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A MONTHLY
REVIEW



THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL

NEW SERIES.

OCTOBER, 1889,

TO

SEPTEMBER, 1890.

Toronto:
HUNTER, ROSE & COMPANY.
1890.

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety (for the Proprietor), by GRAEME MERCER ADAM, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
CANADIAN AFFAIRS .		Confederation, Australian and Canadian.	348
Affray Among the Dailies	145	Conflict in the North-West.	13
Anti-British Feeling Among Canadians.	87	Constitutional Law.	7
Attitude of Our Government on the Tariff.	379	Copyright Legislation.	68
Australian and Canadian Confederation	348	Corruption, Sir Richard Cartwright on	85
Bank Reports and the Commercial Outlook	315	Cost of the Parliament Buildings	276
Banks and the Government, The.	187	Depreciation in Farm Property.	384
Benwell Murder, The.	227, 247	Detective Service, The.	228
Book-Publishing, Questionable Methods of.	2, 299	Dilke, Sir C., on Canada.	213
Canada, Sir Charles Dilke on	213, 268	Dissolutions, Parliamentary.	82
— Quarterly Review on.	284	— Prerogative of.	289
Canadian Art.	132, 270, 300, 335	— Premature	380
— and Australian Confederation	348	Dual Language Debate, The	181
— Literature.	71, 104, 136	— in the North-West	140
— Nationality.	77	Education Report, The.	267
— Parties	18	Effects of the Equal Rights Agitation	8
— Railways.	311	Equal Rights Movement.	1, 41
Cartwright, Sir R., on Corruption.	85	— on the Platform	275
Chances of Escape from Party Government	276	— In Society.	163
Charlton, Mr., and the Exodus.	185	Events in Journalism.	343
Commercial Union.	146	Exodus, The.	—
— and Gen. Wilson	219	— and Mr. Charlton.	185
— Situation, The.	382	Federations, Australian and Canadian	348
		— Possible and Im-possible.	220
		Fisheries Question, The	284
		Flags on Public Schools, The	217
		Formation of Third Parties	138

	PAGE		PAGE
Forest Destruction	316	Meredith, Mr., and Education	143
Franciscans, The.....	345	Middleton, General, the Case	
Gentlemen Emigrants	228	of.....	288, 318
Gresswell's Canada.....	335	Parting Address.	388
Harvey Murder Case, The...	88	Military Anniversaries.....	319
High Schools, The Ontario..	387	Mining, Report of in Ontario	282
Imperial Federation in The		Miracles in Quebec.....	346
Senate.....	178	Modern Language Associa-	
Independence and the Young		tion, The.....	164
Liberals	177	Mormonism in the North-	
Jesuits Estates' Act, The...	5	West.....	86
Journalism, Events in.....	343	Mortgage Debt in Ontario...	385
Kingsford's Canadian History	170	Municipal Taxation in On-	
Large Farms in the North-		tario.....	239
West.....	56	New Native Industry, A....	212
Last Session, The.....	278	North-West, Dual Language	140
Libel Suits	387	The Settling of.	224
Liberal Leadership, The.141,	337	Representation.	225
Lincoln Election, The	286	and Manitoba..	111
Localism in Elections	245	Mormonism in.	86
Lorne, Lord, as a Novelist..	169	and the Tariff,	
Loyalty Resolution, The....	172	The.....	34
Manitoba and the North-		Ontario, Contest in.....	107
West.....	3, 111	Elections.....	305
and our Tariff.....	211	Mining, Report of..	282
and Ottawa.....	322	Parties in..191, 244,	342
Peopling of.....	285	Taxation in.....	239
Political Awakening	347	Opening of the Session.....	137
Politics in.....	191	Parliament Buildings, Cost of	276
Railway Monopoly	87	Parliamentary Dissolutions..	82
School Bill.....	226	Party Government, Chances	
Masson's North-West Fur		of Escape from.....	276
Traders.....	171	Parties in Ontario..191, 244,	342
Mercier Banquet, The.....	339	Peopling of Manitoba.....	285
Mr., Recent Speeches	73	Politics in Manitoba.....	191
Meredith, Mr., Position of..	142	Political Awakening in Mani-	
and the Contest		toba.....	347
in Ontario.....	107	Political Situation, The....	105
		Poole's Anglo-Israel.....	134

	PAGE
Possible and Impossible Federation.....	220
Prerogative of Dissolution ..	289
Press, The, and the Benwell Murder.....	247
Priests in Politics.....	346
Professor of Philosophy, The New.....	165
Protectionism.....	279
Prospects of Reciprocity.....	80
Provincial Elections, The....	273
Public Parks	350
Public School Expenditure..	317
Quarterly Review, The, on Canada.....	284
Quebec Elections, The.....	308
——— Miracles in.....	346
Questions before the Country	1
Railway Monopoly in Manitoba.....	87
Reciprocity.....	53, 80
Religious Toleration.....	44
Rideau Hall.....	221
Roman Catholicism v. Jesuitism.....	110
Rome and Education.....	15
Royal Society of Canada, Meeting of	290
Rykert Case, The	223
——— Letters, The.....	187
Salaries and Nepotism.....	386
Senate, The, as a Political Reality.....	185
Separate Schools.....	17, 243
Settling The North-West....	224
Stanstead Election, The	109
Sunday Street Cars.....	37
Surrendering to the Papacy..	381
Tariffs, The.....	241, 377

	PAGE
Temperance Question, The..	48
Third Seat for Toronto, The.	343
Third Parties, Formation of.	138
Titles of Honour.....	143
Toronto Carnival, The	349
——— Anglican Jubilee....	114
——— Growth of.....	113
——— Magnates and the Esplanade	246
——— Third Seat for.....	343
——— University.....	206, 240
Two Premiers, The.	341
Two Races, The.....	11
University, Burning of The..	206
——— Admission to....	206
——— Confederation... ..	39
——— Professorships... ..	40
——— Quarterly Review	254
Use of the Veto, The.....	83
West Lambton Election, The	84
Whither are We Tending ?..	179
Wilson, General, and Commercial Union.	219
Women and the Medicoes, The.....	221
Young Liberals, The, and Independence.....	177
AMERICAN AFFAIRS :	
A Paradise for Workmen ...	296
An American on the French Revolution	61
American Elections.....	89
——— Nationalization....	308
Anglophobia.....	367
Behring Sea Controversy.....	354
Blaine's, Mr., Pan-American Congress	291
——— Letter.....	310

	PAGE		PAGE
Brazilian Revolution, The...	123	War of Races in the South.	147
Business in Congress.....	351	Washington's Life, by Cabot Lodge	367
City Government	250	Wealth Accumulation.....	249
College Training.....	366	Woman Suffrage in Wyoming	251
Conduct of the Americans...	24		
Cronin Verdict, The.....	123	ENGLISH AFFAIRS :	
Davis, Death of Jefferson...	119	Bye-Elections in England.	58
Degradation of Politics, The.	264	Catastrophe of Mr. Caine.	359
Divorce Question, The . . .	153	Cession of Heligoland, The..	324
Enfranchisement of Women.	116	Choosing a Leader.....	127
Fall of the Monarchy in Brazil.....	90	Churchill, Lord, the End of..	231
Federal Election Bill.....	352	Coleridge, Lord, and Journal- ism	392
George's, Mr. Henry, Theory	158	English Politics.21, 124, 252, 293, 356	
Household Service.....	168	Fox and Derby.....	326
International Copyright.....	299	Gladstone and Pitt.....	23
Labour Disturbances.....	248	Imperial Federation.58, 128, 294	
McKinley Tariff, The.....	309	Industrial War in England... 198	
Millionaires.....	237	Ireland and the Land Ques- tion.....	94, 151
Morse's Life of Franklin....	373	Ireland, Famine in.....	392
Nationalization of Land..94, 236		Labouchere and Salisbury... 230	
"Our Infant Woollens"....	314	Labour Disturbances.....	129
President's Message and Reci- procity, The.....	118	London Docks Strikes.....	59
Prospects of Deadlock in the United States.....	293	Manning, Cardinal, and The Strikes.....	153
Protectionism.....	33, 155	Mutinies in England.....	390
Reciprocity.....	31	Opening of the British Par- liament.....	195
Silver Bill, The.... 292, 312, 353		Parnell's, Mr., Change of Front.....	358
Tariff, The.....	209	Commission, Re- port of.....	192
Three Americas, The.....	55		
Two Markets, The.....	33		

	PAGE		PAGE
Passion for Scandal, The..99,	131	THOUGHT AND OPINION :	
Perils of England.....	27	Admission to Universities	206
Political Situation in Eng- land	91, 323	Agnosticism and its Practical Bearings	259
Rosebery, Lord, on Imperial Federation	128	Anglicanism and Rome.....	203
St. Pancras Election, The... 229		Anglo-Israel	134
Salisbury, Lord, on Imperial Federation	58	Atheism and Public Morality 328	
Scandals in England, The,99,	131	Browning, The Poet, and His Obscurity.....	261
Situation in England,The,91,	323	Corson, Prof., on Shakespeare	404
<i>Times</i> , The, and its Enemies. 194		Cremation	238
Wolsey, Lord, Against War 360		Criminal Class, The.....	396
EUROPEAN AND EASTERN AFFAIRS :		Dante's Theology.....	330
Australian Federation.....	295	Dollinger, Dr., The Death of. 205	
Bismarck, The Fall of.....	232	Jesuit Morality.....	239
Crisis in France, The	236	"Lux Mundi"	256
Europe, The State of.....	148	Memoir of a Journalist.....	266
——— Monarchy in.....	149	Methodism and Priestcraft..	332
European Affairs	362	Movements in the Churches .	102
——— War Cloud, The... 128		Newman, Cardinal, Death of 400	
First of May, The.....	296	Papacy, The.....	204
France, The Crisis in	236	Persecution, History of.....	100
French Elections, The.....	61	Presbyterian Revision.....	331
——— Revolution, an Ameri- can on the.....	61	Reform in the Family.....	365
German Emperor, The.....	297	Relations of Church and State	363
——— Socialism and the Claims of Labour. 233		Religious Movements.....	201
Monarchy in Europe,The149,	199	Renan's Manifesto	63, 165
Russian Atrocities, The..235,	298	Ruskin, John.....	402
What France Wants.....	298	Shakespeare, Prof. Corson on	404
		Social Absenteeism	97
		Socialism, Spread of.....	394
		Talleyrand's Memoirs.....	328
		Weissmann on Life and Death	166

	PAGE		PAGE
CANADIAN LITERATURE AND ART :		Lorne, Lord, as a Novelist . .	169
Art in Canada	270, 300, 335	Machar's "Stories of New France"	268
Blackstock's, Mrs., "Land of the Viking"	72	Masson's North-West Fur Traders	171
Copyright Legislation	68	Ontario Mining Report	282
Dawson's Handbook of Geol- ogy	104	Poole's "Anglo-Israel"	134
Dixon's "Border Clans"	104	Pope's "Jacques Cartier" . . .	269
Education Report for Ontario	267	Read's "Lives of the Judges" .	136
Gresswell's Canada	335	— "Life of Governor Simcoe"	375
Kingsford's History of Can- ada	170	Royal Society of Canada, Meeting of	290
"Layman's Handbook, A" . .	376	University Quarterly Review	254
Literary Journalism in Can- ada	407	—	
		Bystander, A Protest by . . .	272
		— Explanation by . . .	302

6

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Questions before the Country.	1
The Equal Rights Movement.	1
The Jesuits' Estates Act.	5
Constitutional Law.	7
Effects of the Agitation.	8
The Two Races.	11
Conflict in the North-West.	13
Rome and Education.	15
Separate Schools.	17
Canadian Parties.	18
English Politics.	21
Gladstone and Pitt.	23
Conduct of the Americans.	24
Perils of England.	27
Reciprocity.	28
The Two Markets.	31
Protectionism.	33
The North-West and the Tariff.	34
Sunday Street Cars.	37
University Confederation.	39
University Professorships.	40

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THE BYSTANDER.

OCTOBER, 1889.

THE situation in the Press is just now singular. Our great Toronto dailies are struggling desperately with each other for existence on an area which is insufficient to support them on the scale of expenditure required in the present day for news, especially for telegraphic news. In these circumstances, there is little chance of a hearing for any cause which does not bring circulation and advertisements, still less for any cause which repels them. Till this conflict is over and the great organs of opinion are set free, the community may have some use even for a very small journal which has nothing, either in the way of commercial exigency or party connection, to restrain it from holding its own course, or bringing any question before the public.

—By the events of the last half year, three questions of the highest importance seem to have been presented in the clearest, most practical, and most urgent manner to our people. The first is, whether the political veto on Provincial legislation is a real power of control, or a nullity. The second is, whether religious equality is, or is not, a fundamental principle of our Commonwealth. The third is, whether there is any hope left of fusing British and French Canada into a united nation.

By a strange freak of destiny, Wolfe's victory seems not only to have been annulled, but to have brought about the

signal triumph of the vanquished. Left to itself, the feeble colony of the Bourbons would have been lopped by the Revolution from the parent tree, and in all probability would have perished. Conquered by England, it has been fostered into a French nation, which now has not only won back Quebec, but threatens to encroach indefinitely on the territory of the British race. The responsibility for this result rests partly on the weakness of the British Government, of which the last manifestation is the attitude of the present Governor-General; partly on Samuel Adams and the other Boston Revolutionists who, in their eagerness to declare Independence, seeing that Quebec had been wrested from France, would not wait till it had been made British; partly on our own factions which, bidding against each other for French and Catholic support, have played into the hands of our antagonists and consummated the process the other day by voting in unison for the Jesuits' Estates Act, and afterwards together relieving their uneasy consciences by singing "God Save the Queen."

The Jesuits' Estates Act was a blow, and a bold one, struck against the Conquest Settlement, and at the same time in favour of the sovereignty of the Pope, for the recognition of which the Nationalist leader is appropriately rewarded with a Papal order of merit. After their victory at Ottawa over British supremacy and Protestant right, the French held a triumphal festival on the day of their national saint, St. Jean Baptiste, and unveiled a monument in honour of the heroes of their French and Papal nationality, Jacques Cartier and the Jesuit Brébeuf. On that occasion, it was exultingly proclaimed that French Canadians would never cease to be French and Catholic; that, as the double monument bore witness, after a century of separation from their mother country, French as well as Catholic they were, French as well as Catholic they would remain. The Red and Blue of French Canadian parties were thenceforth, it was announced, to be merged in the tricolor. Pontifical Zouaves carried in religious procession a flag which had been borne in

battle against the British. The homage of the French Canadian nation was cabled to the Pope, and the Pope recognized the French Canadian nation by responding to the salute. Jesuit and Ultramontane journals joined the choir with editorials frankly avowing that the French nation stood apart from the British, that it had separate aims and a different ideal; in effect, that partnership between it and the British element there was none. Disheartening events these surely for Imperial Federationists! Disheartening events these surely for all who have cherished the hope that a mass of British Protestantism and a mass of French Catholicism, or rather of French Ultramontanism, can be fused into a Canadian nation. Lord Lorne was anxious, among other gifts, to provide us with a national hymn. Is the hymn to be in a dual language with opposite aspirations in alternate stanzas? In September, 1887, to do honour to the French frigate *Minerve*, the French flag was hoisted and the British flag was lowered on the Citadel at Quebec. We were bidden to believe that this was an accident. If it was, it was one of the most pregnant and ominous accidents in history.

We might have been prepared for this turn of events ever since aggressive Ultramontanism ousted quiet Gallicanism from the Church of Quebec; certainly ever since the Jesuit got the helm into his hands. Some years ago Abbé Gingras put forth a pamphlet in which, after glorifying the Dark Ages, justifying the Inquisition, asserting the right of the Church to over-rule the Civil power, and of the Clergy to interfere in elections, he described the necessary policy of French statesmen towards the Dominion as one of conciliation, more or less elastic, with a covert aim,—that is to say, the creation of a French and Papal nationality—in their minds. The history of Canada used in French Canadian schools breathes not French patriotism only, but antagonism to the British. It belittles their victories, exults in those of the French over them, presents them in an odious light, and accuses them of wishing to oppress French Canada as they oppressed Ireland,

ascribing the deliverance to the priests. Of the existence of British Canada it scarcely takes notice. The seed thus sown in the heart of the young French Canadian has sprung up and borne its natural fruit.

We do not blame the French, much less do we desire to say a harsh or disrespectful word of a kindly and courteous race. What they have done an English colony would have done in their place. It was perfectly natural that as they found their numbers and strength increase, they should desire to cast off the ascendancy of the stranger and reverse the conquest. It was perfectly natural that they should take advantage of the weakness of the British Government and of its timorous tendency to court their good-will at the expense of those of whose allegiance it felt more sure. It was perfectly natural that, the political Sovereign being alien, they should accept the native priesthood as their leaders, the Pope as the supreme object of their allegiance, and that their nationality should thus provisionally assume, as it has, a theocratic form. But the fact and the situation have to be faced. Is Quebec to be in the Confederation but not of it, a nation apart, with designs and aspirations of her own, but at the same time ruling us by her compact vote, determining our policy and drawing, as she has drawn, upon our Treasury? Is she to bring up a million or more of our citizens and the electors of our Parliament, not only in the mental condition which priestly rule requires, but in paramount allegiance to the Church of the Jesuit and to a foreign power? Is she to carry on to the end a process of shouldering out the British and Protestant element, and to do what she likes with the remnant in the meantime? Sir Richard Cartwright lays it down that we have no more right to interfere with the action of Quebec than England has to interfere with the action of Canada. Do Canadians take part in electing the British Parliament? Does their delegation coerce the Government, and enforce the payment of tribute at Westminster, by staying out of the House till the last bell for a division has rung? By the help

of what remains of the old Bleu party an equivocal situation may be prolonged; but the time cannot be far off when we shall have to choose between a reassertion of the national control over Provincial legislation and a dissolution of partnership with Quebec.

Lord Durham feared that the day might come when the English of Lower Canada, to remain English, would have to cease to be British. He strove to avert that day by the Union of the Provinces which he thought would bring the French under the political ascendancy of the British. The measure might possibly have succeeded in the hands of a Royal Governor with full powers: in those of party politicians, bidding against each other for the French and Catholic vote, it was sure to fail. Moreover, changes adverse to Lord Durham's object have taken place. The legendary Frenchman who was to fire the last gun for British dominion belongs to the times when the dominant priesthood regarded with fear and aversion Revolutionary France as well as Puritan New England. New France is now reunited in heart to her mother country. Forces opposed to the ascendancy of the priesthood and to the national unity of which it is at present the organizing force and the bond may be at work; the French emigration into New England, if it becomes American and at the same time retains its connection with those who stay behind, may prove a conduit of disturbing ideas; the exactions of the Church may become intolerable to the peasantry; the educated classes may feel the effects of contact with the literary Liberalism of old France; but at present it appears that the combined national and sacerdotal movement of which Jacques Cartier and Brébeuf are the symbols is in the ascendant, and that its leader has the ball at his foot.

—The law points of the Jesuits' Estates Case must be left to lawyers, and the country is somewhat weary of that part of the discussion. We will not combat again the figment of a

cloud on the public title to the Jesuit property, as if there could be any cloud on the title of property which had passed to the Crown both by treaty and by escheat, and had been duly made over by it to the Province. The Minister of Justice admits that in the Preamble to the Act there were things "which might have been in better taste," in other words, that there was matter offensive to the feelings of the nation. For the excision of that matter, at all events, if the feelings of the nation had been thought entitled to any respect, the Act would have been remanded to the Quebec Legislature. Perhaps, however, wrong is done by this admission to the framers of the Act, who could scarcely have devised a more delicate way of asserting the two things which it was their object to assert, the abrogation of the Conquest Settlement and the supremacy of the Pope. The people have felt that, apart from all narrow technicalities, they have a broad right, if we are a nation, to resist the infusion at the public expense of poison into the national veins. They know what Jesuitism is, what it has done, what are its principles and aims, how the nations of Europe, even those which were most liberal and tolerant, have found themselves compelled to deal with it, and they are resolved that, at least, the State shall not implant and foster it here. They are resolved also that under no pretext will they be brought to recognize the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church over the State or the ascendancy of a foreign power. They understand the majority at Ottawa, and see in it only a reason for trying to rescue the country from the domination of the Catholic vote.

The Governor-General says that there is no evidence before him to show that the Jesuits in the Dominion and in this nineteenth century are less loyal and law-abiding citizens than others. He has before him the Encyclical, which the Jesuit brings in his hand and which asserts the supremacy of the Church over the State and the right of the Church to use force for the imposition of her creed, thus directly contravening the organic principles of a Commonwealth founded on State supre-

macy and freedom of conscience. He has before him the claims of the clergy under Jesuit influence to interfere, against the law, in elections. He has before him the institutes of the Order, by which the Jesuit surrenders his judgment and his conscience into the hands of Superiors resident at Rome, whose commands supersede his duty to his country. He has before him the clauses of the Catholic Emancipation Act passed by his own Legislature, when "this nineteenth century" was twenty-nine years old, and the repeal of which no one would venture to propose, treating the Jesuits as dangerous to the State. He has before him the doings of the Jesuit since the beginning of the nineteenth century in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, France and Germany, and the action which the Governments of those countries have found themselves compelled to take in order to deliver themselves from his machinations. He must know well that what the Order of Loyola was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is now; that its laws, its aims, and its means are unchanged; that it is the same in all dominions and countries as well as in all centuries; that its members are citizens of nothing but a world-wide conspiracy against liberty, light and human progress; and that if they accept the citizenship of a Protestant Commonwealth it is for the purpose of its subversion. Guy Fawkes had to be law-abiding till the time came for firing the train, and the Jesuit no doubt was law-abiding in Switzerland till the time came for kindling the flames of civil war. The very property which is given to the Jesuit he cannot hold. It is held, as Solicitor-General Wedderburn states in that opinion with which we should like to see the Minister of Justice deal, by an authority at Rome and may be used, and is very likely to be used, for the purposes of intrigue against the British power in China, Madagascar, or any part of the globe.

On the point of Constitutional Law the nation was surely entitled to the judgment after full and fair hearing of its own Supreme Court. Of this it had been deprived by devices of the kind which we are learning to regard as statesmanship,

and in giving effect to which the chair of the House of Commons was made to play a very sinister part. The case, it was pretended, could not be submitted to a legal tribunal when it had been before Parliament, as though it were the province of Parliament to decide a question of law. At last, instead of the judgment of our own Supreme Court, there is palmed upon us the opinion of the British Law Officers, who have no judicial authority in the matter, and who are politicians and members of the same party with Sir John Macdonald. An opinion is worthless without the case on which it is given; yet the case is withheld; and we are not even told by whom the opinion was sought. Is this the proper way to treat the nation? To speak of such an opinion as satisfactory or conclusive on any point is mockery; but after all the only point which it touches is the bare legal power of the Legislature of Quebec. It can in no way affect the main question, which is whether the political veto ought not to have been applied. The question raised by Mr. Macdougall as to the application of the consolidated fund to a religious purpose, is also apparently left untouched.

—One bright side, at all events, this controversy has. It has evoked a greater breadth of public sentiment on a question of principle, and outside the party lines, than anything since the Pacific Railway Scandal. For a time the Machines have been thrown out of gear, much to the dismay of the Machinists, and the moral interval would be a gain even if the agitation to which we owe it were far less reasonable and righteous than it is. The politicians flatter themselves that the storm will presently blow over, that this abnormal and scandalous outbreak of public morality will subside, and that we shall get comfortably back to the regular game of Political Euchre, of which the Right Bower is the Catholic vote. Their hope may be fulfilled. Party organizations are wonderfully strong, strong as usual in inverse proportion to their reason-

ableness, and the Shibboleths have extraordinary power. Otherwise, how should an inhabitant of Port Arthur be found giving a party vote for a tariff which keeps his minerals locked up in the bowels of the earth, and prevents his village from becoming a mining city? Yet it may be doubted whether things will again be exactly as they have been. They certainly will not if the Equal Rights Association continues in existence and maintains anything like its present strength. We do not despair of seeing some of the Machine veterans replaced at the next election by fresh men, such as a struggle of principle brings to the front. A better start than this great question affords, a political aspirant can scarcely desire.

An episode in the movement of special interest is the conflict in the Orange body, between the nobler element and that which is less noble. The Orange banner has so long been trailed behind the Catholic vote, in the service of political party, and by leaders whose aims are much more practical than those of the Deliverer, that instantaneous regeneration is not to be expected. But it is evident that at least the liegemen of place and patronage have no small difficulty in keeping the upper hand. If Orangeism cannot get its head out of the lap of Delilah and again do its first work, it ought, if it has any respect for the shades of the illustrious dead, to cease to take in vain the name of a hero. It is impossible that there could be two human beings with characters and aims more entirely opposed to each other than the Grand Master of a place-hunting organization and William of Orange.

The political veto of the Central Government on Provincial Legislation was justly designated by Sir Alexander Galt in his pamphlet on "Church and State," as the one sure guarantee for Protestant and civil rights and liberties in Quebec, without which the representative guarantee would some day "dissolve into thin air." The abandonment of that veto, and with reference to one of the very class of cases to which it was specially intended to be applied, by the Central Government, is plain notice to the Protestants of Quebec

that they are to be left without protection, and has apparently broken their slumber at last. Their apathy, which allowed the incorporation of the Jesuits to pass without protest, has hitherto been the weak point in the case. They have perhaps had the excuse of hopelessness, and also that of heavy pressure, since prominent opposition to the Church is visited on her part with penalties, to which philosophers who arraign Equal Rights men for intolerance would do well to turn their attention. A British farmer in the Eastern Townships may not unnaturally deem it better to decamp than to live in perpetual conflict with adverse influences, municipal and fiscal as well as social. The chiefs of commerce in Montreal, who would be the natural leaders of the British and Protestants, probably wish to make their fortunes undisturbed; their fortunes made, nothing ties them to Quebec. Montreal may find, however, indeed she has already begun to find, as would Belfast if Home Rule were conceded, that with a Catholic Legislature not only Protestant liberties but the Protestant strong-box is in peril.

—Fanaticism is the epithet brandished against the opponents of Jesuit incorporation and endowment by politicians who can themselves hardly debate the most trivial question of party politics without displaying fanaticism of the narrowest and most virulent kind. Some have even talked of persecution, though there has not been a whisper of desire to impose upon Roman Catholics or Jesuits a penalty or disability of any sort, or to prevent them from propagating their opinions, or, for that matter, their casuistry with the same freedom as is allowed to any other Church or sect. The battle is for civil right and for equality, and for these alone. The Church of Rome is not merely a body of spiritual opinion, organized opposition to which might be apt to contract the character of persecution or fanaticism; it is, and avows itself in the Encyclical to be, a temporal power using the sword, whenever it can

get the sword into its hand, to maintain and extend a sway which has brought it enormous wealth and power, and when it cannot get the sword into its hand, using for the same purpose intrigue and the votes of masses under its ecclesiastical command. Jesuitism is not merely a body of extreme spiritual opinion : it is a great social and political conspiracy, though in aid of ecclesiastical aggrandizement, which by its machinations has filled Christendom with blood and havoc, and has made for itself a record of evil more terrible than that of any worldly power of iniquity. It may be doubted whether Garibaldi, Mazzini, and the other European patriots in their mortal struggle with Jesuitism and the powers under its influence, ever thought of the theological peculiarities of the Jesuit, or even of his casuistical tamperings with morality. They saw in him only the arch-enemy of freedom, and the murderer of its friends. "A company of teachers and preachers," the Minister of Justice calls the Society of Loyola. He might almost as well apply the term to the troopers of the Catholic League, or the crews of the Armada. Were all the Liberal statesmen of Europe who combated and expelled Jesuitism, fanatics and slaves of religious hatred ?

Nor does the movement involve hatred of race any more than it involves hatred of religion. We, as a race, are trustees of a civilization of which the organic principle is liberty, political and religious. That civilization is being attacked by another race under the influence, unhappy, as we think, of the immemorial and inveterate enemies of the principle, which at the same time threatens to extend its borders at the expense of ours. We must defend our trust, and this may be done without any feeling against the race, and with a very lively conviction that the greatest boon which we could bestow on our French fellow-subjects would be deliverance from the dominion of obscurantism and the reactionary influence of the Medieval Church.

That the agitation is not, as the political managers of one party say, a plot against Sir John Macdonald, or as those of

the other party say, a plot against Mr. Mowat, is disproved, if such absurdity needs disproof, by the fact that ecclesiastical aggression of the same kind is provoking a similar reaction on the other side of the Line. Mr. John Jay, the eminent publicist, and Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, are there saying precisely what the leaders of the Equal Rights movement are saying here. With legions recruited by masses of ignorance and superstition from her European domain, and armed with the American franchise, Rome is moving against American civilization. The Catholic *Telegraph* of Cincinnati says: "We hold the balance of power in the national elections, and, if united, control many State and municipal elections also." The first point of attack there as here is the school, and the attack is met there as here by what may be called an Equal Rights agitation for the abolition of all public grants for sectarian purposes, whether veiled under the name of "teaching and preaching," or under that of charity.

The issue of the conflict between Rome and modern society, which the Encyclical so boldly challenges, cannot, from our point of view, be regarded as doubtful. Nothing seems more certain than that the Papacy is dead at the root, though after so many centuries of ascendancy and when it has so completely entwined itself with all the fibres not only of religious but of political, moral and even æsthetic life in European Christendom, the process of dissolution must be slow. A spasmodic energy has been lent to it of late by the violent determination of power to its ecclesiastical head, which has produced the ascendancy of Ultramontanism and the Jesuit, but is merely the proof of its loss of influence over the national governments. Its faith lingers only like the snow-wreaths of spring in the dark hollows of the hills, such as Calabria, Tyrol, Ireland, and Quebec. Its only propagator, saving the Jesuit, is the Irish dispersion which itself in the second, or, at latest, the third generation, falls away. Nevertheless, its forces on this continent are formidable; its organization is immensely strong; it is favoured to a fatal extent by the

emulous servility of the factions, and before it succumbs it may give our civilization a very bad quarter of an hour.

—Not nationality only, but extension of their nationality, is the aim of the French, some of whom see glorious visions of a French and Papal Empire in North America. On Eastern Ontario they are encroaching apace, introducing their language into the public schools, and with it their ecclesiastical system. Party has opened the door for them and will probably continue to hold it open, while our commercial system by expatriating the British farmer makes room for the Frenchman, whose standard of living is much lower. The French begin to demand representation in the Ontario Cabinet, and their claim apparently will soon be backed by numbers which the politicians will be unable to resist. It is difficult to foresee the end of this process.

The scene of the conflict now shifts to the North-West. Thither also, as we have good reason to know, the aspirations of the French Nationalist extend. Riel's first rebellion, unlike his second, was practically a success. With the aid of Sir George Cartier it gave the French the recognition of their nationality, the dual language, and Separate Schools. Upon this basis and operating from St. Boniface as their stronghold, they have been trying to wrest from the British the future of the North-West. The energies of one able and active priest are devoted to the promotion of French immigration, which is organized with the aid of Church funds. But in Manitoba the stars in their courses fight against the enterprise as manifestly as they fight for it in Quebec. The number of the French Catholics is small, and they are being swamped by the inflow of the English-speaking race, whose tongue the other fractions of nationalities, such as the Mennonites and Icelanders, gradually adopt. It happens moreover that for the present the chief instrument of their aggrandizement has fallen from their hands. The British have been united by the struggle for railway

emancipation against the Ottawa government and the C. P. R. Sir John Macdonald, by the course which he has taken, has annihilated his party, and the Opposition in the Local Legislature is literally reduced to a corporal's guard. The French have thus ceased to hold the balance of power, there being no balance of power to hold, and can no longer play the game of hovering between the parties and compelling both to obey their will. To complete their misfortunes, it appears that at the critical moment they have encountered a strong man. Against the dual language a blow has already been struck, and war has been declared against the Separate Schools. But to abolish the Separate Schools the Manitoban Act must be amended: the only other course at least is the awkward one of stopping the grant to the schools; and the question is thus likely to come before the Dominion Parliament, and to test the zeal of the Liberals for local liberties and their power of adhering to principle in defiance of the Catholic vote. Will those who have voted that the Roman Catholic and Jesuit Legislature of Quebec shall be allowed to tax Protestants in aid of a conspiracy for the subversion of their own religion, turn round and vote that the people of Manitoba shall not be allowed to adopt Equal Right as the principle of their system of public instruction?

For Separate Schools there was perhaps a plea when Roman Catholic disabilities, having been but recently removed, and the religion being still in some measure under social proscription, there might be reason to apprehend want of respect for the faith of a Catholic pupil. There can be no plea now when all such danger is past, and thousands of Roman Catholic children are being brought up in public schools without any complaint on the part of their parents. It is not from the parents indeed that these complaints come; it is from the priests. The priest desires that the child shall be brought up as a liegeman of the Church. The State contends that he shall be brought up as a citizen of the Commonwealth, though without prejudice to his faith or his Church-membership; and upon this issue is joined, alike in the United States

and here, indeed wherever Rome is struggling to create her empire within the empire and above the empire of the State. Since the removal of any special danger to the faith or self-respect of Catholics, there can be no tenable plea for the concession of privilege to any particular Church. If Roman Catholics are entitled to Separate Schools, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists are entitled to them also. The only assignable ground for the special claim is that Roman Catholics alone have a religious conscience to be respected, and the rest are mere heretics. This, a free-spoken ecclesiastic, like the Bishop of Kingston, sometimes gives us pretty plainly to understand. But it is a plea which the State cannot for a moment entertain.

What the real tendencies of the Church of Rome are, with regard to popular education, we learn from its condition in the countries where she has had things entirely her own way, such as Spain, Calabria, Sicily, Brittany, the Roman Catholic Provinces of Austria, and the Spanish Colonies in South America before their emancipation. The Jesuit himself, though a professed educator, did little or nothing for the education of the people. He confined himself almost entirely to the children of the rich and powerful, or to those destined for the priesthood; and in dealing with these his real object was not to enlighten, but to cure, by intellectual vaccination, the pestilential desire for light. It is only where she is threatened by Protestant rivalry that the Church of Rome becomes so anxious about schools. A Canadian politician who subsists upon French votes, writing to the *London Times* the other day, did not want the effrontery to assert that more liberal provision was made for popular education in French than in British Canada. Massachusetts, it appears, reports that among the French immigrants, who are pretty sure not to be the least active-minded and intelligent of their race, there are 13,319 illiterates to 3,913 who can read and write. Arthur Buies, in *La Lanterne*, cites a correspondent who has held high office and has lived in a rural district in the French Pro-

vince for forty years. This correspondent deposes that among men between twenty and thirty you will not find one in twenty who can read, or one in fifty who can write. "They will tell you," he says, "that they went to school from seven to fourteen, but that they have forgotten all they learned. This all, what was it? We may judge from the fact that the teachers are for the most part young girls taken from the convents, because they are too poor to pay their pupil's fee, and with a salary of from ten to twenty louis a year." This description is confirmed by the testimony of all who have lived among the *habitans*. Even the mayor of a town, trustworthy informants tell us, is not always able to write. But perhaps as signal a proof of the general ignorance as any is the performance of miracles, which goes on with unabated success and with immense profit, material as well as moral, to the Church at Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Why are no miracles performed in Ontario and New England? It was rash in a Protestant divine to undertake to prove in theological tournament that the Church of Rome teaches that the end justifies the means. Even Iago does not chalk his principles on the walls of Cyprus. But as some at least of the higher ecclesiastics are educated men and exempt from vulgar illusions, it would not be difficult to show that in countenancing the miracles of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Knock, and Lourdes, as well as the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, and the exhibition of the House of Loretto, or the stairs of Pilate, to multitudes of dupes who pour money into the coffers of the Church, they must at least be acting on the principle that means the most equivocal are justified by an end which to them seems to be good. It would be presumptuous in us to undertake to save the French of Quebec against their will; but from our point of view, at all events, we must repeat we are not displaying hatred of them by relaxing the grasp of a Church which not only devours their substance and grows inordinately rich, while they are very poor, but keeps them in the darkness which priestly rule and thaumaturgy everywhere require.

—When Separate Schools are abolished we shall have to face the difficult question whether the Bible is to be used in schools. So far as the mass of the community is concerned, morality is still based upon religion, and to read the Bible, or at least the New Testament provided that no sectarian dogma is introduced, is merely to teach children the received ethics. Where the people are unanimous in desiring that the Bible should be read, there can surely be no reasonable objection to the practice. But when anybody objects, it would seem that our principle requires us to respect the objection. It may come and is likely to come, as we have said, from the priest rather than from the parent. A parent is not very likely of himself to object to the reading of a plain ethical portion of the Gospel or a simple parable, because the Douay Version is not used. But it avails little to scrutinize the motive of the objector if he is only exercising his right. We must fall back for religious instruction on the Sunday School. Let our system be founded in righteousness, though it be in some measure to our own hindrance.

Is it just to compel those who choose on religious grounds to pay for Separate Schools for their children, also to pay school tax for the Public Schools? The case of these people is not harder than that of the rich who do not use the Public Schools, or that of the childless who have no use for schools at all. It is not harder than that of the man with one child, who is made to pay for the schooling of the children of his neighbour with six. The whole system is based on the political necessities of a democracy which, without it, would be governed by total ignorance. We do not ourselves profess to rejoice above measure in an arrangement which legally supersedes the duties and responsibilities of the parent in regard to education by the action of the state. Nor do we fail to mark the difference between the original common school of New England which, the community being so small and its members so well acquainted with each other, must have been essentially parental, though on a joint-stock plan, and

the present State machine. But the political necessity is paramount, and as all equally share the political benefit, it is consistent, at any rate with rough justice, that all should equally pay. The political benefit, however, ought to be secured, and it can be secured only by an educational qualification for the franchise. This might be enforced either by the presentation of a certificate of attendance at an authorized school—and private schools might be authorized for this purpose—or by requiring the applicant to prove to the Register his ability to read and write. Every man has by nature a right to justice and fair treatment at the hands of the community and its government. But the notion that every man has by nature a right to political power, whether there is any chance or none of his using it for the benefit of the community and himself, whether he knows anything or knows nothing about the questions on which he is to vote, must be relegated to that limbo near the moon to which reason has now sent the Jeffersonian generalities of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. Mechanics are generally supposed to be the revolutionary class; yet we never happened to fall in with an intelligent mechanic who refused to admit that political power is a trust, and that to be allowed to exercise it a man ought to be capable at least of informing himself about the questions which are to be decided by his vote.

—Speculation as to the prospects of Canadian parties is little in THE BYSTANDER'S line. We are of the number of those who look forward to the day when the reign of party will cease, when governments instead of being partisan will be national, and when this perpetual civil war of intrigue, calumny and corruption, which some people take for an ordinance of Heaven, will acquit Heaven by coming to an end. The party system is almost everywhere in a state of pronounced disintegration; parties are almost everywhere split-

ting into sections, none of which are capable of supporting a government. In the British House of Commons there are now at least five sections, and government is carried on only by a precarious coalition of two of them. In France, amidst the chaotic strife, no administration can live, and the people in despair turned their eyes to a circus-rider who promised to redeem them from anarchy. Such at least we take to be the solution of the Boulanger enigma. If the Canadian Government seems to be an exception, and to be comparatively stable, its stability has been secured by means which have entailed, to a deplorable extent, the political corruption of a people naturally as well fitted for free institutions and as worthy of them as any people in the world. It is vain to attempt prediction till there has been time to measure the staying power of the Equal Rights movement, and to see how it will affect the party organizations. Each of the two is threatened with a revolt, the Conservatives with that of the Orangemen, the Liberal with that of Liberals who are determined to keep the Liberal faith undefiled, and not to be dragged into alliance with priestly domination and reaction. The Liberal leaders are probably by this time aware that by supporting the Jesuit Act in the manner they did, they played into the hands of their enemy. Supposing that they felt themselves bound by the extreme theory of Provincial Right, into which they had been drawn by their antagonism to the party in possession of the central power, and hampered by the fatal connection with Rielism, into which shallow intrigue had seduced them, they ought surely in giving an equivocal vote to have taken care to found it on the special reason and to keep their general principles free from stain. They ought surely to have made it clear that they had no fellowship with Jesuitism or ecclesiastical aggression, that they were true to religious equality, and that they regarded with respect and sympathy feelings and fears identical with those which had been displayed, in a more extreme form, by all the Liberal statesmen of Europe. It was their duty also, we venture to

think, even in their character of professed Home Rulers, to insist firmly on the right of the nation to have a question of constitutional law tried by its own Supreme Court. Instead of this, they flung themselves into the arms of the Government, lauded the speech of the Minister of Justice, which was nothing but a sophistical representation of the whole transaction, its history and the motives of those engaged in it; and allowed a body of their friends, considerable both in numbers and in weight of character, to feel that they were treated as fools and fanatics. One of them afterwards went further and displayed his superior philosophy in a highly offensive speech. Preternaturally shrewd as they are within a certain range, politicians often strangely fail to take the measure of public feeling. To Reciprocity, we presume, the Liberals mean to adhere. Their leader embraced it late and with apparent hesitation, but he embraced it, and has since been faithful to it. If this is not their platform they have no platform at all, and the next general election will once more see them fall before a Machine management superior to their own, and provided with a great fund of corruption to which they have no clear and popular policy to oppose. Disaster will teach them that they can have no moral or sound alliance with anything in Quebec, except the party, whether Protestant or Rouge, which aims at bringing the Church under control, repressing her political aggression, putting an end to her reactionary influence on popular education, arresting her absorption of wealth, and setting the people free from her imposts.

Any day may of course see the scene changed by the retirement of the aged leader of the Tory party, and the dissolution of a fabric built not on principle, but on a personality, which, as everybody says, must ensue. Sir Charles Tupper has judiciously retired to a distance from any cabals which may be going on about the succession. If a vacancy occurred he would be called, and there can be little doubt that he would listen to the voice of duty. He will find it difficult, however, to gather the wires into his hands. He may even

find, if these agitations go on, that the revival of public morality has seriously impaired the Machine.

—From the other side of the water the great news is that our Mother Country has apparently escaped dismemberment. Disunion is at a discount; Radicals keep it in the background at the elections; and the fountain of its money supplies is ceasing to flow. Everyone who had studied Ireland knew that the political question was little, and the agrarian question almost all, so that if the agrarian agitation could be allayed the political agitation would subside. The Irish peasant would care no more for a Parliament than for a metaphysical treatise or a theodolite if he had not been told that it would give him the land. O'Connell's Repeal movement ended in nothing but the payment of Repeal rent to O'Connell, that of Smith O'Brien ended in the cabbage garden. It will have been remarked that the political agitators while they preached agrarian plunder have been by no means anxious to promote land law reform. For the present the Union is safe, and we may rejoice, apart from any narrow or selfish pride of Empire, as Englishmen, in the preservation of the centre and the heart of our race; as men, in the preservation of what all the best minds of Europe acknowledge to be a great power of good. There is not a true Liberal in Europe who does not think that humanity would suffer by the victory of savagery and superstition over British civilization, who wishes to see Ireland made over to a Papal Parliament, or imagines that the cause of Pontifical Zouaves is the cause of freedom. The escape was narrow. Even a few days before the division on that motion of Mr. Gladstone, by which, it is idle to doubt, had it been carried, Ireland would have been severed from her sister island, the Unionist leaders expected to be beaten by sixteen. Yet Mr. Bright spoke the truth when he said that there were not more than twenty men in the House outside the Irish party who were sincerely in favour of the motion. All the

rest voted for the dismemberment of their country under the pressure of the party screw applied by Mr. Gladstone, through Mr. Schnadhorst. Such are the dangers with which, even in such a country as England, where most of the public men are too rich to care for patronage or pelf, party threatens not only the good government but the very life of the nation. For, we repeat, no man of sense can doubt that a separate Parliament given to Ireland in the present mood of the people would mean complete separation, and not only complete separation, but the conversion of Ireland into a hostile power, intriguing with all the enemies of Great Britain, and threatening her with war from Irish ports.

Mr. Gladstone has lost control over the Radicals, who have set up an organization and a whip of their own. As he recedes from the scene let it be said that the charge against him is not that of inconsistency, to which it is generally a good answer to say that a man who never changes his mind can have no mind to change. That with which he is charged and will forever stand charged in history is having turned round on a vital question, and brought his country into the extremity of peril for the sake of the Parliamentary majority which was necessary to carry him back to power. For nearly fifty years he had been in public life; during a great part of that time he had been in office; he had been constantly called upon to study, often to deal with, the Irish question. Does anybody believe that all this light about the iniquity of the Union, the infamy of the means by which it was obtained, the villany of Mr. Pitt, whom he had before lauded for that very act, the blessings to Ireland of an independence, which he had before declared would be the renewal of internecine war between religious factions, and the iniquity of coercion, which he had been carrying on in its most stringent form, dawned upon his mind at the moment when he found, after the general election, that he would not have a majority without the Parnellite vote? Does anybody believe that at that precise moment boycotting ceased in his eyes to "have murder for its sanction,"

“the steps of the League” to be “dogged by crime,” and Mr. Parnell to be “wading through rapine to dismemberment?” In his despair at the loss of power, and his rage against his country for rejecting him, he plunged into a course of what, in a man instructed as he is and trusted by the State as he has been, can only be designated as political crime. He stirred up Provincial hatred and hostility to the Union not in Ireland only but in Scotland and Wales. He laboured with malignant energy to set the masses against the classes, pointed out the learned and scientific professions to popular hatred, and put forth a false version of political history to show that intelligence had always been the enemy of justice. He has traduced the country before the whole world, exposed her to the hatred and scorn of foreign nations, and defiled with rabid calumnies the memories of her foremost statesmen. He has stimulated sedition, countenanced resistance to the law, and held the Government up to execration for repressing outrage by measures far less severe than he was himself but yesterday employing for the same purpose. All this he has done on the pretext that the Government would not pass a measure of Home Rule, while he steadfastly refused, avowedly on strategic grounds, to say what was the measure which he wanted Government to pass. Having been the devout champion of Church Establishment, not on ordinary grounds of policy, but on the high ground of divine obligation, he now holds out Disestablishment as a bribe to the dissenters for supporting his Irish Policy. What was the coarse corruption of Rigby and Sandwich to this? There is hardly such a moral fall in history. The only excuse is the blind self-worship bred by constant adulation, and that excuse Mr. Gladstone must share with characters in history to associate him with whom in his better and happier hour would have been profane.

Mr. Gladstone's last charges against Pitt, it seems, are that of provoking rebellion in Ireland to pave the way for Union, and that of holding out to the Irish Catholics Emancipation as a lure, while he well knew that George III. would refuse to

grant it. Both charges are baseless. Pitt had faults, but he was thoroughly honourable, and incapable of even contemplating for a moment the tortuous and infamous courses which seem to suggest themselves to the mind of Mr. Gladstone. He would have been mad if, in 1798, he had wilfully added to all the perils by which he was encompassed, that of an Irish rebellion, accompanied, as it was sure to be, by a French invasion. What Irish factions may have done to each other is a different question. Pitt neither belonged to nor sympathized with any Irish faction. For the second charge, there is not a particle of evidence, nor has it the shadow of probability. George III., though very narrow-minded, was not so great a bigot as is assumed. He always expressed his dislike of the uncharitable dogmatism of the Athanasian Creed by refusing to stand up when it was read; he spoke with respect and sympathy of the Methodists, and what is more, there is reason to believe that on the Catholic question he had been touched by the noble reasonings of Burke. But at the fatal moment, the Chancellor and two Archbishops crept to the King's ear and persuaded him that by consenting to Pitt's measure he would break his Coronation oath, thus forfeiting his title and that of his family to the Crown. This neither Pitt nor anyone else, except the plotters, could have foreseen. The mischief was mainly done by the Chancellor's betrayal to the King of a confidential letter written by Pitt. Perhaps Mr. Gladstone would say that Pitt wrote the letter, foreseeing that his confidence would be betrayed. Pitt gave the most decisive evidence of his good faith by laying down power at once and, as it then appeared, forever. If only that commanding figure could rise for a moment opposite to his accuser in the House of Commons, self-righteousness might stand rebuked before patriotism and honour.

—Nothing can have been more ignoble or more disheartening to the friends of popular government than the con-

duct throughout this Irish business of the public men and the Press in the United States. Their hypocrisy is manifest. If they are animated by this burning hatred of coercion, why do they not show it when Russia coerces Poland, when Germany coerces Posen and Alsace-Lorraine, when Italy coerces Sicily, when Austria proclaims a state of siege in some province which is restless under her rule? Why is their philanthropy confined to Ireland, and their righteous indignation concentrated on Great Britain? When the Irish in New York rose against the draft, which they had as good right to resist as they have to resist payment of their debts, Americans massacred them without mercy and without remorse, nor have they been sparing of the halter for Molly Maguires. Congress and the State Legislatures have committed what they must all have known to be flagrant breaches of international right and courtesy, by passing resolutions of sympathy with disaffection in another and a friendly nation; not only the Fisheries Treaty but the Extradition Treaty has been rejected without a pretence of honourable reason; the laws of diplomatic courtesy have been broken by the rude and abrupt dismissal of a British Ambassador; an acting President of the United States has accepted a nomination in terms pledging him to impertinent interference in the affairs of a foreign country; a President elect has signed an address justifying outrage in Ireland; a Senator, and one of the highest moral pretensions, has palliated the Phoenix Park murders; honour has been refused to the memory of John Bright, the foremost champion of the Republic in its darkest hour; even the laws of good manners have been violated by those to whom they were not unknown, while day by day the Press has fed the maw of malignity with envenomed falsehood. All this under the tyrannic lash of the Irish vote. Was it worth while to rebel against George III. if the end was to be such a bondage of the national soul as this? An Eastern slave bows his head, not his conscience, and he is at least sincere in reverence of his Sultan. Mr. Gladstone is always appealing to what he

calls tributes of American sympathy. The tributes extorted by the Irish vote are as Irish as if they were penned at Cork. However, the revolt has begun. The murder of Cronin has lifted the veil which hid the features of the Clan-na-Gael. American citizens moreover of British or Canadian origin have at last seen the duty and the wisdom of being naturalized, and are being naturalized in numbers which will soon begin to counterbalance the Irish. They are not going to form another anti-national, unpatriotic, plotting and plundering clan in American politics; but they will make it an unsafe trade for the political sycophant to trample on the feelings of his British or Canadian fellow-citizens.

But can Canada cast the first stone at American politicians? Did not Canadian Legislatures, Federal and Provincial, pass resolutions of sympathy with the cause of disunion in Great Britain just as unwarrantable as the American resolutions, and under precisely the same influence? Did not the Tory leader begin the game? What was the form of the resolutions signifies little; they were moral aid lent to the deadly enemies of the Mother Country in the attempt to dismember her, and tributes to the Irish vote. They went into the fund of rebellion with the manifestoes and the money of the Clan-na-Gael. A stand was made at last, but it was not made by the holders of titles, or by people who had been at Court, and scanty was the aid or encouragement that it received in high social quarters. Those who, from hope of gaining or fear of losing a vote, helped to strike or refused to aid the Mother Country in her peril, may talk as superciliously as they please of the loyalty of those who did their best for her in that hour of peril. Their censures will be lightly borne.

In one way Canada has aided the Unionists. She has furnished them with a warning example. The Jesuits' Estates Act and the fiscal legislation of Quebec teach England what the uncontrolled rule of a Roman Catholic majority would be in Ireland; the total collapse of the political veto shows what will be the value of a similar veto as a restraint on the Sep-

aratist action of an Irish Parliament ; while our whole position is a lesson on the difficulties of that Federal system which Home Rulers so lightly propose as the simplest of all possible solutions. Quebec, though alien, was not so hostile to her British partners in Confederation as Ireland would be ; yet to keep her in harmony with the rest of the Dominion and stave off disruption is at least no easy task.

From peril of dismemberment the Mother Country has, for the present at least, escaped. Not only is Home Rule virtually withdrawn, but the Radical party is in disarray and is looking about in vain for a leader, Mr. Bradlaugh, its strongest man, being socially disqualified, and the choice, apart from him, lying between an opportunist who smiles at principle, a literary Jacobin, and a jester. The Government is still strong, notwithstanding some of the losses which are the usual fate of governments at bye-elections. Yet clouds rest upon the future. At the last general election the country was saved by a combined and desperate effort of all who did not wish to see her dismembered, the energy of men and classes usually timid or apathetic being evoked by a great and definite peril. But the next general election will be a time of trial. The fate of the country will be largely in the hands of three masses of voters to whose action no one can look forward without the greatest misgiving—farm labourers, excellent in their calling, but as ignorant as children of all public questions, who vote simply for their bread and cheese, and are open to the wildest illusions as to the direction in which their bread and cheese are to be found ; factory hands, many of whom are denationalized, and think much less of the country than of the labour market, while not a few of them are the prey of socialistic chimeras ; and Irish peasants who, though little interested in political questions themselves, will probably continue blindly to vote for political leaders hostile to Great Britain. By that time, too, the professional politician, whom the advent of democracy has brought with it, will have had time to work, and the professional always gets the better of the amateur. It

would not be surprising if the Local Government Act, by warming local demagogism and wirepulling into life, should shake the ascendancy of the Conservatives in the metropolis which has hitherto been their stronghold.

—On the cause of Commercial Union, or of freedom of trade with our own continent, whatever people may choose to call it, a shadow has been cast by a notable defection. The reason tendered is the rejection of the scheme by the Americans which is supposed to have been signified at a fish dinner by the mouth of Senator Hoar. Senator Hoar's utterance has since been drowned by the evidence taken before his own Committee at Boston which, in unison with the deliverances of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, and all other commercial bodies which have been approached, shows that commerce in the United States is desirous of the extension of trade relations with this country. The last formal expression of American opinion on the question was a resolution which passed both Houses of Congress, with only one dissentient voice in the Senate, in favour of Commercial Union. What the policy of the new Administration upon the question will be we cannot yet tell: very likely the new Administration itself does not yet know. We can only say that there seems to be nothing in Commercial Union which disagrees, but on the contrary everything which accords, with the interest of the Republican party in its present situation. The Protectionists, who are in the ascendant in that party, must see that in spite of the victory which they so narrowly gained, and gained by such desperate expedients, at the last election, their position is anything but secure; they must understand that the increase of the mechanics' vote in favour of Free Trade shows that the mechanics are beginning to doubt whether Protection means high wages; and they must know that unless the nation has fallen into its dotage they will not be allowed to go on baling out surplus revenue in army pensions at a rate exceeding the cost of the great

standing armies of Europe. Had Mr. Cleveland gone to the country on the general principle which he at first propounded that no government has a right to take from the people more than the public service demands, instead of challenging, as he did by the Mills Bill, the hostility of a number of special interests which were sure to fight him with the fury and the unscrupulousness of despair, it is not unlikely that he might have won. In these circumstances a policy which would at once reduce surplus revenue and extend American trade ought to be welcomed by the Republicans as a signal gift of fortune to their party. But we must wait patiently till Congress meets. The Americans, whom our alarmists suppose to be always coveting our territory and forming sinister designs against us, have in fact slept on the Canadian question for many years. Since the fall of Slavery and the termination of the slaveholder's effort to increase his political power by extension at the South, the Free States have had no motive for seeking a counter-extension at the North; and that the Americans do not desire extension of territory for its own sake, their rejection of St. Domingo, which laid itself at their feet, and their refusal to avail themselves of the opportunities which they have had of annexing Mexico, are sufficient proof. Fully to awaken them takes some time, and is a slower process in the case of the Middle and Southern States than in the case of those on the Northern border. Nor would anybody deny that there are on the side of the Americans, as well as on our side, narrow and selfish interests opposed to the general good, and evil spirits who, either in the interest of monopoly or for the gratification of their personal propensities, are always trying to sow hatred between two sections of the English-speaking race, which, whatever destiny may have in store as to their political relations, must have the closest relations of all other kinds with each other, and depend largely for their common wellbeing on their mutual good-will. It is not the least unhappy part of Protectionism that the monopolist is tempted to cultivate hatred of the nations whose goods he desires to ex-

clude. Political ambition, also, and diplomatic broils may thwart, as they often have thwarted, measures essential to the material welfare of the people. All this, and any other untoward accidents that may occur, must be borne and will be borne patiently and hopefully by those who have no pressing necessity for votes, if they are convinced that admission to our natural market by the removal of the tariff wall would enable us to enjoy the measure of prosperity which nature has intended for us, secure to our industry its just earnings, and bring increase of wealth, comfort and the domestic happiness which attends them into Canadian homes.

As to the state of opinion on this side of the Line it is idle to throw out assertions which cannot at present be brought to a decisive test. All that we can say is that Commercial Unionists believe that in spite of political impediments and false appeals to sentiment, the desire for free admission to the markets of our own Continent is steadily making way among all who are interested in the great natural industries of the country. Those who go among the farmers of Ontario report that the literature which, since politics have unhappily become mixed with the commercial question, has been preferred as a missionary agency to public meetings, is largely read and is doing its work. The North-West, saving Government officials, is a unit upon this question and would be blind indeed if it were not; for the folly of the struggle against Nature is most glaring where nothing but an artificial line separates those whom she has bidden and whom Government forbids to trade. Nothing has prevented the people of Manitoba from moving, but the necessity of giving their undivided attention to the removal of Railway monopoly, from which they are now happily set free. The commercial opposition is almost entirely confined to those manufacturing firms, which believing, rightly or wrongly, that they cannot manufacture as well and as cheaply as the Americans, deem Protection necessary to their existence. The Red Parlour, in short, is the Opposition; and though the Red Parlour is strong in union, in the sinews

of political war, in its control over the Government, to whose election fund it contributes, and in its control over the organs of public opinion which look to it for advertisements, it is not the country, nor can it forever prevent the real interest of the country from being understood. In the Dominion Parliament Reciprocity has been adopted as the platform, and indeed is the sole platform, of a party which, though it represents much less than a moiety of the seats, represents nearly a moiety of the population. Even the Government, bound up as it is with the interest of the Red Parlour, shows signs of misgiving with regard to a commercial policy, which its chiefs manifestly embraced not from economical conviction, but as an expedient of party tactics. The utterances of Sir Charles Tupper at all events must have been somewhat disquieting to Separatists. Apparently the Government feels the pressure of the lumbermen who, unlike the farmers, those patient sheep of all shearers, are an organized interest and able to bring their weight to bear. Regardless of the ignominy of becoming "hewers of wood for the Yankees," it seems anxious to get lumber on the free list, which, however, it will hardly do without some reciprocal concession, such as the free admission of American articles made wholly or principally of wood. Protectionists therefore, who cry that "the fad is dead," need all the comfort which the daily repetition of that cry can give. If personal vituperation and slander of Mr. Erastus Wiman and his associates in the movement, through Protectionist organs, affords any further relief, that satisfaction will not be grudged. The protected manufacturers have reason enough for being angry, though, if they could see things aright, their anger would be turned not against the advocates of a sounder system, but against the political leader who, for purposes of his own, has led them to invest their capital on a basis which is not sound.

It is needless to renew the discussion when there are no fresh arguments. A comparison between the English and the American market can be made, and the allegation on which Separatists constantly take their stand of the superior-

ity in value of the English market can be brought to the test only when the American market is made like the English, free. What at present appears is, that notwithstanding the tariff, our trade with the Americans does not fall in amount far below our trade with the British, while it must be more profitable, as the freights are less; that whenever an opening has been made in the tariff wall by the reduction of duties, trade has rushed through; and that the American market increases in extent much more rapidly than the English. But whatever the advantages of the English market would be, they would not be lost when those of the American were gained. We should have two markets instead of one; in case of war between England and other maritime powers, which may any day break out, we should still have a market instead of having none.

That two neighbouring nations cannot enter into an agreement to trade with each other without detriment to the political independence or the honour of either of them, is an absurdity too preposterous to be nakedly put forward, though it is constantly insinuated under cover of patriotic declamation. It seems to be imagined that Canada is counselled to some act of submission, whereas she is counselled to nothing but the fair consideration of proposals, which, if she finds them inconsistent either with her interest or with her honour, she can at once reject; while if she accepts them, she may reserve to herself, as she did in the case of the old Reciprocity Treaty, full liberty of future withdrawal. After the conclusion of the commercial agreement, as well as before it, the political destinies of Canada would be absolutely in her own hands, and what can any nation which feels its foundations firm and is true to itself desire more? If there is any tendency to political union among us, which the adversaries of Commercial Union strenuously deny, it arises from that action of unifying forces upon two sections of an identical population, geographically interlaced and rapidly fusing, which neither tariff nor vituperation can any more arrest than they can

arrest the course of the sun. Trade does not tend to annexation more than railways, the international extension of which is being actively promoted by men who rave against Commercial Union. The C. P. R. was to be a grand instrument of separation from the United States as well as of union among the Provinces of Canada; it was to be a purely national enterprise, no American was to have any part in it, and its complete severance from the American system was to be secured by monopoly clauses, no matter at what sacrifice of the prosperity of our own North-West. Yet there was an American firm in the Syndicate, capital was sought in New York, an American was the Vice-President, a typical American is now President and Manager. The line is carried through the State of Maine, and is connecting us with the American system at the Sault. Here surely is annexationist conspiracy of the most dangerous kind. Separatism itself, by producing commercial atrophy, has helped to annex to the United States a number of Canadians, equalling the aggregate population of all our Provinces except Ontario and Quebec; and are the men so much less precious than the land? If the removal of obstacles to commerce is good in itself, its results will be good; and among good results all but extravagant jingoes will reckon an increase of friendship between the nations. Easier relations, with regard to the fisheries and other angry questions, could not fail to be produced. It is the policy of Separatism to confuse the commercial discussion by dragging in the political question; the friends of Commercial Union, if they are wise, will decline the lure and leave the future to take care of itself.

Of the interest and honour of England in this matter, England is herself the guardian, since no commercial treaty between us and the United States could be made without her consent. She needs not the officious tutelage of men who, after piling protective duties on her goods, are thrown into paroxysms of outraged loyalty at the thought of discriminating against her when they think that their own interests are

threatened. Even on this side of the water care will be shown for her, should negotiations commence, by people whose loyalty is not less sincere and warm though it may be less vociferous than that of the Protectionists. We cannot act upon two opposite principles at once. If the fiscal unity of the Empire exists, let it be respected; if it has ceased to exist, each member must do the best it can for itself in its own circumstances, which in our case are those of a community forming part of a continent under a protective system. England is already treated by us commercially as a foreign nation, since we lay protective duties on her goods, while she on her part refuses, and will always refuse, to give the colonies any fiscal preference. Nobody proposes to discriminate against her in the invidious sense suggested; all that is proposed is such a tariff arrangement with the United States as will prevent mutual smuggling; so that those who have pointed the iron duty directly against Great Britain have little ground for a display of filial indignation. It has been shown that we already discriminate, though not against particular British articles, against the aggregate of British trade. It has also been shown that in her general interests, which are those of an investor as well as an importer, England would not be a loser but a gainer by the change. Not a cent of revenue would be taken from the British Crown, nor can the interests of a few exporting houses be allowed to outweigh those of the great body of the British and Canadian people.

—A harvest better than was at one time expected in quantity, and first-rate in quality, has revived the confidence of Manitoba and the North-West. The dark hour of despondency which preceded the abolition of railway monopoly, and during which even ex-members of a Conservative Government were departing for the States, while the Province was on the brink of secession, is past, and has been succeeded by a general feeling of hope for the future. Hope there must be, and

almost boundless hope, for the future of such a tract of land so fruitful. Yet, no Manitoban professes to believe that the rate of progress has come up to reasonable expectation. There is the land, but where are the people? There are probably not yet nearly two hundred thousand whites in the whole of that vast region. Dakota and Minnesota, particularly Dakota, with a soil no better and a climate not so good, fill up much more rapidly, and what is still more significant, they fill, Dakota especially, with Canadians. Of this there are probably several causes, apart from the accidents of weather and inexperience of prairie farming. The railway policy of the Government was unpropitious to settlement; whatever may be the value of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a political and military road, its effect on colonization has been bad. It has sent the settlers down a line of a thousand miles, increasing their freights, carrying them away from their centres of distribution, and depriving them of the advantages, social as well as economical, of close settlement, which are particularly needed in such a climate; it is even now carrying settlers on to British Columbia, whence, there being no farm land for them, they pass into Washington Territory or Montana, and are helping rapidly to people Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane Falls. Then there was railway monopoly, which rode Manitoba like a nightmare, being prolonged by chicane when the Dominion had given a guarantee for thirteen millions as the price of its surrender. Madder freak surely despot never played in the drunkenness of power than the attempt to compel the whole of that region to confine itself to one commercial outlet, and, this fourteen hundred miles away at Montreal. Injudicious and vexatious arrangements with regard to the laying out and allotment of lands, especially the one mile limit, are held to have done no small mischief. The rebellion caused by the neglect of the Ottawa Government to pay timely attention to the claims of the half-breeds and to soothe their simple and not unnatural fears, had also the effect for a time of repelling immigration. But the North-West still groans under a tariff

imposed for the benefit of the Eastern supporters of the Ottawa Government, and to her an unmitigated and undisguised' curse. A duty of twenty-five per cent. on farm implements not having proved sufficient to prevent the settler from buying them where they were best and cheapest, another ten per cent. was imposed. This is borne, though people rise in arms and rend an Empire in their indignation at a trifling duty on tea imposed, not in the interest of private gain or political party, but in that of public defence. The tariff and the rebellion, however, are only the two gravest and most conspicuous among the evil consequences of subjection to a distant and party government. Subjection it may be truly called, for the representation of Manitoba and the North-West at Ottawa, owing to the difficulty in a new settlement of finding proper men to send to Parliament, and the malign influences of the Capital, has failed to give her any real voice in the national councils, and on the most important occasions has proved true to the interests of the Ottawa Government, and false to those of its constituents. But above all, the region suffers by exclusion from the commercial pale of its continent, and from the general flow, not only of trade but of capital, of commercial enterprise, and of population which those within the pale enjoy. With the exception of a little flour sent to British Columbia, it sells nothing to any Canadian Province, and it is shut out of its natural market; nor is it much consoled by hearing that the Ottawa Government is endeavouring to open markets for it in Australia and Brazil. The artificial immigration of Skye Crofters, Icelanders, and others which it receives from Europe, though not to be despised, is of far less value than the natural immigration of Canadians and Americans who are born to the manner of its farming; and this it will not get in sufficient measure till the fatal barrier is removed. To the piling up of a vast debt, in spite of our immunity from military and diplomatic expenditure, the exodus of not a little of the very flower of our population, and the complete establishment

in the midst of us of a French and Papal nation, may be added, as a fruit of our policy during the last twenty years, the retarded prosperity of the North-West.

Winnipeg still feels one at least of the consequences of the Boom, inasmuch as she stands almost in a wilderness, the effect largely of the inordinate prices at which land was held in her early days and which drove settlement further West. But a reasonable measure of prosperity is assured to her in the end. She is the centre of the railway system ; she is the centre of distribution ; she is the centre of government, law, education and pleasure. She will grow, in time, as Toronto has grown. The universal passion for city life will tell in her favour. People who have made any money will come to her to spend it, and then they will come to live. Farming, which flourishes round Portage La Prairie, only fifty miles off, will presently extend to her fields. She has not yet gained much in extent, but she has gained in solidity, and the better buildings are an earnest of permanence and a sign of hope.

—By the proposal to introduce Sunday street cars in Toronto a question has been raised, which, though limited in its immediate scope, touches a vital interest of humanity. Few or none now cleave to the observance of the Jewish Sabbath. It not only belongs to the Jewish Dispensation, but was based on a literal acceptance of the Mosaic Cosmogony, which, unless religion is to be brought into direct collision with science must now be laid aside. Nor did it originally form any part of Christianity. Dr. Hesse, whose Bampton Lectures are the most complete treatise on the subject, after quoting the passage of St. Paul in which Sabbath days are coupled with new moons and other times and things, the observance of which, as obligatory, is condemned by the Apostle, pronounces that no testimony can be more decisive than this to the fact that the Sabbath was of obligation no longer. The observance of the

first day of the week as the Lord's Day was evidently a perfectly free Christian ordinance, though of the Jewish Christians some might cling to the Jewish practice, and be tolerated by their fellow-christians in so doing. Christianity seems to have undergone two or three successive superfetations. The first was that of Alexandrine and Byzantine theosophy, which loaded it with a great body of metaphysical dogma. The second was that of medieval priestcraft, which loaded it not only with a multitude of superstitious beliefs and practices, but with the usurped despotism of the Pope. The third and fourth were those of Reformation dogmatism on the one hand, and of the Tridentine reaction against the Reformation on the other. Justification by Faith as a dogma was evidently produced by antagonism to Indulgences, and to the whole medieval system of salvation by ecclesiastical observances, sacraments, penances and payments, of which Tetzels money-chest was the extreme and most offensive manifestation, while Predestination almost necessarily flowed as a logical deduction from Justification by Grace. Antagonism was crystallized in dogma which was stereotyped in Protestant creeds. In the same way the Protestant revival of the Sabbath seems to have had its source in an extreme Biblicism, bred of the struggle against ecclesiastical authority, and the Roman Calendar as the work of that authority and an embodiment of saint-worship at the same time. But apart from all theological dogma, Jewish, Roman or Protestant, stands the great human necessity of the day of rest; of spiritual rest for those who are religious, of physical and mental rest even for those who are not. This necessity grows stronger as the stress and strain of life increase, while the tendency to encroach upon the day for the purposes, both of business and pleasure, grows stronger at the same time. Experience has proved that less than one day's rest in seven does not suffice; and without a stated interval of repose and calm, modern society, amidst the whirl of competition, speculation and excitement, would be almost in danger of going mad.

Nor can there be any doubt that the religious feeling about the day has hitherto been its strong safeguard, and kept at bay the aggression both of covetousness and dissipation. Denunciation of those who defend the observance of Sunday on religious grounds as fanatics or hypocrites is therefore out of place. Some arguments, which to say the least are hollow, have been used on the Liberal side. It is not for the purpose of attending distant places of worship that Sunday street cars are desired. Nor is there much force in the invidious remark that as the rich use their carriages the poor man ought to be allowed his street car. There are many rich who strictly abstain from using their carriages and make a point of giving all about them, as far as possible, the benefit of the day of rest. The really valid argument is, that without street cars the people who live in the middle of the city will be denied access to fresh air and healthy pleasure, and being mewed up in the streets will be consigned either to torpid dulness or to pleasures which are not so healthy. The change is evidently coming, and we can only hope that the Car Company will so arrange that none of those in their employment shall go without his day of rest. The case in favour of the change is strengthened by the encroachment which, in the sequel, will too probably be carried much further, on the Queen's Park; a cruel sacrifice of the health, not only physical but moral, of a great city, whose boys have no other playground, to a cheese-paring finance, which ought to have met with a strenuous resistance. But democracy does not seem to breed Hampdens, or if it does they are too much occupied by their commercial business, alike in New York and Toronto, to attend to a public wrong.

—Mr. Gooderham's bequest has probably settled the question as to the removal of Victoria College: at all events a Methodist College will be founded in the University of To-

ronto. Long ago THE BYSTANDER advocated Confederation on the grounds which he has never seen assailed, that the resources of this Province are not more than enough to maintain one university on a proper scale, and that starveling universities must lower the standard and may do social mischief by luring into intellectual callings a number of youths largely in excess of the demand. We therefore rejoice in a partial success, while we are sorry that it is only partial, and see that some difficulties may arise from the federation of a single college and one which is likely to be highly denominational in its character. Local interest and denominational feeling have, like the sons of Zeruiah, proved too strong. There has also been at work a dislike, which is more rational, of political control, and in this respect it was perhaps unlucky that the Government was not represented on this occasion by a university man. It is easy to enter into the feelings of those Methodists who on religious grounds cling to the seclusion of Cobourg. Wesley, very likely, and Whitfield, almost certainly, would have done the same. But no seclusion short of that which is maintained in a Roman Catholic seminary will suffice. Impose what tests you will, and let your teaching be as rigidly orthodox as it may, with free access to bookstores and unrestricted intercourse, you will find that your separate University is a fortress with gates well guarded but without walls.

--In questions respecting appointments to Professorships, there should, we venture to think, be as little as possible of outside interference. It is wise on the most public grounds, as well as natural, to look first to your own *alumni*, because the appointments then act as prizes for home industry and effort. But the paramount consideration plainly is the interest of the student, which calls for the selection of the best teacher wherever he can be found. Patriotic preference of an inferior man will be punished by the intellectual leanness of the next academical generation.

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