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THE BYSTANDER.

MARCH, 1890.

THE breast of the American politician is probably united to that of the Canadian politician by a sympathetic chord which enables him to divine that the Canadian politician is sure to be always ready with a loyalty manifesto as he is himself always ready with a manifesto in favour of downtrodden Ireland or the Grand Army, and that the significance of the act in both cases is the same. It is not likely therefore that the effect of Mr. Mulock's Resolution on the minds of American politicians will be serious, or that either Mr. Hill or Mr. Butterworth will deem it necessary to alter his course in Congress in regard to Commercial Union. But on the mind of the American people the effect of an anti-continental Resolution passed with apparent unanimity by the Canadian Parliament can hardly fail to be bad, and it would be idle to deny that in this way the action of Mr. Mulock and his party may have done serious damage to the cause of improved trade relations. The consequences to their own position cannot be doubtful. This is the second occasion on which they have taken counsel with their enemies against their friends. The spirit miscalled loyalty to which they have appealed is that of hostility to closer relations of any kind with this continent, commercial as well as political, and it has answered their call with a vengeance. No wonder the Tory press is jubilant. No wonder Sir John Macdonald was ready to lend his helping hand in the concoction of the Resolution and to prune it of anything which might have made the gorge of some honest Liberal

rise and provoke him to move an Amendment. The game has been thrown by an act of shallow cunning or of panic into the hands of the Tory leader. He may now reject any overtures of Reciprocity with perfect impunity, and, having with genial courtesy assisted the Opposition to sharpen the razor with which it has cut its own throat, listen with calm complacency to its terrible criticism of his cab fares.

If the alarm on which the Resolution founded itself was genuine, it has had no parallel since Cowper's sheep determined to save themselves from the sound of the huntsman's horn by leaping into the pit. No creature in male attire surely can be such an old woman as to be really scared by "the plot." The plot, everyone with half an eye must have seen, was the device of a journal in financial extremities to ruin a rival whom it had no chance of beating in fair fight. The very fashion in which the revelation was presented, with flaring typography and sensation headings, was enough to warn the beholder of its real character. Mr. Hoar, as we have had occasion already to say, is a personage whose importance has been greatly overrated. But whatever may be the extent of his influence his object is not Annexation; it is merely the defeat of Commercial Union. He wants to protect the products of his constituents in New England against Canadian products, and he uses Annexation only as a lure to draw away support from Reciprocity. That he should have entered into a conspiracy with the Editor of the *Mail* for the forcible annexation of Canada and read the notes of his intercourse with his fellow-conspirator before a committee of the American Senate, only insane partisans can believe. There was at all events nothing to justify serious alarm and warrant the Opposition in flinging itself, as it has done, into the arms of the Government and wrecking its own cause.

The mover may very likely have had reasons of his own. More than once, though he is now so ecstatically loyal, he has voted sympathy with the "veiled rebellion," the object of which was to "break the last link which bound Ireland to Great

Britain," and deprive Her Majesty of her Irish crown. He has recently supported the Jesuit Act, by which the "robberies of George III. were repaired," and which introduced the Pope's name into legislation, to the manifest disparagement of the Crown. By the first of these strategical measures he conciliated the Irish, by the second the French and Catholic vote, but neither can have been pleasing to the loyal portion of his constituency, least of all to the Orangemen who are numerous in one section of North York. His loyalty Resolution trims the balance. The leader of the Opposition must wish to place his loyalty if possible beyond reproach, and to bury the recollection of his Rielism at a time when he is called upon to undertake the delicate task of defending against Equal Right the interests of the French and the Catholic priesthood. The same motive would have its influence with all the French and all the Catholics in the House. To enable Mr. Laurier to keep the Ultramontane vote, which after all he cannot keep, is really the paramount object of Opposition policy. Mr. Laurier calls himself a Liberal of the Liberals, and so in some other planet he may be, but here he is a Liberal supporting ecclesiastical ascendancy as well as French encroachment. His qualities as a speaker and as a gentleman are beyond dispute; but his leadership is very costly. Had the object been to find a feather bed on which the reputation of his ill-starred predecessor might fall softly a better choice could not have been made.

Though it can hardly have been the set purpose of Mr. Mulock and his friends, they may not have been disinclined to deal a blow at a critical juncture against the *Mail*, which for obvious reasons is equally odious to both Machines. To no one has the conduct of the *Mail* on the subject of Commercial Union been more obnoxious than to ourselves; in fact it was by the *Mail's* somersault on that question that THE BYSTANDER was called again into existence. But while the *Mail* must bear the consequence of its own levities as best it may, and defend itself as best it may against the competition of

other journals, whether self-sustaining or subsidized by the Government, the community cannot afford to see it crushed in the interest of the Machines. Alone it is independent of the Roman Catholic power; alone it is free from the electoral exigencies which constrain party organs to countenance Provincial raids on the Dominion treasury; alone it can be trusted to speak when party organs are kept silent by their fear of votes. From fear of advertisers it may not be free, but from fear of votes it is; and this is a great thing. If the *Mail* chooses to kill itself by folly or infidelity to principle nobody will mourn it, but we must not let it be killed. Above all we must not let it be killed by methods which would turn the Press into a scene of unbridled ruffianism and mutual butchery. Has nobody any remnant of regard for the honour and interest of the profession? We heartily congratulate the gentleman of the *Empire* who was discharged by the magistrate for want of evidence. Had he been proved to have acted as a spy on his fellow-journalist for the purpose of ruining a rival journal he would have borne an unsightly mark for the rest of his days. Even apart from the point of professional honour, a man had better let anything which is not very wicked or very dangerous pass than poison social confidence and stain his own character by playing the spy.

The spectacle of Liberals in the New World hypocritically grovelling before political fetiches, of which the Old World has almost grown ashamed, could hardly fail to produce a generous reaction in less politic breasts. The Young Liberals of Toronto and the National Club of Montreal, of course, have been compared to the three tailors of Tooley Street, but the record of the three tailors of Tooley Street as originators of great movements is by this time such that nobody need be ashamed of the comparison. The worst part of the survival of the old Grit Machine is that it is training up a generation of young Liberals in compromise, subterfuge and prevarication. No young man who has imbibed Liberal principles can sincerely believe that they sanction defence of religious privilege

or connivance at ecclesiastical domination ; and to begin public life by sacrificing principle to the exigencies of a Machine is to prepare for yourself a maturity of weakness and perhaps of shame.

The Young Liberals who met the Mulock Resolution with a counterblast appear to have in view Independence. That aspiration deserves our warmest sympathy, but those who cherish it must look at facts. Is there any hope of fusing British and French Canada into a nation ? Is there any hope of keeping permanently united, and at the same time separate from their continent, a string of territories, geographically divided from each other, commercially unconnected, and devoid of any natural boundary, either physical or ethnographical, such as now constitutes the Dominion ? When Mr. Blake set out to lead us to Independence, the French nationality of Quebec was not so strongly developed as it is now, nor had the fatal want of territorial compactness been brought so distinctly into view, the colonization of the North-West having then scarcely begun. Yet Mr. Blake's heart failed him and his flag was hauled down. Without a partnership of the heart, without identity of character, without community of aspiration, without anything at once to unite and to distinguish, is there any object in creating a separate community or any chance of its holding together when it has been created ? Ontario, as we have said before, might be a nation ; her population, saving the French encroachment in the East, is homogeneous and might well be raised to five millions ; her territory is sufficiently compact and its boundaries are tolerably well defined. Nor could there be any reason for fearing American aggression. But on the grander project nature seems to have set her ban. If, however, the Young Liberals and the National Club are bent on the experiment, their right course apparently is in the first instance to move for leave to Canada to elect her own Governor-General.

—Major Boulton is to be congratulated not only on having enhanced the picturesqueness of the Senate by his appearance in full uniform, but on having displayed a gallantry worthy of that uniform by presenting Imperial Federation for the first time in the form of a practical proposal. Hitherto it has floated before us as a nebulous entity, to which its devotees refused to give a definite shape; much less would they take a practical step of any kind, even when, as under Lord Beaconsfield, power was completely in their hands. But Major Boulton proposes to move in earnest. His plan is that Canada shall have representatives in both Houses of the British Parliament, with the privilege of voting on Canadian questions, and these alone. He is aware, no doubt, that this project is not new and that objections to it are already on record. Such a representation, it has been urged, while it would commit Canada to all Imperial entanglements and burdens would in reality be almost worthless. The representatives domiciled in England and brought under the political and social influence of the Imperial country would soon be more English than Canadian. Nor would it be possible to separate Canadian questions from the rest. The policy of every governing body must be an organic whole, the parts of which all more or less affect each other. A question about the boundary of British dominion in Africa or about the frontier of Afghanistan is not in itself Canadian; but it is Canadian if Canada would be drawn with Great Britain into the war. It is needless to enter into difficulties of detail, such as the awkwardness of the situation in which Canadian members of the Imperial Parliament would be placed if during their term the balance of parties should change here. Towards self-government, not towards centralization, the whole course of events has long been tending: that way points the genius of the race; and Major Boulton strives in vain to put back the shadow on the dial of history.

—Commercial Union was an attempt to give Canada the benefit of Continental Free Trade without political change. In the conduct of the movement by those who set it on foot this aim has been steadfastly kept in view, and all questions as to political relations with the United States have been scrupulously avoided, as well as all entanglements with Canadian parties. From the moment when party feeling was awakened, the Commercial Union meetings which had previously been numerous and successful were suspended, and the Club has confined itself to the circulation of its tracts which party could not touch. The political designs and intrigues which have been sedulously imputed to Commercial Unionists by the champions and organs of monopoly were slanderous figments and nothing else. Of that all who care for truth and justice may rest assured. Indeed, it is now plainly seen that Commercial Union, instead of being Annexation in disguise, is regarded by American Annexationists, who may be allowed to understand their own game, as destructive of the main inducement to political union, and is vehemently opposed by them on that account. It would certainly have tended to make the Canadian people content with existing institutions. That two neighbouring nations could not trade with each other without a sacrifice, on either part, of political independence is an assertion absurd in itself and confuted by the experience of commercial treaties, including the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, to which our producers look back with wistful eyes. It is on a par, in point of sense, with the pretence that we should be selling our country because we sold our products, or that we should become hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Yankees by exporting our natural products and receiving their money or their goods in return. If the Mulock Resolution proves fatal to Commercial Union, or to Continental Free Trade, by whatever name it may be called, the end is sure. It is sure, and probably it is not very far off; for taxation has been carried to its limit, and there are no other means of replenishing the bribery fund by perpetual

drafts on which the fight against nature has been maintained, and the discontent engendered by commercial atrophy, especially in the Maritime Provinces, has been kept down. So assured appears the course of events that there would be as little use as there is pleasure in touching an angry question were it not that the earnings of the people are being squandered on such Separatist enterprises as the C. P. R., which, after receiving enormous subsidies as the pledge and bulwark of our distinct nationality, has become an American road and a potent addition to the commercial cords which bind us to the United States. The destiny which bears us onwards towards union with the rest of our race upon this Continent is no occult or mysterious power. It consists of attractive forces, geographical, ethnological and economical, the action of which is visible to all and is constantly increasing in intensity. The very struggle to defeat nature seconds her operation, by driving Canadians, through the impoverishment which it creates, out of Canada and thus promoting the fusion of the Canadian with the American people. There is moreover the growing desire to escape from French domination, which, if our politicians are hopelessly enthralled to the French vote, can be done only by a junction with the main body of our race. In the words endorsed by Lord Durham, Canadians begin to feel that "in order to remain English they may have to cease to be British." Nationality is a noble aspiration and it was well that destiny should be challenged on that subject, as she was by Canada First. It was well perhaps also that the alternative of Imperial Federation should be discussed and that we should see whether any intelligible and feasible plan of that kind could be framed. But to share with the rest of our race the work of founding an ampler and happier humanity on this broad Continent is no ignoble lot; it is a lot higher, surely, than perpetual dedication to a distant rule or to the cold ashes of an extinct feud. Certain it is, at all events, that willingness to entertain the idea of Political Union, if not positive desire for the change, has been spreading of late, even in the most unexpected

quarters, all official or Parliamentary displays of "loyalty" notwithstanding. Nothing but a bold organ and a resolute leader seems wanting to give the vague tendency the form of a pronounced movement and turn the whispered heresy into an avowed creed.

—Mr. Blake wades deeper and carries a section of his party further with him into his intrigue with Rielism, Ultramontanism and French Nationalism. An intrigue we are warranted in calling it, since the protest of his own judgment and conscience against his present course is on record in his London speech. It is waste of words to reason against arguments which, we know well, are not those of conviction, but those of the tactician constrained to devise some decent justification of the course which brings him votes. Nobody much cared to answer Mr. Blake's special pleas for the immunity of Riel, because nobody supposed Mr. Blake himself capable of believing either that a man who had just been conducting with no small skill a very difficult enterprise was insane in such a sense as to be irresponsible for his actions, or that the pretence of a political motive would justify any brigand in filling the community with blood and havoc. It would be equally superfluous on this occasion to answer the argument that by keeping up the annoyance and expense of a double political language we should attract settlement to the North-West. With the parallels alleged by Mr. Blake or his followers we have already dealt, and so, we presume, in their own minds have the speakers by whom they are brought forward. What analogy is there between the lingering existence of Erse in Ireland, of the tongue of the Cymry in Wales, of Gaelic in the Highlands of Scotland, of Breton in Brittany, or of Basque in Northern Spain, and the legislative intrusion, antecedent to settlement, of French as a political language into the North-West for the purposes of ecclesiastical propagandism? What light do the political necessities of a motley Empire like Austria, or of a

motley Confederation like Switzerland, throw on the present question? Where, as in the case of Austria, two or more nations are united under an Imperial Crown, the recognition of more than one political language is inevitable. In the case of Switzerland, as has already been said, the combination is immemorial, nor does the division of tongues correspond with the division of races or religions, since there are German-speaking and French-speaking Cantons of both creeds. Not that diversity of language is by any means helpful to national unity even in Switzerland, while in Austria it is an important factor in a division which keeps the Empire always on the verge of disruption. Cases of heterogeneous populations annexed by conquest, as Poland has been annexed by Russia, and Posen by Prussia, are evidently still less applicable as analogies to the present case, while as precedents nothing could be less auspicious. Mr. Mulock seems to have persuaded himself that unity of language is actually essential to the greatness of a nation. He must take a gloomy view of the prospects of Great Britain, since Gaelic is almost extinct in Scotland, Erse is rapidly becoming extinct in Ireland, and the language of the Cymry in Wales, though more tenacious, has since the introduction of railways been manifestly doomed. Mr. Blake and Mr. Mulock want the French vote, and at that shrine they sacrifice the plain interest of the North-West and their own moral allegiance as British citizens; that is the vital fact enfolded in all this oratorical buckram. They are at liberty to talk any nonsense which will serve the occasion, even such nonsense as the polyglot theory of national greatness, but they are not at liberty, nor is Mr. David Mills at liberty, falsely to impute odious sentiments and iniquitous aims to their opponents. They know perfectly well that Dr. Caven, Mr. McCarthy, and the other leaders of the Equal Rights movement, are as free from fanaticism and from persecuting tendencies as they are themselves. They know perfectly well that it has not been proposed or desired in any quarter to curtail the religious freedom of Roman Catholics, to subject them

to disabilities of any kind, to deprive them of any privilege enjoyed by other citizens, or to disparage their Church or creed. They know perfectly well that they would themselves, if the French and Catholic vote were out of the way, be foremost in protesting against Separate Schools, against tithe and fabrique imposts, against legislative propagation of a dual language for priestly purposes, against ecclesiastical domination in civil affairs. Equal Right, they are all aware, means Equal Right, and not the shadow of anything more. Government by the "solid Catholic vote" wielded by the priesthood, to which, as well as to legal privilege, Equal Right seeks to put an end, is not equality; it is the ascendancy of a sect maintained by disregard of civil duty. The tidings of the burning of the College buildings at Toronto reaching Ottawa in the middle of the debate, furnished Mr. Blake with an embellishment for his speech in the shape of an apostrophe to the university of toleration. Why is it a university of toleration? Because Anglican privilege, which once reigned there, has been abolished, and Equal Right has taken its place. Mr. Blake does not even want the hardihood to pretend that the Ultramontane and Nationalist movement in Quebec was caused by the counter-movement of resistance, which, by its excesses, it at length evoked. He will next tell us that the Equal Rights Association imported the Jesuits.

If there are any to whom, after Mr. Blake's alliance with the Rielites and his acceptance of service with the C.P.R., the catastrophe of his leadership is still an enigma, they may solve the mystery by studying his demeanour towards friends who happen to differ from him. Much has been said about want of magnetism as the cause of his failure; but some of the most trusted, the most successful, and even the most beloved of leaders, have been anything but magnetic. Pitt was not magnetic, nor was Grey or Peel, and Chatham was unapproachable. The real cause lies deeper. Mr. Charlton, it may be presumed, knew that the Hull police was under the Provincial, not the Dominion, Government. But everybody knows that if

the assailants of Miss Wright had not had the French vote looming behind them, the Dominion Government would have called on the Provincial authorities to stop a disgraceful riot at the door of the National Legislature. At all events, the head of the Government had said what there was to be said in defence of his own position, and the ex-Leader of the Opposition was not called upon to put himself forward for the purpose of striking a blow at an old friend. These ultra-Provincial Rights men are so earnest in the path to which they have been suddenly converted that we are reminded once more of the actor who blacked himself all over to play Othello. But their consistency is hardly on a par with their earnestness. They are too scrupulous to interpose when a woman is being stoned at their door, because it would be an interference with Provincial Police; yet they have no scruple in bringing the influence of Dominion patronage and Dominion influences of all kinds to bear upon Provincial elections. Sir John Macdonald, if we are not misinformed, is doing it with all his might at this moment.

The coalition of the Machines against Equal Rights is now complete, and they are emulously bidding against each other for the French and Catholic vote. But let the Opposition bid as it may, the gainer will be Sir John Macdonald, in whom the French and Catholics recognize their genuine friend, and who in allying himself with reactionary ecclesiasticism is at all events not outraging the principles of the Tory party. The Opposition leaders have already by their supercilious manner towards their dissident supporters, as well as by their equivocal acts, disorganized their party to an extent which may prove fatal at the next election. The first fruit of their demeanour and their policy is the Haldimand election. Mr. McCarthy, in the meantime, shows a gallant front to foes who assail him on every side. It is something, amidst all the fishing for votes and the political pusillanimity which that habit engenders, to see a man standing on his own feet and not afraid to stand alone.

—Mr. Charlton's proposal to inquire into the causes of the Exodus was of course voted down by the majority at the back of the Prime Minister. What signifies it that the flower of our population is leaving us, so long as Sir John Macdonald remains in power? The Prime Minister, however, gave one piece of information which threw a side-light on the subject. He admitted that the Oxford and New Glasgow Railway in Nova Scotia cost the country \$1,543,000, and that the distance saved by it was seven miles. Sir Charles Tupper had said that the saving would be forty-five miles, a very moderate embellishment on his part. The line was surveyed, it seems, to pass through Cumberland, then represented by Sir Charles himself, and Pictou, represented by his son. The million and a half are added to the general burdens of the people; and perhaps some scores of Canadian farmers pay by banishment from their homes the price of buying Nova Scotia for the Government, and securing the seats of Sir Charles Tupper and his son. Mr. Charlton reckons the number of Canadians in the United States to-day as 1,470,466, besides half a million of emigrants who have come into Canada and moved to the United States. Let it be borne in mind that these people are taken, for the most part, from the most active and enterprising portion of our population, and also that they leave us usually in youth or early manhood, when Canada has borne the cost of their bringing up. To compare to this exodus from the country the shifting of population between different parts of the United States is absurd. The United States do not lose their farmers or their citizens.

—We are told that the Senate shows a disposition to emerge from limbo and assert itself as a political reality. This might be very well if the Senate were a different body from what it is. On no part of the Constitution does the reproach weigh more heavily of having never received the sanction of the people; for it is scarcely conceivable that the people would

have willingly put their own necks under the yoke of a nominative Senate. If the vision of a genuine Senate, of an Upper House representing the worth, intelligence and influence of the country, in the principal lines and professions, or in connection with the great interests, floated before the mind of the political architect, not only has it never been realized, but no attempt to realize it has been made. The Senate is packed with the personal followers of the politician who has held power for the last twenty-five years. Three-fourths of them are the nominees and the political retainers of this one man, as to whose rule of appointment we have authentic information. "My Dear Pope,—I want you before we take any steps about John Young's appointment to see about the selection of our candidate for West Montreal. From all I can learn, William Workman would run the best. He will very likely object; but, if he is the best man, you can easily hint to him that if he runs for West Montreal and carries it, we will consider that he has a claim to an early seat in the Senate. This is the great object of his ambition." For the writer of the well-known letter, of which this is an extract, the usual plea may be urged and partly admitted, that he has had to fight nature, and that nature can be fought only with bribes. But that which in some measure excuses the man does not save the character of the system or improve its fruits. "Sacrifices for the Conservative party"—in other words, contributions to the party election fund, are spoken of openly and without misgiving, as titles to a seat for life in the Legislature. We lift up our eyes and hands in holy horror at the profligacy of the times when seats in Parliament for English boroughs were bought in market overt. The old method of corruption may have been more gross, but was it more demoralizing than the new?

—The *Globe* by a stern but most wholesome act of justice has saved the Senate and the country with it from at least one disgrace. Apart from the shameful disclosures which Mr. Rykert's letters contain of traffic in interest or pre-

tended interest with the Government, their very tone and the character self-portrayed in them are enough to show that the writer is fit to be made a baronet. Mr. Tupper, of Winnipeg, who is introduced as a helpmate by Mr. Rykert on the occasion, some time ago, it may be remembered, had a public quarrel with his partner who insisted that the sums received by Mr. Tupper for promoting the interests of clients at Ottawa should be brought into account with the firm. What that quarrel revealed Mr. Rykert's letters corroborate. Mr. Tupper's firm has flourished beneath the dew of Government patronage like a willow planted by the water-course, while disappointment and despondency have reigned around. And Mr. Tupper is heir to a baronetcy. So much for hereditary honours!

The remarkable thing is that in spite of a previous disclosure hardly less damaging than the present and of his general reputation Mr. Rykert is able to boast that he has retained the confidence or at least the suffrages of a constituency for twenty-five years. The respectable Conservatives of Lincoln County know what he is and confess that they know what he is, yet time after time they allow themselves against their sense of honour to be driven to the poll in his favour by the lash of party. In a debate in the American Senate the other day one Senator protested that he had nothing to say in favour of non-partisan legislation. He believed, he said, "in the most partisan legislation, Republicans for Republicans, Democrats for Democrats." To this a Senator on the other side responded "Aye and Amen: I believe in partisanship. I wish every citizen in the State were a bitter partisan of some kind or other." It is pleasant to see men frankly embrace the consequences of their theories. Nor can there be any doubt that the theory is most useful to politicians whose aim in public life is a share of the Government timber limits. But is this our political ideal?

—Our commercial morality, notwithstanding the inevitable percentage of roguery, is sound; our political morality is

almost a jest. It would seem unwise therefore to transfer the regulation of the machinery of credit, which is the very life of our commerce, from commercial to political hands. Yet this is what they advocate who propose to take the power of issuing the bank bills from the Banks and give it to the Government.

Two things these reformers say they want—a national currency and a safe currency. They already have both in as large a measure as circumstances will permit. The bills of our leading banks circulate all over the Dominion at par. If hitherto the bills of the remoter Provinces have not passed at par in Toronto, this is one of the many things incident to the looseness of the Federation and the dislocation of its territory; and the Banks propose to obviate it by special arrangement. That the currency is safe is proved by the fact that the bills are taken everywhere and by everyone without the slightest hesitation or misgiving. Well they may be. For a few days the bills of the Central Bank were at a slight discount, after which they were taken up in full. The notes of the Maritime Bank were paid only after a long interval. But at last they were paid, and they would have been paid sooner had not Government laid its hands on the deposits in the name of the prerogative of the Crown. No other loss or shadow of loss has fallen on the holders of British Canadian Bank bills since the inauguration of our present system, while the Government paper of the United States has been at fifty per cent. discount, and that of more than one European monarchy has been heavily depreciated, to say nothing of South American Republics or Hayti. The bills are the first charge on the assets; we have the security of the double liability; and to make that security doubly sure the Banks are now ready to form a mutual guarantee fund for the protection of bill holders against any possible loss.

The fact is, however, that neither of the pretended motives is the real motive. The real motive is a desire to appropriate the gains of the Banks, or at least to make them engines for

artificially raising the value of Government securities and thus in effect levying forced loans upon the people. The idea that Government is entitled to the gains of the Banking trade or to meddle with the Banking trade more than with other trades, arises from what may almost be called a verbal fallacy. It is the duty of a Government to stamp the coin in order to assure us of its weight and fineness, and this duty Governments, after a long course of fraudulent debasement, have at last been drilled into doing with integrity. Coin is called money; bank-bills, because they circulate like coin, are called money; and the idea prevails that all money is the province of the Government. But bank-bills are not money: they are instruments of credit, like promissory notes, bills of exchange, or drafts. As often as they change hands gold passes, just as it does in the case of a cheque at the bank of issue from the credit of the giver to that of the taker. Their issue and circulation, like that of other instruments of credit, ought to expand and contract with the necessities of commerce and will do so as long as the function of issuing them is left with the banks, which are the organs of commerce and the indicators of its requirements. When an honest Government undertakes to meddle with the circulation of bank-bills the result appears in the history of Peel's Bank Charter which has had to be suspended as often as the crisis for which it was provided has arisen. When a dishonest Government undertakes to meddle, the result is such as that which led Tom Paine after an experience of inconvertible paper to demand, in right earnest, that death should be the penalty of any proposal to return to the system. There are governments which are half honest; and these try to use the banks as engines for putting a forced value on Government securities, levying thereby, in effect, as has already been said, a forced loan upon the nation. Bank-bills must usually be taken like coin without examination. It is therefore right that to guard the public against fraud banks should be subject to inspection and should be required to hold a reserve. This is the sole ground of Government interference

with the banking trade, which is just as much a department of commerce as any other trade ; nor ought the funds of trade to be unduly locked up under colour of enforcing a reserve. That nationality and security are not the only aims of the Government at Ottawa is shown by its proposal to lay hands upon the deposits when they have been for a certain period in the hands of the Banks. Government has no right whatever to these funds and might as well put its hands into a till.

The cupidity of Governments is probably excited by the American system which puts a forced value on Government bonds by making them the basis of bank circulation. But the American system is now approaching a catastrophe. When the public debt is paid and the Government bonds are withdrawn a new basis will have to be found. The Canadian system shows its superiority by extending its operations largely beyond the Line.

In any raid upon the Bank circulation, Government would have the sympathy of industrial destructives who are jealous of the gains of the Banks and of those of all other commercial corporations, as though it were possible for trade to be carried on without profit or for industry to prosper without trade. It will also have the sympathy of socialistic speculators who are glad to see any power grasped by Government because they think that the power of Government will some day pass into their own hands and be wielded by them for their own objects, as that of issuing paper currency would with a vengeance. But those who know that the Banks are the vital organs of commerce will look with jealousy on any tendency to draw them into the political vortex, and place them, possibly, at the mercy of spendthrift and rapacious governments. The governments themselves, if they understood their own interests, would see that by deranging or crippling commerce and thus preventing the growth of wealth, they would be drying up the sources of their own revenues in the long run. Wisdom and probity, things inseparable from each other. let us hope will pre-

vail and prevail without delay, for commerce cannot afford uncertainty and suspense.

—While confusion reigns at Ottawa, in Ontario parties appear to be defining themselves afresh on a Provincial basis. It is plain that Mr. Mowat will take the field as the opponent of Equal Right and will receive the solid Catholic vote, by which we mean not the votes of all Catholics, for some Catholics are at heart Liberal and opposed to clerical domination, but all the votes that are at the command of the clergy. He will also receive the solid French vote from the East and West sections of the Province. Archbishop Cleary has sounded the trumpet call to which the armies of the faithful will respond. Thus Mr. Mowat's antagonist, even if he were not led by inclination, would be almost borne by the tide of war into a position in which he will appear as the champion of religious equality and of British and Protestant right. The practical question is whether Mr. Meredith will be able sufficiently to disentangle himself from his fatal connection with Ottawa to play his part freely and with effect. What is certain is that he has no other part to play, and that if he allows the managers of an Ottawa party to damp the spirit of his councils and force upon him Machine nominations, as they are now doing, he might as well leave the field. Ottawa cares little for him: it does not want him to win: it wants him to keep things quiet for it here and prevent Ontario resisting "Better Terms" when they are demanded by Quebec and the smaller Provinces. He can hardly fail to see this or to know that he has reached the point at which a choice must be made.

—In the meantime Manitoba will not be "checked." She rejects by an overwhelming vote the blessings of dualism tendered her by Mr. Blake, and her decision will draw with it that of the Territories. In that quarter, at all events, a vigorous initiative shows itself, and it is possible that even a

leader will appear. In Dominion politics Manitoba is a cipher, or worse; remote from Ottawa, and without men of sufficient standing and sufficient leisure to send thither, she tamely allows her representation to be jobbed by the Ottawa Government and members to be nominated by its influence, who betray the general interest and her own. But her Provincial Legislature, filled with the best men she has, is independent and patriotic. She is to be congratulated on the failure of an attempt just made to suppress public opinion in Winnipeg by buying *The Sun*, the only independent journal, and reducing the Press to a single organ in the hands of a combination, the physiognomy of which is not very distinct, but appears to blend the features of the C.P.R. and the Hudson's Bay Railway with those of the Ottawa Government and the Ultramontane party. The attempt to reduce the Press of a free community to a literary satrapy was not very likely to succeed. At all events, it has not succeeded. The *Winnipeg Tribune* steps, as an independent and patriotic journal, amidst much cheering, into the place left by the sinister absorption of *The Sun*. We note with pleasure Mr. Greenway's contradiction of the reports as to dissensions between Attorney-General Martin and himself. Mr. Greenway's Government may have its faults; but it is the most patriotic, the most economical, the strongest and best Government that Manitoba has yet had; and those who care more for the material interest of the Province than for faction, cabal, or any desperate railway enterprise, will make a great mistake if they do not give Mr. Greenway and his colleagues a fair trial.

—The gradual severance of Canada from the Motherland is in nothing more marked than in the growing indifference of Canadians to British politics. Formerly the news from "home" was awaited with eagerness, was devoured with absorbing interest and furnished the text for endless comment.

Now the opening of the British Parliament, big with the fate of the Mother Country as the day is, hardly inspires a single editorial.

The Parnell Commission was, as we have steadfastly maintained, a mistake from the beginning. If *The Times* had libelled Parnell, Parnell and his crew had ten times more savagely libelled every member of Parliament and every Minister of the Crown who had been concerned with the repression of crime in Ireland. Both sides ought to have been left to the ordinary tribunals, which were disparaged as well as ousted by the obtrusion of this extraordinary inquest. It was little likely that the convictions or feelings of infuriated faction would be swayed by any judicial verdict, even though it had been delivered by Minos, Æacus and Rhadamanthus instead of Judges Hannen, Day and Smith. We may safely say that had the Pigott Letters proved to be genuine instead of forgeries the language of Mr. Gladstone and his followers about Mr. Parnell would have been little changed by the discovery. It was inevitable that the Government should be regarded, however unjustly, as the prosecutor of its political enemy, and should thus be involved in the chances of a failure, especially when it was ill-advised enough to allow the Attorney-General to appear. The inquiry moreover, when entrusted to legal hands, to be conducted under legal conditions, became in its own nature almost desperate, since the evidence required was legal, whereas the proof of connection between the head of a party and their followers must generally be not legal but moral, however certain the connection may be. The future historian, sweeping aside questions as to the authenticity of a particular letter or as to the formal proof of complicity between those who were acting together for the same end, will point to the broad and decisive facts. During the whole of this reign of crime and outrage in Ireland, Mr. Parnell and his colleagues have been completely masters of the three Provinces over which it prevailed; they have nominated the members for every constituency; they have had in their hands every

organ of opinion; whatever they have seriously enjoined the people to do has been done. Had they chosen really to put forth their force, they might at any time have bid crime and outrage cease. But it was to the reign of terror produced by crime and outrage that their own power owed its existence. Therefore not only did they not bid crime and outrage cease, they virtually bade them go on by palliating them, by inflaming the passions which were sure to give birth to them, by traducing and denouncing every agent of government and minister of law who in the execution of his duty was concerned in putting them down. Will anyone hereafter believe that the proprietors of the *United Ireland*, a list which is understood to include Mr. Justin McCarthy among other Mr. Parnellites, were not morally more guilty of the acts to which that journal has incited its readers than the ignorant and hungry peasants by whose hands the acts were done?

That Mr. Parnell should come off personally triumphant after the proof that the Pigott Letters were forged was a foregone conclusion. On the other hand, legal proof has been furnished of the connection between the Parnellite organizations and the murder clubs of the United States. This will not prevent Mr. Gladstone and the Home Rulers from accepting in the next election the aid of the Parnellite organizations, with funds drawn from the American murder clubs, for the dismemberment of the United Kingdom.

—Perhaps the most serious part of the matter is the discredit cast upon an authority so closely identified with the Unionist cause as the *London Times*. That *The Times* knew the Pigott Letters to be forgeries, and even was concerned in the fabrication, is a calumny too gross for anyone but Mr. William O'Brien to utter or for any sane being to believe. *The Times* erred and erred terribly in accepting anything tendered it by one of the class of disreputable adventurers

which is always called into sinister activity by Irish disturbance. But its integrity, the purity of its motives, the patriotism which has led it to risk its great name and pour forth its wealth like water for the preservation of the Union can never be called in question. Its power is attested by the fury with which it is attacked by the political leaders of the Radical Party. Such a war waged by a great combination of public men and Parliamentary factions against a journal has, we believe, no parallel in political history. Some of the present assailants are "Dugald Dalgettys" now in the Irish service, who once were proud to see their names in *The Times*. Every advantage that Parliamentary privilege can afford is taken without scruple against an unprivileged journal, the property of private individuals, and the assailants plainly show that their object is not to purge the character of Parliament or do justice to an injured reputation but to ruin a dreaded and hated power. If the country finally escapes from the mortal peril into which, by an alliance of domestic faction with the foreign enemies of England, it has been brought, great will be the debt of gratitude that it will owe, and in a happier hour will pay, to the proprietors and managers of *The Times*.

—The struggle between parties in England is morally a civil war. No passions which an actual civil war could excite would be more virulent or more unpatriotic; nor could the sword and petronel of Cavalier or Roundhead be weapons of a hatred more deadly than that which expresses itself in slanderous declamation or among savages, like some of the low Parnellite journalists, in libels still more vile. In truth it is doubtful whether the country could be effectually delivered from its present peril by any leader who was not prepared to face the risk of civil war. Scarcely without such daring could the measures be passed which even at this eleventh hour might redress the balance of the Constitution and place British progress beyond the reach of Radical and Socialistic revolution.

But Lord Salisbury is a grandee of whom nothing heroic is to be expected, especially when he is depressed by ill health, nor has he given political problems thought enough to be prepared with an organic solution. He tries to keep the nation on his side by the ordinary appeals to its confidence in the way of skilful diplomacy and sound finance, forgetting perhaps, or not distinctly seeing, that he has to deal with masses who know not what diplomacy means and care little even about finance. His policy is one of concession by which he hopes to head off revolution and especially to save the hereditary House of Lords, the paramount object of his love and care. Like some other Conservative statesmen, he seems to think that he can cure Socialism by vaccination, and talks of improving the dwelling houses of the poor out of the public taxes, an operation which must be very limited, unless enormous expense is to be incurred, and like all alms-giving on a large scale and of a promiscuous kind may eventually do as much harm as good. Aristocracy and almsgiving are in fact Lord Salisbury's domestic policy. He is a man of great ability; he has able men at his side; and perhaps he may succeed.

The story goes that Mr. Balfour in reply to the taunt that he was not likely to succeed in solving the Irish problem when Cromwell had failed, replied that he intended, like Cromwell, to be rigorous in his repression, but unlike Cromwell to be an improver at the same time. If he did say this he knows little about Cromwell, who was the one genuine improver that ever appeared on that unhappy field, and of whose improvements what is soundest and best in Ireland remains the monument. One scheme in which he is himself to appear as the Cromwell of beneficence is foreshadowed as an extension to Ireland of the British Local Government Act. If experience is to be heard it will proclaim that a greater curse could hardly be inflicted on that country than a measure, styled of self-government, which would cover it with local Tammanies. Home Rule for a time at least the three Celtic Provinces do really want, but it is the Home Rule of a Government, such as that of the Pro-

lector, so far as he had real power, was, strong, enlightened and just. Demagogism is the bane of the island, and what can a Local Government Act do but increase it, especially in the present mood of the Irish, which ought to be taken into account in granting new powers as much as the abstract merits of the arrangement itself? To "raise more hogs and less hell," as the outspoken Texan says, is what the peasantry of Ireland need. Under every sort of régime, under their native chiefs, their native kings, their native priesthood, under Tudor autocracy and Stuart Parliaments, under the Catholic Parliament of Tyrconnell, under Grattan's Parliament, under the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and not at home only but in the United States and in the Colonies, the Irish, led by successive swarms of agitators and fed with political firewater, have been "raising hell" for about two thousand years. A firm, upright and kindly rule, under which they would be allowed to "raise hogs" is the thing that, if left to themselves, they probably would welcome. Unhappily it is the thing which faction is least likely to allow them to have.

The Partick (Lanark) election augurs well for the Unionists, whose vote has increased, while their majority has not been reduced more than it was sure to be after the loss of so strong a standard-bearer as the late Unionist member, Craig Sellar. But we cannot tell from these bye-elections what will happen when at a general election the floodgates of party are opened and local or personal influences are drowned in the flood. Unless at the very brink of the descent a strong arm should interpose or a preserving angel descend from heaven, no human being can say what, three years hence, will become of England. If we did not know what faction has done from the days of the Siege of Jerusalem to our own, it would seem incredible that, with Socialistic revolution at the gates, a section of the Tory party should think of nothing but its own narrow interests or prejudices, and be doing its utmost to prevent the junction with the Liberal Unionists, without which an anti-revolutionary majority cannot be secured.

—The political danger in England is greatly enhanced by industrial disturbance which fills all breasts with an anxiety too well founded. It is true that the Strikes are largely the work of professional agitators, such as Mr. Burns, whose trade is industrial war. These men actually constrained a body of artisans to reject an arrangement, the reasonableness and liberality of which they could not deny, because it would prevent them from calling the men out on strike. But the material must be combustible or the match would be applied in vain. The relation between the employers of labour and the labourers is becoming full of danger in all countries, but especially in England, where the industrial disturbance among the artisans is closely connected with their fresh possession of the suffrage and the movement of political revolution. Political reformers in England have failed to observe that universal suffrage is far more perilous in a land of factory operatives and hired labourers than in one of peasant freeholders. The industrial antagonism is sharpened and embittered by social separation which has been enhanced since the mill-owners have altogether ceased to live near their mills and among their men. Nor does any remedy yet appear. The plans for turning the artisan from a mere wage-earner into a partner do not make much way: those cannot share the profit who would not consent to share the loss, nor can the helm of commercial enterprise be confided to the democracy of the Mill. In Mr. Donisthorpe's "Individualism a System of Politics," a book full of ingenious speculation and criticism in a lively form, it is proposed to solve the difficulty by "capitalizing" labour according to a scale which the writer suggests. But capital is a tangible reality; labour is not a tangible reality; the only tangible reality is the labourer; and how can the labourer be capitalized? Meantime, labour journals are daily instilling venom into the heart of the "toiler" and leading him to regard all employers and all above him in wealth as his "spoilers" and his foes.

All these strikes make the case worse not only by the waste which they occasion but by stimulating invention to supply the

place of men who mutiny by machinery which does not. The late Mr. Cotter Morison, in "The Service of Man," has an apocalyptic vision of the coming time when the productive powers of machinery will be such as to throw myriads of artisans out of work. It does seem as if we must be drawing towards some crisis of that kind, at least if the artisan class continues to multiply without restraint. History is like the German Pass, where at every step the path seems barred by impassable rock, but still opens out again as the wayfarer advances. Some exit from this dilemma, hope whispers, will be found. But the relation between the employer and the wage-earner is at present the great peril of civilization. Panacea, it is to be feared, there is none: palliatives there may be. Something, at all events, may be done to bridge the social chasm and mitigate the bitterness of class-feeling.

— Dom Pedro of Brazil had shut himself up in the cell of science almost as completely as Duke Prospero, and had preserved so little of Imperial state that when he was visiting Quebec he owed to a gentleman of this city a rescue from an extortionate cab-driver. The deposition of such an Emperor without apparent violence and with a handsome indemnity did not appear likely to shake the world. Yet through some singular coincidence it bids fair to make an epoch. The throne of the House of Braganza in Portugal itself evidently totters. In Spain Royalty is a sickly babe in a cradle rocked by a female Regent. The fall of the Brazilian offset of the Portuguese dynasty has given an impulse to the republican movement in both countries, while the narrow escape of the Spanish infant from death impresses upon the people the irrationality and the instability of a system which entwines public order and the national welfare with the frail thread of an individual life. Just at this juncture come the buccaneering exploits of Serpa Pinto in Africa, the quarrel with England, the childish frenzy of Portuguese passion and the erection of the adventurer

into a national hero, while the efforts of the government to avert a preposterous war bring it into sharp collision with republican patriotism. When Serpa Pinto returns it is not unlikely that he may head a revolution in Portugal and that the convulsion may extend to Spain. It is possible even that the union of the Peninsula, which seems to be decreed by nature, but which miscarried in the maladroit hands of Spanish despotism, may now be brought about under the form of an Iberian Republic on a federal footing. Federation would well suit Spain where, beside the passionate love of union, religious and dynastic, there has always been a strong Provincial life in each of the old Kingdoms or Principalities of which the monarchy was composed.

The event has at all events set people speculating on the future of Monarchy even in England. English Monarchy, having entirely ceased to reign, or even freely to appoint its own waiting-women, was strong in its weakness so long as it continued to perform its social duties. Those duties, however, for the last quarter of a century it has, whether from distaste or parsimony, neglected to perform; and in the case of Ireland, where the hearts of the people yearn for personal chieftaincy, with most disastrous consequences to the nation. Radicalism, by the mouth of Mr. John Morley, protests that while it is determined to "mend or end" the House of Lords it does not aim at the abolition of the Monarchy. But when the House of Lords and the Established Church were gone and had carried with them to the grave the hereditary principle and religious reverence for the past, the life of a dynasty, stripped of all power and left amidst alien surroundings, would not be long. The people already, in spite of the abundance of the national wealth, grudge the Crown the allowances necessary to maintain its state and preserve the sacred exclusiveness of the Royal Family. Each Royal grant is the signal for an outburst of popular discontent, accompanied with ominous demonstrations of irreverence. Royalty is constrained to intermarry with wealthy subjects and perhaps will presently

be brought down to the American heiress. Then will come social entanglements, jealousies, and perhaps scandals, which will finally break the spell. A crisis may even be near at hand. The Prince of Wales is very popular. But it has long been whispered that the chances were against his surviving his mother, and it is perfectly evident that he could not bequeath his popularity or influence of any kind to his youthful son. The barque of "Cuffs and Collars" would not long ride in safety the stormy waters of Radical and Socialistic Revolution. Like the Papacy the British Monarchy retains prestige in proportion to the distance from its centre. People here have no notion of the irreverence with which it is treated by the popular press and by the masses in England.

—Presbyterianism in the United States seems inclined to venture on Revision, and even to think of reducing dogmatic formularies to a simple creed, such as might be accepted by all Christians. This surely would be an alarming undertaking. Touch the tissue of dogmatic theology and the whole web will be unravelled. First will go the Protestant Scholasticism of which Justification by Faith and Predestination, the controversial reaction against Indulgences crystallized into a creed, are the leading dogmas. Then will go the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages which did not fail to transmit some of its influence to its Protestant successor. Then Roman legalism. Then Byzantine and Alexandrine theosophy. At last the reviser would come to the body of dogma framed by construing literally and turning into articles of faith the Mosaic and Rabbinical figures and metaphors of St. Paul. Perhaps it would be necessary to eliminate even the influence of poets such as Dante, whose pictures of the eternal torture-house present Deity as an Italian tyrant, and Milton, with whose poetry a good deal of dogma steals into the mind. When the process was completed there would hardly be left anything but "Thou hast the words of Eternal Life." The words of Christ as the rule of life and

his character as the pattern still unite all his disciples as they united all who heard him on the hill-sides of Galilee. It would be difficult to find or devise any ecclesiastical creed or article of a creed which would find universal acceptance. Would it not then be wise to be satisfied with practical communion and, without formal abrogation or revision, lay the formularies aside, or at least cease to impose them on conscience, and allow them to stand for whatever as doctrine or history they are worth? The Westminster Confession contains passages which breathe the spirit of the militant Covenanter, and which as descriptions of the God of Justice and Mercy cannot be read without a shudder. Yet it is a noble and solemn monument of the religious reason, reverently and at the same time boldly addressing itself to the great problems of human existence and of the relation between God and man. It has helped greatly to form a high, albeit somewhat stern religious character, and in this respect its usefulness has not ceased.

In England it seems that secessions to Rome have become more numerous again, chiefly, as might be expected, among the clergy. Among the laity the seceders are mostly of the wealthier and more aristocratic class, where speculative disquietude, historic and fancy and æsthetic influence have their place; between the mind of the peasant or artisan and the religion of the Middle Ages the link is broken forever. Personal influence or alms may make converts to the ancient faith among the poor, but few will be made by the reasonings of Bellarmine and Bossuet or by the talisman of Gothic art. That more of the High Church clergy of England have not already gone over is to be ascribed in some measure to the influence of benefices, by which we mean not pay alone but parish interests, and still more perhaps to marriage. Thirty years ago Dr. Pusey avowed in his *Eirenicon* that the only two insurmountable obstacles to union with Rome in his mind were the excessive exaltation of the Pope and the excessive adoration of the Virgin; questions, both of them, merely of

degree. Those who witnessed the Tractarian movement, at all events, can have no difficulty in understanding the attraction of a sacerdotal Church for the clerical mind, of an "august and fascinating superstition," as Macaulay calls Roman Catholicism, for the emotional mind, or of infallibility for the mind which is a prey to religious doubt and has not satisfied itself that there can be no real safety outside allegiance to the God of Truth, nor any real danger within it.

We seem to have made some clergyman angry by saying that the Mass must either be a miracle or an imposture. Yet surely this is the fact, and if it is a fact it is a serious consideration for anyone who is inclined to dally with the question. Against serious belief in the miracle we have not a word to say. The distinction between the most solemn celebration of the Communion and the Mass seems plain. Wherever there is adoration of the elements, by genuflection before them, by elevation of them, or in any other way, apparently the rite celebrated is not the Communion but the Mass.

Archdeacon Farrar's proposal to restore monasticism in the Anglican Church seems to have fallen to the ground. He perhaps intended it as a counter-charm to the charm of Roman Catholicism which he saw working again around him with renewed power. There is no reason why we should not use anything good however it may have been abused. A brotherhood may be a good thing, still more may be a sisterhood, provided always that there is no vow, no asceticism, no superstition. For women who do not marry and have no strong domestic or social ties, a sisterhood with a share in some useful work can hardly fail to be better than a lonely and aimless life. But monasticism of the Roman Catholic type has surely been condemned by decisive experience. It has just been attempted by a laborious and we must say fairly judicial writer to whitewash English monasticism and reverse the verdict of the Commissioners of Henry VIII. To show that the Commissioners were the agents of a rapacious government and that their verdict was very far from

judicial, is easy, but their general finding is confirmed by the state of the monasteries in Italy and other countries. It is certain, at all events, that the wings of superhuman aspiration having long become weary, the monasteries had sunk into idleness and torpor, if not into worse vice. The people over the greater part of the country saw their dissolution certainly without sorrow and probably with joy. In Italy the other day a great dissolution or reduction of monasteries took place. Not a finger was raised in resistance, not a sigh was breathed. The monks, so far as we could learn, were glad to throw off the cowl and return to home and social life. In Spain when the great monastery of Poblet was dissolved the monks had literally to run for their lives from the vengeance of the peasantry. The Order of Loyola is still full of life; but the life is intrigue, not asceticism or contemplation. It is possible to conceive a state of things in which brotherhoods might regain a beneficent force and contend with social evils and distractions, as the monks of early days contended with barbarism and the wilderness. But surely we have done with the cowl.

—Those who wish us to believe that the Papacy in the nineteenth century has changed its nature, and that we need feel no fear of its encroachment on the civil power, should get the Pope to hold his tongue. This, so far as his own disposition is concerned, the wearer of the purple crown would not be sorry to do. The late Pope was a Papal guardsman turned into a supplement to the Deity, and he behaved as such a personage might be expected to behave. But Leo XIII. is by nature, and showed himself at the beginning of his reign, a cool-headed, moderate and statesmanlike Italian, willing to live on quiet terms with the civil power. He made the philosophic Newman a Cardinal and seemed to prefer the medievalist Aquinas as a text-book to the Jesuit Suarez. But he is in the hands of the Sons of Loyola, who constrain him to ratify the Encyclical. "If the laws of the State," he says,

“are in open contradiction to the Divine Law, if they command anything prejudicial to the Church or hostile to the duties imposed by religion, or violate in the person of the Supreme Pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then indeed it is a duty to resist them and a crime to obey them, a crime fraught with injury to the State itself, for every offence against religion recoils on the State. To love the two fatherlands, the earthly and the heavenly, but in such a manner that the love of the heavenly prevails over that of the other, and that human laws are not preferred to the law of God, such is the essential duty of Christians, from which spring, as from their source, all other duties.” When the theological froth is blown away, the meaning is that the ecclesiastical power is above the civil power, and that when the commands of the two conflict the ecclesiastical power must be obeyed. Hildebrand and Innocent III. could want nothing more; neither of them professed insatiable ambition; they only upheld as divine the principle by which insatiable ambition was warranted. Is it intolerance to demur to such pretensions? Are not they who call it intolerance using the pretence of superior intolerance as a cloak for the betrayal of one of the great organic principles of modern civilization?

—If after the Reformation any Teutons remained Roman Catholics it was through accident or pressure; accident such as the isolation of the Mountain Cantons of Switzerland, or pressure such as that of the House of Austria on its German dominions, or that of France on the Palatinate. Dollinger belonged to the land and race of Luther. But, like Erasmus, though in a far more earnest spirit, he sought to reform the vast structure of medieval superstition without fundamental change. The attempt was hopeless and the Old Catholic movement is buried in the great scholar's grave. But we must not think that the life of a man who has tried a path for us is wasted because the experiment fails. It is only by try-

ing all things that our fallibility learns to what we are to hold fast as good. Dollinger with his piety, his learning, his self-devotion, his great personal ascendancy has made it evident that the Church of Rome cannot be reformed. Reason and morality in his person have tried to make terms with Ultramontanism and Jesuitism and have tried in vain.

—The beauty of University College as a pile, set off by its site, was unquestionable; and its temporary destruction is a public sorrow. But the style was false. The heaviness of Norman architecture belonged to a period before the architect had gained confidence in his materials and can be redeemed only by the majesty of prodigious massiveness, as it is in Durham Cathedral. The style was not unsuitable for a Church which required only a “dim religious light,” the eyes of all the worshippers being fixed on the lamp hung over the Host, and it was perfectly suitable for a Norman keep which required no light at all. But it was not well-suited for domestic purposes or for the lecture-rooms and halls of a University. The decorative carvings, in like manner, belonged to the infancy of art, of which they were a factitious reproduction: an artist of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries would have looked upon them with disdain. The general structure was ill-adapted to a climate with a heavy snow-fall, and the internal arrangements were inconvenient. In this last respect it may be hoped that the reconstruction will be an improvement. The Phoenix will rise in due course more glorious from its ashes and it will learn henceforth to provide proper hydrants and insure to the requisite amount. In laying down the principles of public action in the matter it ought not to be forgotten that all the chartered universities stand, as they maintain, in the same relation to the State.

—If the plan of granting to pupils on leaving the High Schools certificates of fitness for admission to the University

is to be adopted, we hope it will not be thought cruel to insist that the test shall be severe. A University education is a very good thing for such as can really turn it to account. Of these there are two classes; men who intend to devote their lives to science or learning, and men who though they may not intend to devote their lives to science or learning are capable of making good use of the fruits of high intellectual training in other walks of life. Both of these classes are limited and the second perhaps is fully as limited as the first. To send an ordinary boy to college is not only to incur great expense on his account but to expose his character and especially his habits of industry to no small peril. It must rest with himself whether he will work or not, and if he has no special taste or aptitude for the work he is pretty sure to be idle. Put him into an office or a store and he must work, while he will probably pick up from his newspaper, from such books as he may be disposed to read, and from general conversation, as much knowledge as he would get by cramming at the last moment for a college examination. The scanty and undigested modicum of classics, mathematics or science, which is forgotten as soon as the examination is over, leaves scarcely any beneficial trace. Business is in itself a mental training in its way. We need not disparage the value of college friendships or college games; but friendship is not confined to college, nor are college friendships always the best; while games may be played anywhere and ought not to be what the athletic mania tends to make them, the first object of a young man's life. For a boy of ordinary capacities and tastes the best thing is regular work in an office or some steady business, with board under the roof of his parents or in some regular and moral home.

Danger looms in this quarter. The number of youths who are tempted by the easy matriculation and graduation which a number of second-rate and third-rate universities hold out is too large and is increasing daily. There is everywhere a rush into the intellectual callings. At the same time education, which once was rare and bore a high price has become so com-

mon as to lose a great part of its commercial value. The wages of educated labour are falling and those of manual labour are rising in proportion. In Germany they are crying out that all the liberal professions are overstocked and that the professional man is fain to look for a wife with a little money to enable him to eke out a livelihood. The cry is echoed in England. It will soon be echoed here. If we do not take care we shall have a number of men unfitted by university education for common work and for whom there will be no work of the higher kind, while their ambition will have been awakened and their sensibilities will have been made keen by culture. Such a class may become not only unhappy but dangerous. It is from such a class that Nihilism in Russia draws a large portion of its recruits. The idea that after a university education youths will go back to the store or to the plough and dignify lowly callings with high culture may embellish the address of University Chancellors, but has no warrant in reality. Even those who have been at Agricultural Colleges are apt not to return to the farm. In New England farm-life is at a discount. Farms are being deserted by scores. The old Puritan community seems to be in danger of going out of existence, and this is ascribed largely to the restlessness and discontent with manual labour engendered by education. Listen not to these Siren Voices. Unless you feel sure that your boy is really able and really willing to make good use of a University, keep him at home and set him at once to the regular work which is the only security for his industry and therefore for his character.

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