aristocracy on Canada by means of titles or the influence of the little court at Ottawa will share the fate of the attempt to engraft monarchy on Brazil. We must frankly accept the dispensation and for real and lasting safeguards look to democracy itself organized on the principal not of anybody's will but of duty.

—Our diagnosis of the situation in England received speedy confirmation. Mr. Gladstone was to have declared his Irish policy at Southport, but he did not. Why? Because the Brighton election, which he hoped to win, was at hand and he knew that he would spoil his chance by raising the issue of the Union. Home Rule for the present is laid aside. No plan is before the country. Mr. Gladstone's original scheme is so dead that his doubting followers are beginning to take advantage of its decease as a door of escape from their quandary, declaring that to it and to it alone their adhesion was given, and that their Home Rule affections are buried in its grave. The dilemma is fatal: the Irish members must either be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster or not. If they are, Home Rule, in the present mood of the Irish at all events, means separation. If they are not, how determine the special subjects on which they are to be allowed to vote? To draw a line between Imperial and British questions would be found impracticable. The policy of every government or governing assembly is an organic whole, the parts of which have constant reference to each other. If in a debate on a question of peace or war something was said about British finance, could the Speaker bid the Irish members withdraw? A proposal to federalize one member of the United Kingdom while the rest is left on the national footing is like a proposal to federalize one of a man's arms or legs. If Federation is your aim, restore the Heptarchy. Retrace the boundaries of the old Saxon Kingdoms, make London again, as it probably was in Saxon times, a State of itself, revive the division of Northumbria into Bernicia and Deira, that of Wales into its Principalities, that of Scotland into Lowlands and Highlands, that of Ireland into the four Provinces. Then you will have a group of States nearly equal among themselves or at least free from any obnoxious superiority, and thus suitable for Federation, whereas a Federation of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales would be a perpetual domination of England over the smaller countries and a perpetual cabal of the smaller countries against England.

The only objections to such a plan are, first, that it is not so easy to draw off the life of a nation into a number of separate receptacles as it is to draw off liquor from a cask into bottles ; and secondly, that Great Britain, a power, with all her faults, of justice and of progress, would be erased from the map of the diplomatic world. Home Rule, however, for the present at least, is dead. A Radical victory at the next general election is possible and it might bring Home Rule as part of a revolutionary programme in its train, but a victory of Home Rulers on the direct issue there will not be. By the part which Canada, through her legislatures, has been made to play in countenancing and stimulating the attempt to dismember the Mother Country, the politicians may have gained Irish Catholic votes, the country has taken nothing but dishonour. Let it not be forgotten that it was the Tory leader who began the game. Sir John Macdonald is very indignant with those who say that his conduct with regard to the Jesuits' Estates Act was influenced by fear of the French vote. What influenced his conduct with regard to the Costigan Resolutions ?

—The Salisbury Government is preparing to make a grand effort to settle the Irish land question. No one who knows Ireland doubts that this is the root of the trouble. The political agitation springs out of it and would die if the land question were settled, everywhere at least except in the hot heads of Dublin and Cork. To do away with dual ownership is no doubt the object of the scheme. But is it certain that the abolition of landlordism will do away with dual ownership ? Will not the result be for the landlord to substitute the mortgagee ? The Canadian and American farmer is incomparably more thrifty than the peasant, miscalled a farmer, of Celtic Ireland is likely for generations to be. Yet Canadian and American farms are heavily mortgaged. Such a change would be a doubtful gain, since the landlord, unless he is very bad, does some sort of duty and in hard times is merciful : the mortgagee knows no

duty and no mercy. It will not be surprising if out of the grave of the agitation for the plunder of landlords should rise an agitation for the plunder of mortgagees, since the Irishman has now been taught by demagogues the poisonous lesson that plunder is easier than thrift and agitation much pleasanter than industry. Moreover, behind the difficulty of land tenure lies that of overpopulation. The one indeed partly gives rise to the other, since it was by the desperate bidding of peasants against each other for the holdings that the rents were inordinately raised. Ireland, let agrarian demagogues say what they will, has a climate unsuited to cereals, and can maintain a large population only on the potato. But the Celtic Irish, encouraged by their Church, multiply recklessly like the people of Quebec who, in spite of their comparative thrift, would be liable to famine, if they had not a ready outflow into the States. Nothing will work a thorough cure in Ireland but copious depletion, followed by the uprooting of the potato; and this, it is to be feared, could be effected only by a strong government acting without interruption from demagogism for twenty or thirty years.

In the political line one grievance and one only through the whole course of this agitation has been named. It is hard upon Ireland to have to go to Westminster for her private bill legislation. There would surely be no danger in letting a Parliamentary Committee sit at Dublin during the recess for private bills. It would have to report to Westminster, and if it grew restive the ready remedy would be to let it drop. It might, at the same time, cure, as it were by vaccination, the desire for a separate Parliament. This would be a more wholesome concession, at all events, than a lay Maynooth, under the name of a Catholic University, which, besides being a seminary of obscurantism, such as no free and progressive government can consistently found, would to a certainty become a hot-bed of sedition.

Mr. William Pilkington, introducing himself as an Anglo-Irish farmer and land-agent of long experience, in his "Help for



Ireland," tells us something about "land-burning" which seems to show that all the woes of Ireland do not come from the Union. Land-burning was the process of burning the surface of the soil, which, by precipitating the phosphate, produces a great yield, especially of potatoes, for two or three years, after which the land is ruined. Burned land was taken, Mr. Pilkington says, largely by young couples who waited only to get a plot of potatoes ripe before they went to the priest. In the land-burning times Mr. Pilkington has known the banns for thirty-seven couples published in one day and more than a hundred marriages solemnized in the same parish in one week. According to certain theorists the result ought to have been great opulence, since the more producers there are the greater (except in very small islands) will be the product. You may "relegate political economy to Saturn," but it has a trick of coming back. That all the people whom such young couples bring into the world can be found not only in bread but in education, leisure and happiness, as optimistic philanthropy now seems to assume, is glad tidings if it is true, and any change of economical organization by which it would be brought about ought to be heartily welcomed by us all.

—There is a point at which, in mid-revolutionary career, even Mr. Gladstone calls a halt. The nationalization of land, he says, without compensation would be sheer robbery, with it would be sheer folly. Mr. John Morley, Jacobinical though he is, echoes the judgment. To take from a man the land which he has bought with the full sanction of the community, signified through its laws, and perhaps bought of the nation itself,—if this is not robbery, what is? Under what form or name the robbery is to be committed, and whether the instrument is to be the bludgeon, the bayonet, or the taxing power, matters nothing. There can be no doubt that the writer of "Progress and Poverty" means confiscation and rejoices in it, though the victims, by his own showing, are guilty

of nothing but ignorance of his discovery. Land, he and his disciples say, is the gift of God, and therefore cannot be rightfully appropriated by man. The wool in Mr. Henry George's coat, the leather in Mr. Henry George's boots, the metal in Mr. Henry George's types, are equally the gift of God. Besides, if land is the gift of God, and therefore incapable of appropriation, it ought to be humanized, not nationalized. A nation has no more right to appropriate it than a man.

When all the land has been seized into the hands of a set of politicians, idealized as "the State," what is to follow? Is it to be let out again to the present holders, or is there to be a redistribution? Who is to have the good land, who the bad? Mr. George says that every child born into the world has a title to a share in the land. Is there then to be redistribution every time a child is born or grows up? Or, as the land belongs to us all, are we all to squat upon it at our pleasure? Supposing the land is to be let out, are the holdings to be secure or not? If they are, we have private property in land again; if they are not, labour will not be put into the land, and the result of public robbery will be, as it has always been, cessation of industry and dearth of bread.

It is happily not true that poverty has increased with progress. The area of comfortable living has immensely increased, both in itself and relatively to the amount of want and suffering. The amount of want and suffering has of course positively increased with the growth of population and the increased scale of fluctuations in trade. Destitution arises from a vast variety of causes, physical and moral, quite independent of anything in the tenure of land, and is found in full measure in commercial communities, like Holland, where the land is a secondary matter, and Venice, where there is no land at all. If the landlords have swallowed up all the wealth of the community, where did the Rothschilds, Vanderbilt, and Jay Gould get their riches? The supposed discovery on which the whole theory is based is itself a mare's nest. It is not true that the labourer gives his labour to the capitalist in advance of pay:

he begins to draw his pay, as soon as his wages are secured to him, in credit and can go at once to the store.

These robbers who have wrongly appropriated the land in every community of the world, who are they? What has history to tell us about them? They are no more historical than the priests who everywhere invented religion. In Russia, Hindostan and Afghanistan there linger vestiges of tribal ownership, which has spontaneously and independently been discarded by the nations generally in favour of the system of private ownership, experience having taught that private ownership produced the best tillage and the most food. The true test of a system of land tenure, though land reformers hardly ever notice it, is production. That system is the best which gives the community most bread.

Mr. George and his disciples propose to confiscate the land: another set of men proposes to confiscate the property of all the stockholders in railroads. Public plunder is in the air and the thought excites envy and malignity as well as greed. Property, like all the other parts of our state, like the whole universe, so far as it comes within our ken, is full of defects and attendant evils: the faculties by which it is acquired are not more justly distributed than health, strength or life; but it is the only known motive-power of production: when its security is destroyed, as it was by the robberies of the French Revolution, as it would be by the adoption of Mr. George's scheme of confiscation, production ceases and famine ensues. To defend it against confiscation therefore is to defend the life of the community. The best defences of property, as well as the only sure source of happiness to its holders, are to be found in the performance of social duty, and in steadfast effort to improve the common lot. But one has only to read certain Socialistic or "Labour" journals to know that there are some who are not to be satisfied or reconciled in this way, who, for the gratification of their envy and hatred no less than of their greed are bent on confiscation, and with whom in the end there may be battle, as indeed there has already been in more

than one European country, and on a smaller scale upon this Continent. It seems hardly to occur to the philosophers of this school that the multitude of innocent people whom, as a first step towards the extirpation of poverty, they propose to reduce to beggary, will resist, and that the "ransom" which communistic brigandage demands of property-holders may be paid in the only metal which ever satisfied a highwayman. But of "ransoms" let us hear no more. For lawful property no ransom is due. Let those who hold it be ready to defend it against the philanthropic robber as their right, while they use it as a trust in the eye of God.

Do away with all the difficulties derived from feudal law or professional pedantry which have hitherto beset the purchase of land. Introduce everywhere the Torrens System which, owing largely to the exertions of Mr. Herbert Mason, has been making way in this country. Let acquisition be perfectly free to all members of the community. Multiply, as much as sound economy permits, the number of possessors. This is the true and the only sane nationalization of land.

In his lecture at Toronto the other night, Mr. Henry George occupied himself less in the advocacy of his own panacea than in the confutation of Protectionism. Here he has an easy game. For of all the commercial schemes, though not the most immoral the most absurd, is that which proposes to make communities rich by taxation.

—The passage of the Atlantic in less than six days by the *City of Paris* draws the Continents very close together. Now let an antidote to sea-sickness be discovered and there will be almost a fusion of the wealthier classes in America and Europe. Every extension of man's power and facilities is sure to prove good in the end, but at first great facility of locomotion is not without its drawbacks. It begets restlessness and tempts the wealthy to leave their posts of social duty. The rich men of this Continent especially are tempted to go where their wealth

can be better enjoyed, as it can in the more brilliant society and the more perfect services of Europe. Yet unless the rich will stay at their posts and do their duty, there will be social trouble and that soon. A visit to the Old World is to the intellectual class almost a part of education, but the rich man is not educated or in any way improved by lounging away his time in the pleasure cities and watering-places of Europe. The temptation is great, especially when men of wealth and refinement are deprived of their natural objects of interest and ambition by exclusion from public life. Yet it must be overcome if Society on this Continent is to remain sound. Of the social and agrarian trouble in the United Kingdom, especially in Ireland, the cause in no small measure is the absenteeism of landlords which has taken away the keystone from the arch of the manorial system. Politics happily are not the only social work of man: other work less ambitious and exciting, yet not less fruitful and better perhaps for the heart, may be found. The life of a wandering sybarite, without a fixed home or home duties, chasing from one pleasure-haunt to another the shadow of happiness which he can find in none, is pitiable and grows more pitiable as it draws near its end. Nothing can be less enviable than the American colony in Paris. Pleasure itself, supposing it the chief aim of life, is not complete without a spice of duty. But, we repeat, serious danger impends over pleasure, wealth and all, unless social duty is done.

Amidst the signs and rumblings of social war special interest attaches to the history of the industrial insurrection under Wat Tyler. By Professor Thorold Rogers the rising has been ascribed to the attempt of the lords to keep down wages which had risen in consequence of the reduction of population by the Black Death. Professor Ashley in the *Political Science Monthly* seems inclined to ascribe the outbreak more to the levelling doctrines, anticipative of the Socialism of the present day, with which the preaching of John Ball and his compeers had filled the air and which incited the villeins to withhold feudal dues and services from the lords, whose

attempt to enforce their claims brought on the storm. Our own impression is that the catastrophe was due to a complication of causes, social and economical, among which we should certainly include the preaching of the Wycliffite Levellers and probably the improvement in the condition of the serfs which led them to aspire to a still greater change of their state, as Socialism takes hold of the highly paid mechanics of the present day. But something, we suspect, was also due to the non-residence of the lords who, like the French nobility of a later day, had exchanged the country for the Court and instead of performing their duties on their estates and keeping up their social influence had been thronging the gay Chaucerian Court of Edward III., banqueting at the Round Table in his newly built castle palace, glittering in the tilt-yards of a galvanized chivalry, and following the king and his adventurous son to glory and plunder on foreign fields. It has been noted that the districts of France to which the Revolutionary movement did not extend were those in which the landowners had continued resident.

—If the Americans believe that Abraham Lincoln was “the greatest man since Christ,” let them save his ashes from profanation. His ashes are profaned when prurient curiosity is fed, as it has been by a recent biographer, with the miserable details of his domestic unhappiness and the quarrels between him and his wife, caused by his opening the door in his shirt-sleeves or cutting the butter with his own knife. The lust of scandal is becoming a madness. Scandal about aristocracy above all is luscious. It was a sad disappointment when a jury acquitted the Earl of Galloway of a disgusting offence, though a conviction would have brought misery not only on him but on a family too high-placed to escape the pointed finger of malignity. This passion for aristocratic scandal is nothing but flunkeyism turned upside down. The same people would grovel at the feet of a lord. People of the same

class are trying to get Sir Charles Dilke back into Parliament. Closely connected with this tendency is the growing disregard of privacy and social confidence. A man in good society has no scruple in making a telling magazine article out of conversations which he has heard at private dinner parties. Dr. Lushington, Lady Byron's counsel, amidst all the foul controversy on that subject, kept his professional secret and carried it with him to the grave. Had he been born in these times he would have sent at once for a reporter.

—Nobody wishes unnecessarily to revive the hateful memories of religious persecution, but when the apologists of the Jesuit, to throw a mantle over his character and acts, tell us that Protestants and Roman Catholics have "alike" reason to blush for the deeds that have been perpetrated by their adherents, we must beg leave to demur to the perversion of historical justice for a political purpose. For centuries Christendom had been dominated by a power which treated heterodoxy as crime and practised every form of persecution, renouncing thereby, as clearly as deeds could renounce it, the inheritance of Him whose Kingdom was not of this world. The evil belief thus ingrained did not at once depart when the Papacy was overthrown, nor did Protestantism at first know of what spirit it was. But what are all the sins of Protestantism in this way put together compared with the extermination of the Albigenses, the autos-da-fe and torture-houses of the Spanish Inquisition, the persecution in the Netherlands, where Alva alone could say that he had put to death eighteen thousand persons, the persecution in France under Francis I., the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which the Pope celebrated by a solemn thanksgiving and by commemorative pictures, medals and orations, the extermination of Protestantism by the sword in the Dominions of the House of Austria and the Dragonnades in France, to say nothing of the civil wars kindled by the Popes for the destruction of

heresy or the dethronement of heretical Princes? Such atrocities as were perpetrated by Protestants on Catholics in the Low Countries were not measures of religious persecution but acts of vengeance excited to frenzy by the far greater atrocities of Alva and his fellow persecutors. Protestantism, if unhappily it did in some cases punish public profession, never scrutinized conscience with the rack. Cromwell prohibited the Mass, but he disclaimed all inquisition into conscience. The darkness of course lingered longest in the countries least advanced in civilization. Scotland in 1697, when a young man was hanged for blasphemy, was still in a very barbarous condition, and the temper of the people had been rendered cruel by the persecution of the Covenanters under James II. It is pretended that this took place after persecution in Roman Catholic countries had ceased. It was nearly contemporary with the extermination of the Huguenots. The autos-da-fe in Spain and Portugal went on far into the next century, and one took place in Mexico so late as 1815. In France the religious murder of Calas took place in 1762, and that of La Barre in 1766, while in 1731 the Prince Bishop of Salzburg expelled the whole of the Protestant population, 30,000 in number, from his territories. But this is not the whole, nor even the most important part, of the case. The most important part of the case is that Protestantism with one voice now disclaims the principle of persecution and bewails every act of persecution that was ever committed in its name; while Rome in her last manifesto distinctly reaffirms the principle of persecution by anathematizing all who deny that she has the right to use the temporal power for the enforcement of her creed, and so late as 1867 canonized the cruel inquisitor Peter Arbues. To bring the fact nearer home, Father Gingras, of Quebec, in a pamphlet which has often been quoted, has an unqualified defence of the Inquisition. "The excessive cruelty of the Inquisition! pure calumny, gentlemen, never was a criminal tribunal more humane." Ask a Jesuit whether he renounces persecution and condemns the



members of his Order who took part with the persecuting Popes and Inquisitors as we condemn Calvin for the execution of Servetus. That many Roman Catholic laymen are now in their personal belief perfectly tolerant we know, but what we have to deal with on the present occasion is not Catholicism, the religious faith of the Middle Ages, as to which we only say that it belongs to the past, but the conspiracy set on foot in aid of the Roman Catholic reaction by Ignatius Loyola.

That the Papacy was the friend of freedom in the Middle Ages is another historical fallacy which is also being revived on this occasion. That the despotism of the Popes limited the despotism of Kings as one encroaching force limits another by mere collision is true; but in no other sense is it true that the Papacy was the friend of freedom. Till King John had submitted, the Pope was willing to take advantage of the disaffection of the Barons, but when John had submitted and become the vassal of the Roman See the Pope annulled the Great Charter and prohibited its observance under pain of excommunication. Fanciful historians have represented the opposition of Becket backed by the Papacy against Henry II. as a struggle for the liberty of serfs to enter the priesthood, which had been restricted by an article in the Constitution of Clarendon, and have given the Church credit for upholding the rights of the people against feudal tyranny. Unluckily the Constitutions of Clarendon were brought before the Pope at the Council of Sens, and His Holiness having divided the articles into those which were intolerable and those which might be tolerated, placed in the latter class the article restricting the ordination of serfs. There is no use in trying to make out that the slavery of the soul is the freedom of the man.

—In the ecclesiastical world, as it is imaged by recent conventions in the United States, the chief movement discerned is a revolt in the Protestant Churches generally against

dogmatic formularies, which, as we have had occasion before to remark, are in great measure the antagonisms of the sixteenth century crystallized into tests, Justification by Faith in its extreme form being the expression of antagonism to Indulgences, while Predestination is the logical though not the moral corollary of Justification by Faith. It is not surprising that the religious conscience, awakened and enlightened by inquiry, should struggle against its bonds. Nor is it surprising that peculiar uneasiness should be excited by the dogma of Predestination. No ingenuity can reconcile a belief in the article of the Westminster Confession on that subject with a belief in the justice of God. The sophistries of Necessarianism which Jonathan Edwards has with such calamitous skill pressed into the service of his terrible creed may perplex the understanding but cannot possibly confound the moral sense. The iron chain of causation on which his theory depends cannot really be regarded as having its initial link in man, or even in the first Father of the race; it must be traced up to the Creator, who is responsible for all effects of the First Cause. It is true that without Free Will goodness and badness, simply as noxious or beneficent qualities, may exist in man as well as in animals, plants or minerals; but sin cannot exist without Free Will, nor without sin can punishment, much less everlasting punishment, for sin be just. The process of revising formularies in an age of criticism and general disintegration is arduous; those who are summoned to undertake it cannot help feeling that they are asked to open a flood-gate which may let in an overwhelming flood; and the relaxation of tests naturally suggests itself as an easier and safer policy than the reconstruction or expurgation of doctrine. The Church of Rome looking on at all this perplexity and distress of conscience will exult in the august simplicity of a system which stands in need of no tests, but only requires blind faith and absolute obedience. The answer to her taunts is that what she has to deplore is not perplexity or distress of conscience within her communion, but the revolt and practical secession of entire

nations. In France, that "eldest daughter of the Church," the mass of the male population cares no more for the Papal religion than for that of Jupiter, and in Italy the statue of Giordano Bruno is erected amidst general acclamations at the very door of the Pope.

—Sir William Dawson is one of the first practical geologists of the day and a work by him is above our criticism. His "Handbook of Geology" deals with the great geological periods as well as with the general principles of the science. The work is of special interest to Canadians, inasmuch as fully one half of it deals with the geology of the Dominion. This section treats of the geological structure of (1) the Acadian region; (2) Old Canada; (3) the prairie plateau of Manitoba and the North-West; (4) the mountain ranges of British Columbia, with a glance at the physical features and glacial deposits of Newfoundland and the Arctic basin. Were the tariff wall only removed and liberty given to us of developing our vast mineral resources, the value of Sir William Dawson's book as an economic manual would be greatly increased.

Mr. Homer Dixon's "Border Clans" deals with a subject about which little has been written, though it filled the imagination of Walter Scott, who loved to wander in the Border dales and to trace the vestiges of the wild marauding life in the local character which he has embodied in Dandie Dinmont. The book has a genealogical as well as an historical interest, for the bearers of many well-known names—Johnston, Scott, Kerr, Dickson, Rutherford, Irving, Elliot, Armstrong, Foster, Henderson—appear in Mr. Dixon's list. Some of the names had special epithets attached to them, but it is to be hoped that the quality is not hereditary in the case of "the angry Kerrs." The last chapter has only a family interest.

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