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A QUARTERLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF

CURRENT EVENTS,

CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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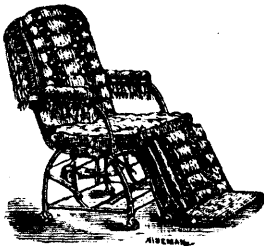
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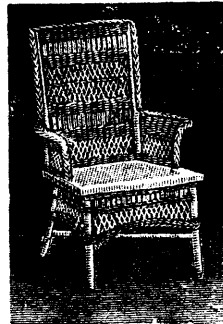
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THE BYSTANDER.

OCTOBER, 1883.

THOUGH the Legislature has not been in session, the struggle of parties has continued, and on the classic field of Rat Portage the Boundary dispute has assumed the aspect of a petty civil war. The fear of bloodshed, which thrilling telegrams had created, was somewhat allayed by the intelligence that the chief of one of the belligerent hosts, Mr. Norquay, in an interval of the fray, had gone out fishing. Only the author of *Hudibras* could have done justice to the heroic struggle. The Government of Ontario, however, has acted rightly in bringing the question to a practical issue, and it might have taken the step before without incurring the charge of precipitation. Whether the Award is open to legal objection, on the ground of deviation from the instructions given to the Arbitrators, legal minds must decide. To us the wording of the instructions appears broad enough. There can be no doubt that, when negotiators have exceeded their powers, ratification may be refused. But Governments are bound by the acts of their predecessors, even though their predecessors may have been of the opposite party. So careful a lawyer as the late Chief Justice Harrison ought to have been able to construe the language of the instrument under which he was appointed. To his fitness and competency, or to those of the other arbitrators, Sir Francis Hincks and Sir Edward Thornton, no reasonable objection can be taken. Sir Francis and Sir Edward are not lawyers; but if none but lawyers could form a judgment on geographical and historical.

evidence, our geographies and histories would be in a bad way. Practically, we feel sure that the Award would have been accepted and that the necessary measures, whatever they might be, would have been readily taken to cure any technical flaw in it and to give it effect, if Party had not intervened. Quebec rules at Ottawa, and Quebec regards with jealousy any extension of Ontario. One at least of the Quebec leaders has allowed this feeling clearly to appear, and at the same time shown that he considers it necessary still to keep up a balance of power between the two Provinces, as though the old antagonism had not been merged in Confederation. Sir John Macdonald bows to political necessity in this case, as he manifestly did in the Letellier case and in the case of Orange Incorporation. Nor can he be much blamed. Party governments must live and they can live only by conciliating the masters of the votes. Mr. Blake courts the Home Rulers, while Sir John Macdonald courts the Bleus; and there is probably not more insincerity in one courtship than in the other. How any legal tribunal, whether it be the Supreme Court or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, can settle the main question, if there is a real defect of evidence, we must repeat, it is difficult to see. As nobody here is trusted, the only practicable solution seems to be that which was suggested before, the appointment of a Royal Commission and the embodiment of its report in an act of the Imperial Parliament. Justice Ontario must have, and she must support her Government in their legal proceedings till she obtains it. If the disputed territory was an acre of bare rock, it would be treason to the Confederation to let the question be settled against the Province by the domineering jealousy of the Bleus. That no member of the Confederacy shall be allowed to outstrip the growth, or rise above the political control of Quebec, is a pretension which if put forward cannot be too soon submitted to a decisive test. Under the equivocal compact of Confederation, Ontario pays for the industrial stagnation and for the political corruption of her partner, and it would be hard if she were to be dwarfed by her partner's jealousy besides.

This dispute, by betraying the absence of any satisfactory authority for the decision of questions between Provinces, has helped to ripen opinion in favour of a revision of the Constitution. The proposal of a Conference on the relations between Federal and Provincial jurisdiction comes from a Conservative quarter. We have at the same time the disputes about the two Licensing Bills and about the disallowance of the Streams Bill; while the dispute about the right to Escheats in connection with the Mercer Case has been settled only by the troublesome and expensive process of an appeal to the Privy Council. Never, we repeat, was there a political arrangement which, whether we look to the circumstances under which it was framed or to the men who framed it, could more justly be regarded as an experiment, open to reconsideration after reasonable trial, than the Constitution of the Canadian Confederation. It never received, what every constitution under the elective system of government ought to receive, the direct and explicit sanction of the people. It has absolutely nothing to hallow it; nor is there the least ground for apprehending that a correction of its proved defects would shake that popular sentiment of allegiance to established institutions, the value of which is acknowledged by every statesman. It ought to be revised, however, if possible, as a whole, and with reference not only to the working of any particular part, but to the bearing of the different parts upon each other and the maintenance of the balance between the popular and the Conservative elements. But how, amidst a raging faction fight, is a calm and competent tribunal of revision to be found? Our own Parliament could hardly supply one, and the British Parliament, from which the Constitution ostensibly emanates, never really gave it a serious thought, and is so far from being able to pay sufficient attention to our business that it is unable to get through its own. Colonial questions are left to the Colonial office: the Bill for South African Confederation was passed by a sleepy quorum in a night-long sitting held to weary out the Irish Obstructives. Still, the subject now presents itself in as practical a form as it is ever likely to assume, and broad questions are a relief from scandals.

It is generally admitted, even by Conservatives, that the limits between Federal and Provincial jurisdiction require to be better defined. Lawyers on each side may say that the case is clear; but what lawyer ever failed to say that the case was clear in favour of his own client? Practically, confusion reigns, and it is likely to be every day worse confounded by the conflict of the parties which have possessed themselves, one of Central the other of Provincial government, as in the neighbouring Republic centralization is always the game of the faction in power, while decentralization is the cry of its opponents. It has been asserted, and is not incredible, that those among the framers of our Constitution who would have preferred a Legislative Union, finding themselves debarred from the direct attainment of that object by the recalcitrancy of Quebec, laid the train for its indirect attainment in articles so worded that the range of the Central power might be gradually extended by interpretation. But such statecraft as this gains its end at the expense alike of peace and of respect for the Constitution. A document which is to be the political Bible of the nation ought to bear upon its sacred page not the slightest trace of anything but impartiality and uprightness. Let it be believed that Provincial liberties are destined to be devoured piecemeal under cover of ambiguous phrases, and the attitude of every Province will at once become that of jealous hostility to the Constitution. There is need not only of a clearer definition of relative powers, but of a recognised tribunal like the Supreme Court of the United States. Our own Supreme Court, on its present footing, wears the aspect of a half-abortive attempt to oust the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and to its equivocal position, perhaps, is due its failure to command a full measure of respect. The Privy Council, to mention no other drawback, is on the other side of the Atlantic; while the Irish consider themselves injured and insulted because they have to carry their appeals across St. George's Channel. The power of disallowance, as at present exercised, is open to a twofold objection: the grounds for its exercise are undefined, and the hands in which it is vested are not impartial. It has been completely swept into the vortex of faction, and its application, instead of closing the question, has

become the signal for a fight. Legislation which breaks contracts, confiscates vested rights, or otherwise violates the great principles of jurisprudence, ought to be distinctly prohibited by the Constitution, and the decision of disputed cases, instead of being left to politicians acting under party influences, ought to be consigned to a Supreme Court.

There is also, we think it may be said, a strong body of opinion in favour of fixing the duration of Parliaments by law, and abolishing the power of dissolving them before the expiration of the term. That power is a survival from the state of things which existed before Party, and in which the real government was the Crown, while Parliaments were summoned merely to grant supplies and give advice. Under the party system it is giving rise to grave and dangerous abuse. We are rapidly coming to this, that whenever the head of a party in power, scanning the weathercock, thinks the wind favourable, he shall be at liberty to dissolve the legislature, throw the country into the turmoil of a general election, and snatch a fresh lease of power. There is no saying how far an unscrupulous man might prolong his ascendancy by this device, if he could manage from time to time to hold out some bait to the constituencies, or to catch his opponents at a disadvantage. In the Old Country the exercise of the Prerogative is restrained by settled custom, and by the comparative moderation of British statesmen; yet even in the Old Country there is danger of misuse. Mr. Gladstone's dissolution in 1874 was scarcely more justified by constitutional principle than it was dictated by good tactics; he appealed from Parliament to the country on no great question, and the bait, held out in his address, of a reduction of the income tax, betrayed the real nature of the step. That his government had lost strength was not a sufficient ground for cutting short the life of a Parliament. Sir John Macdonald's dissolution on the last occasion, was equally unwarranted by principle, though far better as a stroke of tactics. A Parliament does not cease to be representative by reason of a mere change in the census, arising from the natural growth of the population, as it does after a great extension of the suffrage. That it was necessary to take the opinion of the country on the results of the new

fiscal policy was plainly a mere pretext; at that rate, no important measure could be passed without entailing an appeal to constituencies. A good harvest, a surplus revenue, and the sinister advantage possessed by the Government in holding the cornucopia of the North-West, made victory at the moment pretty sure, and the opportunity was seized. Members of a legislature over whose heads a threat of dissolution can be always held, are subject to an influence at least as baneful as any of those against which the Independence of Parliament Act is intended to guard; and the wider the prevalence of corruption, which increases the expense of re-election, the more formidable this engine of coercion will become. The day of meeting should also be fixed, that there may be no more manœuvring with the date, or misuse of the power of prorogation such as took place in 1873. Few people, if they think the change right in itself, will feel any squeamishness about taking away an ostensible prerogative from the Crown. The learned author of *Parliamentary Government in the Colonies* may continue to feed his loyal imagination with the belief that Parliaments still answer to their etymology, and are summoned to "hold high converse" with Governors-General or Lieutenant-Governors respecting affairs of State. But most of us are conscious by this time that in England the Sovereign's name is William Ewart, and that in Canada it is John.

A regular mode of trial for political corruption and other political offences is not provided in the Constitution, and the blank, as Mr. Shields is showing us, requires to be filled. Political offences are as capable of legal definition and of judicial investigation as others, while they are not less dangerous to the state. There is nothing, we presume, in a Colony analogous to the British power of impeachment before the House of Lords; and if there were, no confidence could be placed in such a tribunal as the Senate, which, besides its lack of judicial ability, might be a jury packed by the accused. Parliament, we know, is entitled the Grand Inquest of the Nation. But how does the Grand Inquest of the Nation act? How did it act in the case of the Pacific Scandal? Party framed the indictment; the trial was a faction fight. In the Chair of the Committee of Inquiry sat a partisan who was himself a partici-

pant in the offence, and who did his utmost to baffle justice. The prerogatives of the Governor-General were used in the interest of the incriminated Ministers to prorogue Parliament and hand over the inquiry to a Commission appointed by the Ministers themselves. At last the country being roused, the Ministry fell. The Opposition took their places and at once dropped the inquiry, so that no verdict was ever pronounced, and the net result was the transfer of office from one set of competitors to another. In ordinary trials it would be deemed a snare to the feet of justice if jurymen had a strong personal interest in the result. Everybody knows that a party majority would find Abel guilty and acquit Cain. Either by delegation to the judges, as in the case of contested elections, or in some other way an impartial tribunal must be provided, if the nation desires to overawe guilt, and at the same time to protect honour; for the looseness of the present system exposes honour to reckless imputation almost as much as it shields guilt. A single trial conducted with dignity by an upright and inflexible tribunal would at once impress upon the minds of public men, as nothing else can, that corruption is not a peccadillo but a crime.

Another serious defect in the Constitution is the want of a power of amendment. The Imperial Parliament, of course, can amend the British North America Act; but, we repeat, the Imperial Parliament, with business of its own which trenches deeply on the grouse season, has no time or thought to spare for the politics of Canada. It might delegate its powers for the purpose, reserving to itself a veto to be exercised within a given time, as when Executive Commissions are empowered to frame ordinances which are afterwards laid on the tables of the two Houses, and, unless a motion for disapproval is carried, become law. The power of amendment, however, ought to be vested, not in Parliament, but in the sovereign people from whom the Constitution emanates; and the sovereign people ought in the last resort to possess the right not only of approval or disapproval, but of initiation. It is one of the lessons of modern experience that an organized body of politicians, entrenched in an immutable constitution, or a constitution that cannot be changed without their previous assent as holders

of the initiative, may become nearly as independent of popular will, and indulge themselves in almost as great abuses, as a dynasty. It is true, the suffrage belongs to the people; but the suffrage practically reduces itself, as we all know, to the privilege of choosing between two candidates named by the politicians. That change of the Constitution should be easy is not to be desired; but the legal power is indispensable. At present, supposing the Senate to resist reform, there is no legal mode of overcoming its resistance; the only remedy would be revolution.

The choice of Ottawa as the capital, embodied in the Constitution, is now by almost every one, except the Ottawa hotel-keepers, admitted to have been a blunder. All the three reasons for it, military security, fear of jealousies between the great cities, and dread of mob ascendancy, were alike futile. Every political assembly requires, to keep it in tone, the tempering influences of general society, a critical strangers' gallery, and daily intercourse with representatives of various interests and callings. The British House of Commons would not be what it is if it sat at Inverness. Still less can our Canadian legislators afford to be shut up in a political cockpit with their fellow-combatants and the Lobby. The Supreme Court would perhaps show more life and win more homage if it were stimulated by the applause and censure of a powerful bar, with the echoes of society beyond. But this error has been embodied in stone at a cost of millions. If the centre of the Confederation should hereafter be greatly displaced, the question may become practical. But if it is to wait till British Columbia has become an integral part of Canada, it is adjourned to a distant day.

The payment of Ministers of the Crown is hardly a question to be dealt with in a revision of the Constitution; but it is an important question and one with which the country will have to deal. The salaries are now far too low, considering the position which a Minister has to maintain and the vastly increased cost of living. The Prime Minister of Canada is not better paid than a County Court Judge in England. Few of our public men have fortunes of their own, and when we think of the temptations that beset them and the atmosphere of party morality which they

breathe, we shall wonder that improbity is not more common. No country is rich enough to afford waste; but Canada is rich enough to pay the right price, and misplaced parsimony is the procreass of corruption.

On the more organic questions, such as the modes of appointing the Senate and the Executive, we have said what we had to say, and will not weary our readers by repetition. The defenders of the nominated Senate scarcely address themselves to the main issue. They challenge us to name unworthy Senators; but this is challenging us to rudeness, which turns a discussion into an affray. It is enough to say that the nominations have been made, as a rule, on the narrowest and lowest grounds of party, and that the general result is what it could not fail to be. In the course of those numerous revelations of unpleasant mysteries which attended the Pacific Railway Scandal, it appeared from direct evidence that promises of nominations were used as inducements to wealthy partisans to spend their money in elections; but direct evidence was not needed to convince us of that fact. A moderate pension-list would cost the country less and would be far safer; for it is not to be forgotten that though the Senate in ordinary times is inactive and unreported, there lurk in it possibilities of mischief. Supposing the leader of the party at present in power to lose the confidence of the country, he would still control a branch of the legislature, and be able whenever he thought fit, by his word of command, to produce a deadlock and enforce a dissolution. The strange power of creating six Senators for the nonce, if exercised, would, as the numbers now stand, be utterly ineffective. From the publication of a posthumous chapter of the Koran, we learn that the chief author of the nominative system changed his opinion before he died. That an elective Senate may be a valuable institution, we have proof at our door; for the elective Senate of the United States is the one clearly successful part of the American Constitution. It is so, notwithstanding the sinister influence of party, and were it emancipated from that influence, it would beyond question be the best legislative body in the world. The House of Representatives is the portion of the structure with which the Republic might well dispense, and which is the scene of

all that is most corrupt, indecent, violent, and vile. It is needless to say that the House of Representatives is the offspring of direct, the Senate of indirect, election.

The question respecting the appointment of the Executive is, in effect, the question of party government. Shall the offices of state be the prizes of a perpetual faction-fight, or shall the Legislature fill them by a process of regular election for such terms and with such a scheme of rotation as may secure a sufficient harmony of opinion and action between the two powers? Our own conviction on this subject has been sufficiently, and perhaps more than sufficiently, laid before our readers. But we are not, nor have we ever been, sanguine enough to hope that the system of organized faction which has become so rooted by habit that people believe it to be the only system possible, will be discarded till the cup of bitter experience has been more deeply drained. The question is not confined to Canada: it concerns all nations in which the elective system prevails; it is the great political question of our time. In the country from which our own institutions are derived a rebel faction is at this very moment preparing, and apparently with too much hope of success, to take advantage of the desperate rivalry between the two great parties for the purpose of wrecking the Legislature and breaking up the Commonwealth. In the neighbouring Republic, party brought on a tremendous civil war, and there is hardly a Government in Europe which stands secure on its foundations, because all of them are based upon a faction and not upon the nation.

Canada has obtained legislative and commercial independence: she has obtained a large measure of judicial independence, and she is aspiring to diplomatic independence. In time she will also become sensible that to make her in the full sense a nation she must have her Fountain of Honour in herself. She is at present governed largely by men whose great prize is not anything which she has to bestow, but a decoration received from a hand on the other side of the Atlantic, and awarded not for services to her but for making her serve a distant interest. Ecclesiastical statesmen in the Middle Ages were never thoroughly patriotic, because they always looked for their highest reward to Rome. Of the ambition

of every Canadian, Canadian honour ought to be the mark. If it were, and if there were no extraneous tinsel to mislead, a good deal of the money squandered on the chimeras of Imperialism would still be in the pockets of those by whose labour it was earned.

—Interest is added to these matters by the announcement that the Australian Colonies are deliberating on Federation. If they are, and if our Constitution is proposed to them as their model, they had better, instead of being satisfied with the optimist eloquence of Governors-General, send trustworthy commissioners, if possible in a cloak of darkness, to study the results of our experiment on the spot. They will have first to determine clearly what are the objects at which they aim. Internal peace, with freedom of intercourse and external security, which are the ordinary objects of Federation, they already possess as Colonial dependencies united under the supremacy, and defended by the ægis of the Mother Country. If Independence is in view, Federation must go with it; otherwise, the Colonies will become foreign nations to each other; but unless Independence is in view, there is hardly anything to be gained by Federation. Its fruits to Canada, as we have more than once had occasion to point out, have been a duplication of the machinery of Government, with an enormous increase of the expense, the growth of a large debt, and a prodigious development of demagogism and corruption. Against external attack we are not a whit more secure than we were before. Much is said about the beneficent action of the Central Government in annexing the North-West; but we have yet to be convinced that Manitoba, during her early period of colonization, would not have fared as well under an able and honourable governor appointed by the Crown, who would have had nothing to do with land-grabbing, but contented himself with maintaining order, and allowing settlement, railway extension and commerce generally to take their natural course. Not every group of communities is well adapted for the Federal Union, which requires for its happy working a number of States pretty equal among

themselves, or at least free from any such predominance as will cause standing jealousies and breed chronic cabal. It will be for the Australians to say whether their group satisfies these conditions. Furthermore, the Australians, supposing them satisfied of the advantages of federating at all, will find it necessary to form a more distinct notion of the Federal system than did our framers, who proclaim their desire to be guided by the principles of the British Constitution. The British Constitution is not Federal, and furnishes no principles by which Federal relations can be settled, or the problems of Federal Government can be resolved. There are features also in the Canadian Constitution which were not the offspring of choice but of necessity, imposed by the centrifugal tendency of Quebec. There are other topics, such as the regulation of Federal expenditure on public works, with a view to prevent the use of such undertakings as political bribes, which will engage the attention of the Australians if they take our first hint, of the usefulness of which we feel assured.

—In the coming Session of the Dominion Parliament, the Franchise Bill is to be pushed. The question which it raises is momentous. The Electorate is now the sovereign power, what is called the Government being merely its creature and its organ: a fact which ought to be ever present to our minds, though it is apt to be veiled from sight by the constitutional drapery transmitted from a previous state of things in which the sovereign power was the Crown. If in the Electorate ignorance and passion predominate, the government must be bad; there is nothing to redeem or to restrain it. Yet of all the legislation respecting the suffrage, on both sides of the Atlantic, how little can be said to have been determined by deliberate forecast of the effect which the change was likely to produce on the character of government! Demagogism, party tactics, or revolutionary sentiment have for the most part been allowed to prevail. The Reform of the British Parliament in 1832 was necessary and beneficent: it overthrew the corrupt oligarchy which had entrenched itself in the Rotten Boroughs, restored the national

character of the government, and was amply justified by its fruits, political, financial, and social. The classes then admitted to power were fully as fit for its exercise as those which had before enjoyed it. In the Reform Bill, brought forward some thirty years after by the Whigs, there was much more of the merely demagogic or party element, though ground for a wise extension of the suffrage was still presented by the existence of a numerous class of intelligent artisans whom it was most desirable to bring within the pale of the Constitution. The Tory Reform Bill of 1868, enfranchising the populace of the cities, while the agricultural labourers, a worthier class, were left unenfranchised, was an attempt of profligate strategists to ally ignorance and mob violence with aristocracy against the respectable and educated citizens of the middle class, who were the peculiar objects of its framer's insolent hatred. The manœuvre obtained a measure of transient success, but its price has still to be paid by the conspirators. The new electors of 1832, being already prepared for the exercise of political power, showed from the outset what their influence on government would be; but the masses of small householders and lodgers, to whom the Bill of 1868 gave votes, being for the most part devoid of political ideas, were at first blindly led by local clubs and by the beer-cup; they are just beginning to be conscious of the power placed in their hands, and to indicate the use which they are likely to make of it. Those who have studied the history of political progress will renounce, once for all, the hope of preserving social order for the future by means of the dead forms of the past; they will heartily embrace the elective principle as the only one on which in our day stable institutions can be built; they will see that the task before us is so to order the elective system as to give reason and public spirit the ascendancy over passion and self-interest; and they will recognise the utility as well as the justice of a broad basis, and of the participation of as many citizens as possible in the active work of political life. "That is the best form of government which doth most actuate and dispose all parts and members of a commonwealth to the common good." The new, in spite of all imperfections and perils, is the better and higher state. But wise and righteous

government is the object; it is the only rational aim of politics, and whenever an alteration of the franchise is to be made, the question ought to be, whether government is likely to be improved by the change. Unhappily, the question more often asked is, whether the new votes are likely to be cast in favour of the party in power. Even among British Statesmen, Lord Grey is perhaps the only one who has persistently advised that inquiry should precede extension. A man who is wholly unqualified to form an opinion on public questions can take part in government only to his own hurt, as well as the hurt of the commonwealth: he not only is not entitled to a vote, but he is entitled to have the vote withheld from him; for natural rights belong to the primeval woods, and social rights are defined by the interest of society, which comprises that of the man himself. Perhaps we are still a little under the influence of ideas derived, through our political literature and the Classics, from the Republics of antiquity, in which every citizen had a vote; but the citizens were an oligarchy of Slaveowners, while those whom we now call the people were slaves; so that to Solon and Pericles the problem of democracy presented itself in a comparatively simple form. At Athens and Rome, the community being still partly Tribal, and the idea of Tribal ownership not having died out, citizenship was supposed to entitle to a share of land. Feudalism reversed this principle, and made territorial proprietorship the title to political power. The property qualification which now obtains in England may be described as the feudal principle reduced to a vanishing point. It does not seem that on this, or on such a qualification as the payment of taxes, the Constitution can permanently rest; indirect taxes are paid by all, and often in undue proportion by the poorest. Personal qualifications alone seem likely to command rational respect, and to furnish a stable foundation for the commonwealth; nor have we ever seen among the intelligent artisans any unwillingness to accept the view that the suffrage was a trust requiring at least common education in the holder. A settled domicile is an obvious guarantee for responsibility. But he who seeks a share of the sovereign power might surely be called upon to apply for it, and to show, at the same time, that he can read

and write. With the exercise of power ought also to be combined the performance of all national duties, such as those of the jurymen, and liability to military service. If election, instead of being direct, were indirect; if the central legislature were elected by local legislatures, and these in turn by the people, almost unlimited breadth of basis might be combined with safety. But the reascent of Avernus, though proverbially hard, is easy compared with the reascent from an unlimited and unregulated suffrage. All democracies, however, are not yet at the bottom of the hill, and some may still be able to apply the brake. Absolute uniformity, which it is the object of this Electoral Franchise Bill to establish, may be good, if the principle adopted is sound; otherwise, it only provokes a future attack along the whole line; and Provincial variations, which may be presumed to have some local reason in their favour, are better left in existence for the present, unless they involve any very palpable injustice. The provision that all the Revising Officers of the Dominion shall be appointed for life by the head of the party at present in power, as its tendency is obvious, challenges, and can hardly fail to produce, a resolute resistance.

—The part of the Franchise Bill giving votes to women touches questions more momentous than those of politics. It touches the relations between the sexes and ultimately the integrity of the family, which has been justly described by an eminent writer on ethics as “the main organ of morality,” and “the association beyond all comparison most vitally connected with the happiness of the individual.” A social revolution proposed by Conservatives seems to call for explanation, and the explanation is found in the avowal of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, in the British House of Commons, that he supported Female Suffrage because women would vote Tory. Demagogism is just as rife among Tories as among Radicals, and there is no ark, however holy, on which it will not lay its hands. The rational object, we repeat, of every political measure is to improve the character of government, and only in so far as it conduces to that end is any extension of the franchise

to be desired. Women are not an unrepresented class; they are a sex; and their interests are identical with those of their husbands and children through all the grades of the social scale. Men have legislated as well as fought for their wives and children as much as for themselves. This is shown by the whole course of recent legislation with regard to the property of married women and everything connected with the treatment of the sex. It may be doubted whether the women would have secured as much had they been present in the legislature and contending for their interests as an adverse party. In courts of law not only do women get justice but it is notoriously difficult to get justice against them. The reason why men alone have made the law, and apparently must continue to make it, is that they alone can execute it. In matters of duty and affection, which make up by far the greater part of the code of life, women have as much influence as men; they have more, since in their hands is the training of the young. But law, to make it effective, must be supported by the force of the community, and the force of the community is male. Suppose the women by their vote passed, as they threaten to pass, extreme measures about temperance, or the rate of wages for female work, or any other subject which appeals to their feelings, would the men execute these laws against themselves? Suppose the women of France voted a crusade in favour of the Pope, would the men march at their command? The men defend the country, and military service is still a part of the duty of a citizen. Elective institutions are not yet so secure and stable that we can afford to fill in their foundations with sand. Unless some other way can be found of propagating the race, the sphere of women, as a sex, must still be home; and it is not in the home but in contact with the various interests and exigencies of life in the world without that the balance of character which constitutes political wisdom is formed. This is not a question of comparative intelligence, but of the relative functions of the sexes in the social organism; and if politics like war and hard labour belong to the men, woman is no more disparaged by exclusion from them than man is disparaged by exclusion from the duties of the nursery. A masculine woman is not more admirable than an effem-

inate man. Diversity of function is always compatible with perfect equality. If women, as is invidiously said, are classed in point of disability to vote with minors and idiots, so in this very Bill are the judges of the land. It is said that women will refine politics; but women are themselves refined because they have been kept out of the political fray. When they are thrown into it, their emotional nature makes them more violent than men; of this we have already had abundant and repulsive proof. The most scurrilous production that had appeared in the New York press for many a day was a series of papers by a woman, who, it is worth remarking, came forward as the defender of favouritism in the bestowal of patronage against civil service reform. Nor does experience teach us to believe that the female vote would be for peace; queens, as a rule, have been rather remarkably addicted to war; and the most infamous of all wars in our time, that made by France against Germany, was the avowed work of the Empress. What would be the condition of a nation in the extremity of danger, like the United States at the time of Fenianism, if it were swayed by the emotions of its women? Could female representatives and office-holders be made accountable for their conduct like men? Would they not plead their sex, and secure practical impunity? These are points to be seriously considered before society is committed to the most radical of all revolutions. To treat the subject as a joke was always unworthy; but it is not less unworthy to treat it as a matter of gallantry and to say that if the ladies have taken a fancy for playing with the government they must not be crossed in their desire. A shrewd English politician when asked whether he thought female suffrage would prevail, answered, "There are so many young fools, and so many old fools that I really think it will." Politics are a very small part of the life of any of us except the politician; exclusion from active participation in them is a trifling loss, and many men of eminence go through life almost without casting a vote; yet the State is the ship which carries us all and we cannot afford to be cajoled and wheedled into running it on the rocks.

Ultimately, we said, this question would touch the family. The Canadian Bill gives the vote to unmarried women only, though in

the States Female Suffrage is proposed without any such limitation. But we are at once frankly warned that this concession will be taken only as an instalment, and used as a lever to effect the rest. In truth, the object of some at least of the innovators is as much to break up the headship of the family, as to put political power into the hands of women. Nor is it easy to see how the privilege given to a spinster could be withdrawn from a wife and mother, who, as she is performing the highest duties, must be the best representative of her sex. But the family has hitherto been a political unit, and the introduction into it of political division and antagonism would be, to say the least, a momentous change. Pleasant stories are told about the continuance of domestic harmony between husbands and wives who encounter each other on the platform in Wyoming or some region of the West; but we should like to interrogate the children, whom the Woman's Right theorist generally overlooks. Of all the moral and social improvements introduced by Christianity into the world, the greatest was Christian marriage. At Rome, under the Empire, the women having by agencies, certainly not identical with the progress of moral civilization, cast off the restrictions of the old religious wedlock, a form of marriage prevailed which a great authority describes as "the temporary deposit of a woman by her family," and which carried with it no community of interest, nor anything worthy of the name of union, while divorces were an every day occurrence, and the profligacy of both sexes was extreme. For this, Christianity substituted a perfect union, symbolized by the holiest imagery known to the Christian mind; a union by which two lives were to be blended into one higher, happier and richer than either; a union indissoluble (since divorce would have been the suicide of the double life), except for causes which in themselves are a dissolution. Far as the actual falls short of the ideal, it cannot be doubted that this institution has been the root of Christian civilization—of the civilization, that is, of the whole of the progressive portion of mankind. It has carried Christian communities safe, as far as their vital essence was concerned, through all political misgovernment and disaster, and has itself furnished the type of government controlled by duty and directed

by affection. Eighteen centuries have given it adamant strength, but even adamant yields at last. Social reformers, with their legislation about divorces, and law reformers, with their legislation about property, are driving in their wedges on different sides. The law reformers, devotees of the Roman jurisprudence (though it seems singular that an epoch of the deepest corruption should have produced the best family law) and professionally prone to the multiplication of separate interests, have not only made man and wife adverse parties in suits, and set aside the Christian principle that the tie of kinship gives way to wedlock, but are practically impressing on the mind of the wife that the most natural object of her suspicion in all matters affecting her rights, is the man upon whose breast she lays her head. The reformers of Marriage, who are generally identical with the Female Suffragists, have, on their side, been extending the facilities of divorce. Indiana and Illinois are jests. But even in moral Maine the divorces, we are now told, are ten per cent. of the marriages. When the political reformer has also driven in his wedge, will Christian marriage survive the shock? And if Christian marriage succumbs, by what will it be followed? By Mrs. Victoria Woodhull's Free Love, or by the vision of the Nihilist, who regards the family as the cavern, and emancipates his female associate from its gloomy prison-house by a mock marriage? Women surely are not, of the two sexes, the least interested in the answer to this question? The social world, we know, is in a state of general upheaval. It is conceivable that the time may have come for a complete change in the relation of the sexes. But let us know whither we are going. Let not platform philanthropy, fatuous gallantry, or reckless demagogism be carelessly permitted to tamper with the very life of civilization.

The prime leader of sexual revolution is Mr. Mill, who in the British House of Commons first moved in favour of female suffrage and once got his Bill read a second time; though the House then saw the gulf before it, paused, and has now decisively recoiled. His book on the "Subjection of Women" is the manual of the movement, and the point of view at which the writer of that book stood was singular and, as would be generally thought, misleading.

Under the strange tuition of his ultra Radical father he had been brought up in an intellectualism so precocious, intense and arid, that it might well have killed in him the root of affection, and must certainly have rendered him an inadequate judge of the force of conjugal love. He lays it down that a person of high intellect should never go into unintellectual society unless he can enter it as an apostle; holding, apparently, that no benefit is to be obtained by intercourse with the kindly and good. He formed a connection with the wife of another man, which, though perfectly pure, somewhat contravened social ordinances, as he could not help knowing, and excited the sardonic mirth of Carlyle. With this lady, on her husband's death, he entered into what was rather a philosophic union and a literary partnership than a marriage. He was infatuated enough to believe that she far surpassed the genius of Shelley, though nothing can be better attested than the mediocrity of her talents; and he imagined that social disabilities alone had prevented her from being one of the greatest rulers of mankind. His book, the most important portion of which he ascribes expressly to her teaching, is full of passionate and over-wrought tirades against the existing institution of marriage, which is always described with venomous iteration as the slavery of the wife. A woman is said to be "denied any lot in life but that of being the personal body servant of a despot, and dependent for everything upon the chance of finding one who may be disposed to make a favourite of her instead of merely a drudge." Nay, she is "a slave, not under the mildest form of slavery, for in some slave codes the slave could under some circumstances of ill-usage legally compel the master to sell him." The philosopher's account of conjugal love is that "all men, except the most brutish, desire to have in the woman most nearly connected with them, not a forced slave, but a willing one, not a slave merely but a favourite." Therefore, they have, he says, "put everything in practice to enslave their minds." That power could be controlled and transmuted by affection is a thought which appears never to have occurred to him: yet the power of a mother over her child is at least as great as that of the husband over the wife, and nobody doubts that it is beneficent, though, like the husband's power, it is, especially in the

barbarous classes of society, sometimes, and perhaps not less frequently, abused. A woman for whom the man would give his life is surely on a different footing from most slaves. Authority is not tyranny, nor, when it is necessary, is obedience to it degradation. Mr. Mill himself seems aware that anarchy would be undesirable in the household, so his practical wisdom proposes that the marriage contract shall specify the subjects in which each of the partners is to be supreme. To children he scarcely alludes except for the purpose of founding some injurious imputation: and this omission is characteristic of the social philosophers of his school. Had his preaching taken general effect, it would have carried bitterness and suspicion into every home. Nor have it and similar preachings been by any means void of result. Marriage and maternity have been in no small degree discredited, in certain circles of women. An English journal the other day revived the absurd theory that the European races cannot live in the American climate. The French of Quebec, the Irish, the Germans live and multiply apace. The Anglo-American stock is dying out, not by reason of the climate, but by reason of the ideas and habits of the women, in the formation of which, among other influences, these theories filtering through female society play their part. The American woman may be well-informed, smart, self-possessed, and all that her admirers paint her, but she does not preserve the race.

Mill's story of a universal and systematic oppression of one sex by the other is as baseless as the figments of Rousseau. It is more baseless; at least it is more absurd. Rousseau never in his imaginary versions of social history parted company with facts so far as to leave out of sight the influence of such a power as love. In this very imperfect world the lot of both the partners has been often hard, but the partnership has been pretty fair. Man has done the hard, coarse, and dangerous part of the work: he has made the earth habitable for his consort as well as for himself; he has toiled for her and for her children in peace, he has defended them and bled for them in war. Woman has had her disabilities, but she has had her immunities also. War has usually spared her, and justice has been lenient to her. If the Indian

woman had a hard life as a drudge, the Indian had a harder life as a hunter; and he could not be hunter and drudge at the same time. The fact that the life of the woman, on the average, is longer than that of the man, seems to show that it is not on her that the greater strain has been laid. These political liberties, of which man is supposed to have robbed woman, have been wholly wrought out by man; and the number of men who in different ways have perished in obtaining them bears a very large proportion to the number of those who have practically enjoyed them. Of the male sex throughout the world, a very small proportion enjoys them now; and even in free countries, the seafaring part of the population, which, perhaps, does the hardest work of all, practically cannot exercise the vote. Women, in general, do not seem much to feel the deprivation, for this movement is plainly artificial and kept up by a small number of persons so exceptional in character, as almost to constitute a third sex. It is said that women are underpaid: they earn less than men in male trades, but they do not earn less than men as artists, singers, novel-writers, milliners, or in any of their own callings. The grand industries of women are housekeeping and maternity, for which they receive their share of the man's earnings; and if co-education or any other philanthropic agency could take them from those industries, the world would come to an end. At all events, woman must make her choice. She has hitherto been man's partner and complement, as he has been hers; if she now means to be his rival, she must face the consequences of that change. If she chooses to become a man, she is likely to find herself a weaker man; but she cannot be at once man and woman; she cannot have at once equality and privilege, independence and the guardianship of affection. Privileges she will not deny that she has at present, privileges which she values, and which she would be unable to extort. But they depend upon existing relations. Mere sex is nothing, the feminine character is all. Why should a man retain any feeling of chivalry for a being who is jostling him in the struggle for subsistence, operating against him on the Stock Exchange, wrangling with him in the law courts, encountering him on the platform and at the polls? There will

be a twilight period of transition as there always is, but in time a change of sentiment will follow the change of facts.

—It is needless to dwell upon the disclosures of the election trial in Muskoka. What impression do the upholders of the system of generous competition for power, as Party Government is styled, think that a generous competition such as this stamps on the character of the people in a new settlement? It is equally needless to eulogize the services rendered on this new scene by the purveyors of corruption. The indignity put upon the country by the contracts which these men take to pollute its legislature and falsify the will of its people is not less exasperating than the wrong. When Parliament meets it will be seen whether familiarity with political villainy has yet entirely debauched public opinion and rendered public men callous to the sting of dishonour. Unhappily Parliament is not a tribunal like that which has pronounced a righteous sentence in Muskoka. The independence of the judiciary is the salvation of our polity. Had the Lord Chief Justice of England been able to pay us his promised visit, he would have seen a bench of judges with salaries far below those which the provident liberality of England gives, yet deserving and commanding the confidence of the people. Party itself has hardly dared to arraign the fairness of their decisions in election trials. When Sir John Macdonald comes before the tribunal of history, much that is equivocal in his career will be pardoned in consideration of the conscientiousness which has been generally shown in his judicial appointments. Unfortunately his conscientiousness has its limits. In England, though it is still understood that the law officers of the crown have a claim to the highest places of the Bench, the other judgeships are now bestowed without respect of party, for professional merit alone, while the same liberality, or rather integrity, prevails in the nomination of the Queen's counsel. This is a point of patriotism which has only in a single instance been reached, and will evidently never again be reached, by the great party leader of Canada.

—We were told with a voice of authority that a large immigration of Irish had been decreed, and that our only reasonable course was to bow with grace to the inevitable. Some of us, however, were not reasonable, and the result is that a check, at all events, has been put to the increase of a great social peril; for such, however great our pity for Irish suffering, immigration from disturbed Ireland must be said to be. The opposition has extended to the States, where, though for fear of giving offence to the Irishry, the economical objection to an influx of pauperism is put in front, the social and political objection to the reinforcement of a dangerous element lies behind. Governments provided with standing armies are sure, in the last resort, of being able to enforce order. But here order and everything else depend entirely on the character of our citizens, as the Draft riots at New York and the Pittsburgh riots too plainly showed. The Irishman of the disturbed districts is not, in the proper sense of the term, a citizen at all, nor likely, before the second generation at least, to become one. He belongs not to the community but to his race. The politics and institutions of the country in which he settles, and of which he wields the suffrage, have no place in his heart. His traditions, sympathies, and interests, are entirely those of the clansman; his mind is given either to the prosecution of the clannish feud against England, or to the collection of political spoils for the clan and the politicians who have made themselves its chiefs. He remains the liegeman of a Church which is, and always has been, an anti-national organization, which is at war with the organic principles of modern society, which maintains the supremacy of the priesthood over the State, and which insists on educating its people apart, that the priesthood may keep its exclusive hold. Unfortunately, he also retains the clansman's indifference to law and to the sanctity of human life. It may be doubted whether, within the pale of civilization, there has ever before been witnessed a train of murders so hideous as that of which Ireland has just been the scene: still more, whether murder, and murder in its most inhuman and vilest forms, was ever so openly preached or the advocacy of it received with so much ap-

plause. Subscriptions are raised expressly for the use of dynamite. More "removals" like that of Lord F. Cavendish are recommended; and the Phoenix Park murderers are treated as patriotic martyrs. A certain amount of such an element we may hope gradually to absorb without bad effects; to deal with it in great masses, and in its crudest and most dangerous state, other governments may be competent, ours is not. Already our politics are dominated by it; and both the national parties have been reduced to ignominious vassalage by a section which belongs to neither of them, but takes advantage of their rivalries for the promotion of its own ascendancy, and the furtherance of its own designs. No want of kindly feeling towards the Irish people, or lack of sympathy for their misfortunes, of which their subjection to the vilest of demagogues is not the least, is shown by taking some thought for our own safety. Ours is in its principles an Anglo-Saxon and Protestant polity: if the Irishman is the deadly enemy, not only of Protestantism but of the Anglo-Saxon name, we may be pardoned for hesitating to spend public money in increasing his strength and influence here. Another irrepressible conflict appears to be impending on this continent: this time it may be hoped the ballot will be the arbiter, not the cannon: but it would be highly improvident in the liegemen of Anglo-Saxon civilization unnecessarily to cast odds against its cause.

—A strike in a particular trade is inconvenient; how if one of the universal agencies of commerce should be stopped? To this question, often asked with trembling, events have supplied an answer. The Brotherhood of Telegraphers suddenly took the business community by the throat. The signal was given from the other side of the Line, a fresh proof that the two countries are commercially becoming one. After a tough struggle the business community prevailed. Telegraphers may not have been well paid; underpaid they can hardly have been, since others were ready to flock into the trade at the same rates. These light callings are overstocked, and in callings which are overstocked the pay can never be high. Matters have only been made worse by this strike,

which has caused a fresh rush of hands into the trade, a lesson which those who think to improve trades by striking will do well to lay to heart. Wavering sympathies were turned against the strikers by the attempt to abduct the railway operators, which was a direct attack upon the public safety. Appeals were of course made to popular feeling against the Company as a monopoly. Supposing it had been a monopoly, the remedy was free trade, not a strike. But instead of being a monopoly, it has had vastly to increase its capital and thereby diminish its profits for the very purpose of buying up competing lines. Everything which is the object of dislike or envy is now dubbed a monopoly: land is dubbed a monopoly, though here it is bought as freely as a loaf of bread, and is owned by countless thousands. The printing presses from which these diatribes emanate might more reasonably be so designated, since the number of those who possess them is much smaller. A monopoly is an exclusive privilege of trade such as does not exist upon this Continent, except in the case of the Post Office, which is in the hands of Government. That the Telegraph, a swifter Post, ought, like the Post, to be in the hands of Government is probably true; it would be true at least if Government could be trusted to abstain from jobbery; but this is no reason why those who have so far served the public should be treated with injustice. The nearest approach to monopoly that we have is Unionism, which, indeed, is in no small danger of doing by intimidation what was done by iniquitous laws in barbarous times. It is pleasant to record that the conduct of the Company's representatives, at all events of its representatives at Toronto, upon the conclusion of the strike, was free from vindictiveness and marked by a desire to restore peace. The Telegraphers have met with more real sympathy in this quarter than they seem to have received from the Knights of Labour, who refused them assistance at the crisis because their calling was refined and their dress and habits too like those of gentlemen. We see how sharp a line the Knights desire to draw between classes, and what relation their objects have to those of general civilization. The medieval Guild comprehended, at all events, not only the handicraftsmen but the heads of the trade.

That striking is lawful, provided there is no violence or intimidation, nobody now denies. Few deny that, in some cases, it has been the necessary instrument of justice. But it is war: like other wars it makes havoc, moral as well as material, and therefore it ought to be the last resort. Unluckily, in the industrial world, as elsewhere, there are people whose trade is war. Through the smoke of this last battle appeared the sinister figure of a Telegrapher who had for some time given up operating and devoted himself to organization. We sometimes see journals, styled of Labour, which are manifestly carried on, not for the purpose of promoting improvement or advocating justice, but for that of instilling venom into the artisan's heart, and arraying the men as a hostile class against their employers. The writers of these journals are the brethren of Marat, and if they could gain the power over society for which their diseased ambition craves, their reign, in itself and in its consequences, would be like his. Yet, it is in obedience to their fiat too often that the artisan engages in conflicts which carry devastation not only through his own trade but through other trades which are dependent on his; as, the other day, in the north of England, where tens of thousands were being reduced to destitution by a quarrel in which they had no part. Recourse would never be had to strikes, till every other mode of obtaining justice had totally failed, if those concerned would only keep steadily in view two plain and elementary, though often neglected, facts. One of these facts is that the real employer is not the master through whom the wages are paid, but the community which buys the goods, and which cannot in the long run be constrained, by any use of the strikers' screw, to give more than it chooses and can afford; so that the effect of strikes carried beyond a certain point must be, not to raise wages, but to wreck the trade. The only fund whereon strikes, as a rule, can operate is the excess of the profits made by capital in the particular trade over the profits which would be made by it in other trades; for as soon as this narrow margin has been consumed, capital will evidently begin to leave the trade. That Labour itself is capital is inscribed on Unionist banners, but inscriptions on banners do not alter facts: and an attempt of Labour

to construct a railroad without capital would bring the theory to a decisive test. The other fact is that every producer is also a consumer and must lose by strikes in one capacity at least as much as he gains in the other. An imposing procession of the Unions some weeks ago filed along the streets of Toronto. Each trade there represented was a producer of one article and a consumer of all the rest; so that by strikes all round, whether simultaneous or successive, no trade would have been the gainer; while all would have been the losers by the suspension of work and the diminution of its products. That the trades had power to overawe the community, was perhaps the intended; that they could not coerce the community without ruining themselves was, to an economist's eye, the real moral of that procession. By increasing the effectiveness of labour and rendering it more skilled, wages may certainly be raised, and working hours in the end diminished; but to increase the effectiveness of labour and render it more skilled can hardly be said to be the tendency of any association which sets itself to repress the effort of the superior workman and to keep him down to the dead level. Unions are now rightly sanctioned by the law, but to save itself from what might otherwise become a most pernicious tyranny, the community must vigorously protect liberty of labour in the persons of non-Union men.

—This is a perilous juncture, because popular education has gone far enough to open the minds of the people for the reception of dazzling theories, yet not far enough to make them critical and fortify them against fallacies. Philosophies of confiscation germinate on all sides. The other day a Socialistic writer laid it down as axiomatic that a man could have no right to anything into which he had not himself put value. Was the writer a clothier or a tailor? If not, what right could he have to his clothes? The maxim was propounded as the basis of attack on holders of city lots, who, it was maintained ought not to be permitted to appropriate any increase in the value of their property arising out of the general prosperity of the city. If

the holders are citizens, why should they not share with the rest the prosperity to which it may be presumed that they with the rest contribute? Why are we to mulct each other all round of the fruits of our common effort, or even of our common good luck? Suppose it were just, how would it be possible for any municipal government to discriminate accurately between the increase of value, earned in each case by the proprietor's own exertions, or by his self-denial in foregoing interest on his money, and the increase caused by the growing population and improved commerce of the place? When a new railway brings with it an accession of trade, is the tax-gatherer to take from all citizens whatever profit may be imagined to have come to them from that source? This fancy about city lots is merely a special application of the theory that the "unearned increment" of land ought to be held liable to confiscation. Why the unearned increment of land alone, and not that of other commodities or investments, the value of which rises and falls with changes of circumstances independent of any act or default of the proprietor? This we have not yet been told, nor have we been told why, if increment is to be confiscated, decrement is not to be made good? Historical figments are coupled with economical hallucinations. By dint of confident reiteration it passes for an accepted fact that the land originally belonged to the nation, and that its possession at some period, not precisely fixed, was usurped by a set of aggressors who are now represented by the proprietors; whence it is inferred that to despoil the owner of land without compensation is merely to take back what was purloined by force or fraud. Not to discuss the misty annals of nomadism, tribalism, or feudalism, no one of which states would exactly answer to the communistic dream, the actual facts with regard to the ownership of land on this Continent are well known even to the least learned, and may be readily compared with the socialistic version. Does any writer hold his copyright or anything else that belongs to him by a better title than the farmer holds the land which he has reclaimed from the wilderness? The land is national in the only practical sense when it supports the nation: it supports the nation best when it produces most food, and it produces most food, as

reason and experience alike prove, when the cultivator is secure in his possession and knows that he will reap the profits of his labour. A greater economical curse can hardly fall upon a nation than a general uncertainty in the titles to land, which Nationalists propose as a panacea.

If any one has fairly wrought out a practical plan for leveling all the inequalities of the human lot and can show how it is to be put in operation, in Heaven's name let him propound it, and evil betide those who would allow personal or class interest to stand in the way. But to flatter crude and impracticable fancies, not untainted with envy, malignity, and the lust of violence and plunder, may be the reverse of a kindness even towards the theorists themselves; for if social war begins the knot of literary men who with a limited following of artisans make up the communistic party will quickly find that force is not on their side. Moral and philanthropic influences are at work; when we look back over social history we see that their operation has already produced a vast improvement in the relations between rich and poor; and their action can only be paralysed by virulent denunciation and threats of public plunder. At the root of Socialism lies the belief in an all-wise and entirely beneficent power, which is called the State, and is supposed to exist apart from the members of the community and to regulate society from above, superseding by its unerring fiat all the personal motives and natural agencies which at present impel men to labour, assign to them their parts in the world of industry, stimulate their energies or their inventive faculties, and distribute the wages or profits which form their rewards. To this magnificent conception no reality corresponds, unless it be the theorist himself, who, to the unlimited wisdom which he already possesses, adds in his imagination an unlimited power of carrying his schemes into effect. Society is not in a literal sense an organism, because unlike an organism it is made up of distinct personalities; but like organisms it is natural, not artificial; there is a close connection between all its parts, and it is developed gradually by the action of forces which are internal and pervade its entire structure. Capable of improvement by brotherly effort it

is ; it is not capable of transformation, any more than is the human frame or the other works of nature which form the factors of our lot in this lamentably imperfect world. The communist must begin with the solar system if he wishes for the actual to substitute the ideal.

There is in the world, it is true, too much of ill-gotten wealth, the possessors of which, if it were possible to distinguish them from other owners of property, might justly be compelled to disgorge. Wealth made by gambling on the stock exchange, for instance, is no purer than wealth made by ordinary gambling. When Rothschild swept into his coffers an enormous sum by the use of secret intelligence of the battle of Waterloo, he was simply playing at hazard with loaded dice. But how could his case be discriminated from that of the honourable investor who chanced to put his earnings into the public funds at the same time ? The tares must be allowed to grow with the wheat. Happily there is far more wheat than there are tares. Immensely the greater part of property is the fruit of honest labour either of the head or brain, and represents services rendered to the community as well as profits made by the holder. Again, we see inordinate aggregations of wealth in the hands of individual men, and nobody denies that these are a peril to society, though as yet, it must be owned, the millionaires of the United States have done no very palpable mischief, while some of them have carried out commercial enterprises highly beneficial to the community, which could not have been carried out, or could not have been carried out so well, by any other means. But it is a happy fact that the tendency is on the whole not to the aggregation but to the distribution of wealth ; and beyond all question the number of people living in comparative affluence and enjoying the advantages of civilization is far larger now than it ever was before. The facility of rising in life has also, on this Continent, been greatly increased, and wealth passes more freely than it did from hand to hand. Something may be done, and ought to be done, by law, to discountenance commercial gambling : a good deal may be done, and in the American communities has been done, to discourage aggregation and promote distribution. But no gains can

accrue to anybody but scoundrels from throwing society into convulsions. Never was stock-jobbing more active or more profli- gate, never was the harvest of knavery greater, than in the paroxysm of the French Revolution.

—Mr. Mackenzie, it seems, has been again offering up Canadian aspirations on the altar of what he supposes to be British senti- ment, and pledging anew our unanimous and unalterable devo- tion to dependence. He is a worthy man, and was, by grace of the former master of the *Globe*, Prime Minister of Canada; but his utterances are a voice from the tomb of his patron; and his patron, though he expired but yesterday, has politically been dead many years. Instead of being ratified by universal applause, Mr. Mackenzie's renunciation of Canadian hopes evokes loud pro- tests in many quarters, and though liberty of speech is gaining ground, the uttered protest is still very far from being an ade- quate measure of the real dissent. Even from the *Globe* of to-day what response does Mr. Mackenzie draw? That there is a widespread and growing feeling in favour of complete nationality, is a fact of which he may satisfy himself whenever he chooses to extend his enquiries beyond the narrow pale of the old Grit party. To the union of the heart with the Mother Country, we all are, and ever shall be, true; and, perhaps, as in the case of Cordelia and her sisters, those who protest least may feel most. Nor, while Mr. Mackenzie misrepresents Canada, do we believe that he reads aright the sentiment even of the English people. The aristocracy wish Canada to remain a dependency, for the poli- tical reasons already mentioned, to which may now be added the prospect of golden investments in Western lands. But the people have no such desire. They have sense enough to know that distant dependencies, over which they have no real power, bring them neither revenue nor strength, but on the contrary expendi- ture and peril. They would be at least as well pleased, and would respect us far more if, instead of being assured that Canada clung to perpetual vassalage, they were told that she was looking forward to a full measure of British freedom, and an equal alli- ance with old England.

—The boom is over, and we have come to that season of depression which follows the use of false stimulants in the case of Protectionist legislation, as well as in the case of brandy. Cotton men are holding councils to limit production, and of course employment at the same time. We commend to them the example of the Protectionists of Java who used to burn all the spices above a certain quantity in order to keep up the price. Would that the Finance Minister had adhered to the policy of common sense. Had he announced that he would put an end to borrowing, and raise the required revenue by additional taxes; that he would adjust the new duties to the industrial circumstances of the country, and especially to the rectification of the tariff between the Canadian producer and the producer of the United States, and that when revenue had been brought to a level with expenditure he would, as justice to the people required, reduce taxation, all would have gone well. No false hopes would have been excited, no rash investments would have been made. But flushed with success, and lured by manufacturing votes, he proclaimed a policy of Protection, promised, like other men of considerable talent before him, to create wealth by taxation, and undertook to support, by fiscal measures, at the expense of the community, commercial undertakings which could not stand alone. His tariff having been well framed for the purpose of revenue, he has now a large surplus, and he is clearly bound in duty to lighten the burdens of the people. He has no right whatever to take from labour its fair earnings, except for the necessary purposes of government, or for the reduction of the public debt, in which, however, a measure of justice ought to be observed between the present generation and our successors, who will benefit equally with us, if anybody benefits at all, by the public works. But the thought of reduced profits fills his deluded capitalists with despair. In them, as in the rest of us, the instinct of self-preservation is imperious, and we must expect henceforth to see them struggling to keep up the rate of public expenditure, that the necessity for import duties may not be diminished. In the United States the Tariff men are striving desperately to make away, by expenditure, with a great surplus, which ought to be either employed in re-

deeming public liabilities, or returned to the pockets of the people. One hundred millions, it is reckoned, will be squandered under that most shameless measure of public robbery, the Pension Arrears Bill; and it is now proposed to divide a large sum among the States in proportion to the amount of illiteracy in each; in other words, as a reward for neglect of educational duty. So it will be here, unless the leaders of the Opposition can move in favour of reduction with more force and a firmer grasp of the question than they have hitherto displayed.

The time, however, is not far distant when the leaders of a Liberal Opposition, if they wish to keep their places, will find themselves constrained to take a stronger ground still, and to embrace a policy bolder, and better than even the reduction of the tariff. Personal interests may cloud the vision, or the tongue may be restrained in public by fear of phantoms; but there is not a man of sense in Canada who, if he has fairly studied her economical position, does not know that the thing needed to give our people their full measure of prosperity, and the fair reward of their industry, is access to their natural markets, and to the commercial advantages of the continent of which their country is a part. The opposite policy is not that of Canada, but of a distant country, or rather of a ruling class in a distant country, to which our statesmen are socially affiliated, and which clings to commercial separation as a guarantee for political estrangement. Commercial union is the dictate of nature, reason and justice to the Canadian people. It will come, and its coming will not be very long delayed. The North-West will probably be the first scene of the movement, but all along the border the people, who have daily before their eyes the advantages from which they are debarred, are ready to follow anyone who will boldly take the lead. All the natural forces are working in the same direction; commercial fusion is rapidly going on, and the old social antipathies which were the buttresses of the Chinese wall are visibly giving place to a growing amity between the two divisions of the English-speaking race. Hitherto living has been cheaper in Canada than in the States; now the balance wavers, should it incline in favour of the States, the effect upon Canada

will soon be seen. The tendency of the politicians as a class, is to separation, and it must be owned that they have the country at present fast by the throat; but in some convulsive crisis, such as commercial depression may bring on, their grasp will be shaken off. We will venture to recommend Mr. Blake to give his early and serious attention to this subject. Of late he has not been gaining ground as a leader; nor is he likely to gain ground by distant coquettings with Imperial Federation, by forensic criticisms of the Pacific Railway Agreement, or by picking up little scraps of popularity sometimes, as we cannot help saying, in places which are none of the cleanest. Power will come to him when he takes up the question which has a substantial interest for the people, and that question is Commercial Union.

—Our remark as to the effect of a Colonial Governorship on the politics of its holder has been at once verified by Lord Dufferin, who, in a speech at the Empire Club, avers that the proper frame of mind for a Colonial Governor is "moderate Jingoism." Lord Dufferin was sent out by Mr. Gladstone, the arch-enemy of Jingoism, and the head of a party which has fought and conquered on that very issue. Yet in his Government he was a Jingo; or, to go to the root of the matter, he was an aristocrat, serving with energy and talent the interest of his order, which prescribes that the spirit of military imperialism should be assiduously fostered in this country, and that Canada should, as far as possible, be severed and estranged from the democratic Continent of which she is geographically a part. A vague hope that she may be made the instrument under Providence of preventing the complete ascendancy of popular government in the New World still lingers, in spite of all disclaimers, in the patrician breast. Self-preservation is the universal law, and no one will blame an aristocracy for struggling to avert its doom; but the policy of the House of Lords, which in the opinion of many is a different thing from the welfare of the people of England, is still more evidently a different thing from the welfare of the people of Canada. Love of the Mother Country, which it is always proclaimed to be the mission

of a Governor-General to cultivate, is a plant which needs no cultivation ; it springs unbidden, and grows self-nurtured in the breast of every heir of English blood ; and nowhere is it stronger than in those who most desire to see Canadians prove the genuineness of their origin by taking on themselves the full measure of British freedom. Sending out titled persons from England to regulate the sentiments of the people of this country has long been an absurdity, and is fast becoming an impertinence.

—One consequence of “ moderate Jingoism ” is that the courtiers of Imperialism are always labouring to fill the people of the Mother Country with inflated ideas of our military tendencies and of the armaments of Canada. This practice is not free from dangers at a time when the world is bristling with arms : it may at once fatally mislead England and bring Canada to shame. It may also possibly deter some of the very best of emigrants, notably Germans, whose chief desire it is to escape from the military system. In the account of the Dominion furnished by some “ moderate Jingo ” to the new volume of Stanford’s “ Compendium of Geography and Travel,” we find it stated that the rolls of our Reserve Militia show a force of over 700,000 men. Such rolls would be very useful in showing assets, if their principle could be extended to the commercial sphere. He is a very wise Militiaman, we take it, who knows his own Colonel. The Active Militia having been drilled for eight or sixteen days is “ ready to take the field on short notice ” against any veterans in the world, and that without cavalry, commissariat, or other equipments of war. Some anonymous authority is quoted as declaring that “ the position of Canada for defence is one of the strongest possible.” “ With her North inaccessible, her East and West resting upon the Atlantic and Pacific, Labrador on her left, and the mountains of Columbia—the Coast range, the Blue and Rocky Mountains—on her right, she never could be approached by the most powerful nations except from the South, and here she has fastnesses more inaccessible than Scythia in her Ottawa, St. Maurice, and Lake Regions.” Besides, in case any attempt should be made to turn

the flank of the position by sea, is there not the great Canadian Navy with the description of which a member of the House of Lords was, in ignorance of the sale of the *Charybdis*, regaling his brethren the other day? That Canada is able to set at defiance all the nations of the North Pole, however powerful they may be, is a comfortable fact, and the South, after all, is only one quarter of the compass, so that it need give us no concern. We have an open frontier of three thousand miles, it is true; but the invader would of course single out the strong points for his attack; besides, we should have due notice, so that we could all retire into the Lake Region with our pic-nic baskets and wait till the invasion was over. That Ottawa is Scythian, cannot be questioned; whether its repulsiveness is sufficient to drive an enterprising invader from its walls, we must leave to better strategists than we are to decide. Nor will we venture to pronounce whether it is inaccessible to an army moving from Brockville: there is a Jacob's ladder by which the angels of politics manage to go up and down. But even if we should be conquered in the summer the horrors of our "Russian winter," we are assured, would compel the invader to decamp, though he would presumably have our best accommodations at his command. This is more consolatory than flattering. Was not a Presbyterian minister subjected to discipline the other day for having heretically affirmed that in the North-West he once felt cold? Mr. Stanford is better informed than we are; but we once heard that in the War Office there was a plan for the defence of Canada which assumed that at the outset everything would be abandoned west of an entrenched camp to be formed at Montreal.

—In Quebec there is the same scene of fallings out among the politicians, yet with very little prospect of any turn of affairs by which honest men will get their own. Of far more interest is the growth of the French race. This is a subject to which serious attention will soon be attracted. France herself has totally failed in colonization; what she calls colonies, Algeria not excepted, are merely dependencies, and if she succeeds in grasping Madagascar

and Tonquin, the result in each case will be a barrack. But French Canada was transferred by conquest, for once beneficent, to a foster mother under whose guardian care it has become almost a nation. Happy upon little, the French of Quebec multiply rapidly. Not only have they filled their own territory, but they are overflowing into the neighbouring States of the Union at a rate which causes the Anglo-Americans there considerable anxiety, especially as the French Catholic is addicted to a religious neglect of vaccination. Instead of being Anglicized, as in the early days of the conquest it was hoped they would be, the people of Quebec have become more intensely French, and to Mr. Dunkin's simile of the fishing-rods it may be added that a rod in the centre of the series is hopelessly alien to all the rest. To assimilate such a mass the forces of British Canada have been found far too weak, as indeed they have been found too weak to assimilate the German population of Waterloo. Is there destined, after all, to be a French nation or a permanent French element on the continent which has been assumed to be the superb heritage of Anglo-Saxon civilization? If there is, its political character will probably be formed by its Anglo-Saxon environment, not derived from the France either of the Bourbons or of the Revolution.

—Winnipeg still suffers under the depression which has followed her debauch, a debauch of rapacity as well as of wild hope. What else there may be of questionable and troublous aspect in the state of the North-West is due to the fact that in the dealings with that country the presiding spirit has been rather political than commercial. The railroad is a political line. The necessity of disposing of land quickly to construct the road affects the land markets in which there are now three powers, the Railroad Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government, each with a continent for sale and desiring to sell it in a day. But beneath all the superficial and temporary disturbances lies the abiding bounty of Nature, which will set all right in the end: only let coal of good quality, be brought to market or its existence

in sufficient abundance be satisfactorily attested, as we are assured that it is capable of being. With regard to the political prospect of the North-West, we adhere more firmly than ever to the view which we took from the beginning. The destinies of that land are inseparably bound up with those of Minnesota and Dacota, from which it is divided only by an imaginary line, while the population is identical, Dacota especially being full of Canadians. Till the country is pretty well settled and begins to feel its strength Ottawa may keep her hold and maintain her customs line; but in time Nature will have her way.

—A Report on Forestry prepared by Mr. R. W. Phipps for the Ontario Government condenses the general information on that subject in so readable a form that for once a report is literature. Let us hope that our rulers will not only read but digest and that at last action will result. As to the importance of the forests, no more need be said. Agriculture and the lumber trade are commercial Canada. Vain is advertising, vain are all policies of development if the substantial wealth of the country is allowed to perish. But trees have no votes, and the general carelessness of elective governments in this respect presents an ominous contrast to the carefulness of administrative monarchies. Minnesota however has awakened to the necessity and is planting apace: let Ontario go and do likewise.

—Newfoundland has hitherto been stubbornly deaf to the wooing of Confederation. Perhaps the cause has lain partly in certain unattractive features of Confederation, partly in the peculiarities of Newfoundland. The fisheries are an industry apart, and have connected the Island commercially, not with this continent, but with Europe. The political connections, as usual, have followed the commercial. But now a change seems to be at hand. Year by year we are told the number of cod caught decreases, though the appliances for catching are improved; and the fish persecuted with grapnels, traps and nets, recedes from the

haunts to which it once came to feed and spawn in peace. The people are not prosperous ; their trade is precarious ; the credit system has devoured their substance as Jewish usury devours the substance of the Russian peasant ; every winter many are reduced to destitution and are only kept alive and demoralized by government meal and molasses. Agriculture hitherto has been not only neglected but discouraged. It will soon be the chief hope, and though the amount of fertile land is not great, it is sufficient to maintain twice the present population of the island. The construction of railways has now commenced : if it continues and the interior of the island is opened to the farmer there will be an industrial revolution which will probably bring a political revolution in its train.

—In the United States, the political world is busy and fetid with Presidential intrigue and cabal. The main question is whether the two sections of the Republican party, the Reformers and the Stalwarts, or Anti-reformers, will manage to unite on a candidate. At present the enmity between them seems as bitter as ever ; but it is wonderful how, after fighting against each other up to the last moment, they rally to a common watchword which has ceased to denote any real unity of principle or object, and combine their forces against the Democratic foe. In the Democratic party, also, there is a schism between Tammany and the more respectable section, which, before the decisive day, party discipline will probably bring to a close. The independent and shifting element in the electorate appears, however, to grow, and its vote may be determined either by the character of the candidate, or possibly by individual opinion on the question between Free Trade and Protection, which, the Civil War being now fairly forgotten, is attracting increased attention, but can hardly be made a party issue, so long as the Protectionists of Pennsylvania remain in the Democratic party. In the meantime, a movement of deeper interest is going on. The best minds in the country are evidently giving themselves to the serious study of the great political problems, and though practical politics are not in their hands, but in those

of the wirepullers, they may gradually produce an effect on the people through the Press. In the current *North American*, for example, we have two political articles of mark, one on Municipal Reform, the other on the Caucus and the Primary. The article on Municipal Reform gives a most instructive table comparing the amount of state debt in each State with the amount of town debt, which brings clearly before our view the extravagance of the city government. Of the aggregate state and town debt in the New England States, seventy-four per cent. has been created by the towns in their self-governing capacity; in the Middle States, ninety per cent., in the Western States seventy-seven per cent. In the Southern States the proportion is less. In New York, the proportion of town debt to state debt is 217 to 8. The obvious cause is that in the cities the power and the property are in different hands, so that each municipality is in fact a joint stock company the expenditure of which is regulated by the holders of a minority of the stock who control the majority of ownership and interest. But to this are to be added the pestilent activity and the incessant peculations of a swarm of ward politicians of whom, happily, there are scarcely any counterparts in the rural districts. The poorer citizens gain nothing by the waste which they are duped into supporting, for it is precisely where useful expenditure ceases that extravagance begins; and in everything that can really improve the condition of the city and make residence in it more enjoyable, the holders of property have the highest interest. Municipal government in the United States is the foulest sewer both of administrative and of moral corruption. But how to cleanse it is the problem; it is hopeless to exhort the ward politicians to vote themselves out of power; reform will hardly come from within; it can be brought about apparently only by the action of the State legislatures which are in more honest hands. In the meantime the administration is incapable as well as corrupt, and these vast centres of population are deprived of the advantages of sanitary science and other benefits reaped by well administered cities in Europe. The article on the Caucus and the Primaries illustrates, by a series of hideous facts, which hardly needed proving, that these

assemblies, from which the government of the country emanates, are in the hands of the very vilest of mankind. "The roughs of both parties," says a Maryland legislator, "unite to carry for each other primaries in their class interests, to drive away the respectable element, and when not numerically strong enough to stuff the ballot-box with pudding tickets, one ticket sometimes enclosing twenty slips, which the judges count for their nominee." There are in Baltimore over thirty thousand grave-yard and imaginary names on the registration lists, which are used by primary election manipulators for hired repeaters. Of course decent citizens stand aloof. Civil Service Reform will do something to purify the primaries, and municipal government at the same time, by diminishing the spoils; nothing will work a radical cure but the abolition of the party system. The facts given in the *North American* are commended to the attention of English Liberals, who in their desire of immediate victory are allowing the yoke of the caucus system to be permanently rivetted on their necks.

Political history and biography in the United States are advancing with political science: they are putting off their Fourth of July character and beginning to preach truths which cannot fail soon to make their impression on the reading portion of the public. Thurlow Weed's autobiography, however, is not so much a sermon as a text. In it we have the history of an arch-wirepuller written by himself. Unfortunately he generally preserves his cunning, and seldom turns his dark lantern inwards. Once his vanity prevails over his discretion, and he cannot refrain from exulting in a "memorable *coup d'état*, completely revolutionizing the State, and effected on the very verge of the election, by the thoughtfulness and liberality of a few zealous politicians"—who brought up in the hour of need a large bandana handkerchief full of packages of bank notes. Yet while the central figure remains in the shade, the light often falls on subordinate figures, such as that of the highly endowed Charles F. Mitchell, "whose instincts and intuitions fitted him for politics," but whose political career unluckily ended in a conviction for obtaining bank discounts and acceptances upon forged paper. He was pardoned, however, as a matter of course, and regained his standing and influence. "In-

deed," says Weed, "a man so rarely gifted would be sure to make his mark wherever he went." Weed does not seem to have been ill-intentioned, and that a man without being ill-intentioned or even conscious of his degradation, could lead such a life of lobbying and intrigue, is a remarkable proof of the debasing influence of the system. If in speaking of the generation with which he acted, the autobiographer allows delicacy to control him, he is frank enough in speaking of the present generation. "Bribery and corruption," he says, "now prevail to a greater extent than existed in the worst days of the Parliament of England, where, happily for England, the practice has been reformed, as it must be here, or corruption will undermine the government. No measure," he adds, "not even one respecting religious charity, now escapes 'strikers.' Venal members openly solicit appointment on paying committees. "Could the secret history of the legislature be exposed to the public gaze, popular indignation would be awakened to a degree heretofore unknown." Mr. Weed knew the truth about these things if ever a man did. But what remedy does he propose? His chief suggestion is higher payment of members of the legislature. Insufficiency of compensation, he says, is one cause of legislative dishonesty. That underpayment is often the cause of dishonesty, is most true. But the question is whether legislators should be paid at all. The class of men whom the salary induces to enter public life, and who make politics a trade, are not likely to be content with the salary, however liberal it may be.

The "Life of Buchanan," by Mr. Curtis, is a very big work about a very small man. Buchanan was a typical politician and the natural offspring of caucuses and Presidential campaigns. Emaculated, like all his tribe, by demagogism and intrigue, he was placed at last, by the malice of fate, in a position where no man could do anything without "a god in his breast," and he did nothing; of actual treason his biographer seems to have cleared his memory; but he was helpless: he chopped constitutional logic, while under his eyes the slave-owners were organizing rebellion and civil war. Dante has a place for him among those who are hateful alike to God and to the enemies of God. His biographer

evidently deems him a legal Abdiel of the Constitution, but then Mr. Curtis is himself too great a constitutional legist to see any difference between the moribund slavery with which terms were made in the compact of 1788 and the aggressive Slave Power of 1861.

—Thanks to Mr. Gladstone's youthful energy at seventy-five, the British House of Commons managed, in spite of obstruction, sectionalism, and the ever-swelling tide of bootless talk, to get through a respectable amount of work. Success seems to attend the experiment of Grand Committees, a system by the way identical with that adopted by Cromwell's Assembly of Puritan notables, nicknamed the Barebones Parliament, which also anticipated by its legislative projects to a remarkable extent the liberal legislation of modern times. But the state of the House of Commons is still bad; its future is still dark; it is distinctly declining in the respect and confidence of the nation; and the mother of Parliaments, like her daughters, illustrates by her condition the demoralizing and disintegrating effects of party government. The chief of the Irish Disunionists has put forth his programme. By the help of money supplied by the foreign enemies of the kingdom, with whom he is openly in league, he hopes at the next general election to get seventy of his partisans returned in Ireland. To these he expects to add twenty or thirty members for English and Scotch constituencies, in which there is a large number of Irish voters, who remain, like their compatriots here, a clan apart, held together by their religion, and wage political war in a spirit of the most rancorous hostility against the country in which they are domiciled and the bread of which they eat. With such a following Mr. Parnell hopes, and with too much reason, to be able to command a House of Commons in which faction reigns supreme and patriotism has lost its power. On one side he may look for the alliance of Mr. Chamberlain and the section of extreme Radicals, who have been all along fostering the Irish Revolution, cutting the sinews of national resistance, and opposing, under various pretences, every measure which could afford protection to loyal

life and property against the terrorism of the League, hoping thus to capture the Irish vote, and by its aid to mount to power; though when accounts come at last to be settled between the philosophic intriguer and the terrorist of whom he is trying to make a tool, it is not certain that it will be the philosophic intriguer who will gain his end. On the other side Mr. Parnell counts upon the practical co-operation of Lord Randolph Churchill and his crew, who have learned in the school of Lord Beaconsfield that if you can only contrive to gain a party victory, and scramble into power, the question of morality may be "left to the critics." Of military force the rebellion has not an ounce: it could not stand in the field against a brigade of volunteers. Its sole chance of success rests on the treasonable factiousness of the House of Commons. If the life of England is stung, it will be by serpents that issue from her own breast. Mr. Sullivan, the Home Ruler, asks in the *Nineteenth Century*, why English politicians should not be allowed to enter into combinations with the Irish vote as well as with the Nonconformist vote or the Temperance vote? Because neither the Nonconformist cause nor that of Temperance has anything to do with terrorism, dynamite or murder. Because neither the friends of religious equality nor the advocates of the Temperance Bill are in league with the public enemy, or seeking the dismemberment of the country. Annex Egypt and lose Ireland! Is this the practical wisdom of British Statesmen? Yet it seems not impossible that Ireland may be lost for a time, though in the end, if any force remains in the nation, there will be a recoil, and with the recoil a leader will appear.

The prospect is bad. For not only is Parliament demoralized, but public opinion and sentiment are in that state of uncertainty and feebleness which marks a period of universal transition. Economical principles are loosened along with the rest. The nerves of the national character are unstrung. There is an ominous lack, not only of vigorous volition, but of serious attention to great questions. Bats and balls, the feats of athletes, horse-races and frivolous excitements of all kinds, seem to occupy the minds of Englishmen far more than the perils of their country. Rebellion would quail at once before the nation, if the nation would

only manifest its resolution, but the nation remains mute and inert. In Scotland, where the spirit of the Covenanter still lives, and in England, wherever the Puritan has left the traces of his character, you find that there is still something which may be trusted in the day of moral battle; but elsewhere force and conviction seem sadly wanting. Other things are against the national cause. It is compromised by its apparent connection with the interests of absentee landlordism and of Tory aristocracy, both unbeloved by many who would be most willing to fight for Union. The people are growing bewildered and mistrustful; it will soon become difficult for any one to lead them. At present they would probably follow a patriot statesman standing forth in brave defence of national unity apart from any class interest; but the man is not there, nor is it likely that he will appear within the term allowed by fate. Mr. Gladstone's years, wonderfully as he carries them, must tell upon his spirit. But even in his prime he was rather a legislator and an orator than a chief fitted to lead the nation in an hour of peril. He would never have taken fire as some men would at the thought of allowing the national government to be defied by terrorists, and loyal citizens to be butchered for their obedience to the law. Ireland and the Irish he does not know. Intriguers, there is too much reason to fear, have found out his weak point. His marvellous power of rhetorical presentation imposes on himself as well as on his audience; in spite of daily evidence, he persists in the belief that his pathetic eloquence will charm the spirit of Disunion, and in making concessions which only put arms into irreconcilable hands. There can be little doubt that his demeanour has encouraged the enemies of the country, though the chief blame rests not upon him or his government, but upon the weakness, and worse than weakness, of the House of Commons. From the Conservatives there is nothing to be hoped; nor does it seem at all likely that the nation will call them back to power. They can deal with the Irish question only in the interest of the landlords, by which the action of the House of Lords has throughout been ignominiously swayed. Besides they are destitute of leaders. On Irish subjects they have one very able as well as patriotic spokesman in the person of Mr. Gibson.

But Lord Salisbury's leadership has broken down even more completely than that of his much derided colleague, so far as the confidence of the nation is concerned; though as master of the party and of the House of Lords, he retains the power of doing any mischief that arrogance of caste combined with reckless ambition may inspire. Agricultural depression has shaken the foundation of the Conservative party, not only by reducing the revenues on which the power of the aristocracy rests, but by loosening the hold of the landlord upon the allegiance of the tenant farmer, who, dependent so long as farms were more difficult to find than tenants, becomes independent now that tenants are more difficult to find than farms. An exclusively Tory government would be formed only to combine against it once more all sections of the Liberals, and to fall. If the Squires are wise they will consign Tory democracy, with all the stage properties of Lord Beaconsfield, to the depository of the past, send Lord Randolph Churchill to the playground or the juvenile reformatory and stand by Lord Hartington, Lord Spencer, or any leader who promises to protect them, and what is left of their estates, from agrarian and social revolution.

—The Government has, however, at last fallen into the right track in dealing with the Irish difficulty. Over-population is the root of the evil: emigration, such emigration as will not only deplete the congested districts for the moment, but clear them and transfer their inhabitants to a happier abode, is the only practical cure. No Land Acts however drastic, no regulations of rents or holdings, no tampering with economical principles or with the faith of contracts can impart fruitfulness to bogs or make cereals ripen without sun. Apart from clearance and restoration of the land to its natural use, which is that of cattle-raising, fixity of tenure will be nothing but fixity of famine. The judicial rents are already being assailed, as we ventured to predict they would be, by renewed agitation; while the landowners, being reduced to mere incumbancers, are more alien, more odious, and greater ab-

sentees than ever. But emigration is opposed by two interests, that of the priesthood and that of the demagogues. The priest is afraid of seeing his flock diminished and of losing the church revenues, into which he has reason to hope that much of the money taken from the landlords will be swept. The demagogue knows that the extinction of agrarian suffering will be the end of political agitation. The hungry peasant cares not a cent for the Hibernian Republic, and thinks little about the aggression of Strongbow or the penal code of the last century, though he has been inspired with a blind hatred of England by incendiaries who have taught him to believe that the British Government deprives him of his bread. The priests propose in place of emigration the transfer of the people from one part of the island to another. But where are they to find good land vacant, and when they have found the land, how are they to provide the sun? Mr. Sullivan, the Home Ruler, deems the policy of emigration cruel and sheds a tear over the fate of the exiled peasantry of the Scotch Highlands. Those exiles he may see a prosperous yeomanry, in the Canadian Glengarry. There is a pang in the process, and every emigrant, high or low, must have his fit of homesickness; but this continent, which is a continent of emigrants, is the happiest part of the world, and here, with vast and fruitful expanses before our eyes, we find it difficult to understand how people can be murdering each other for a patch of potato ground. The only question is as to the direction to be given to emigration; a shore, if possible, should be found where the climate is mild, where work can be carried on the year round, so as to form the Irishman to habits of regular industry, and where the quarrel of race and religion cannot be renewed. But to carry out this great economical operation in the face of such opposition, and with such a House of Commons at the operators' back, is a task in which the Parliamentary Government of England can hardly be expected to succeed. If the three disturbed provinces could be put for a few years under the government of some strong and righteous man, they would enjoy that kind of Home Rule for which they really crave,

and the economical measures necessary to relieve the suffering could be taken without danger of interruption by the demagogue or the priest. But of anything so unconstitutionally beneficent it is needless to say there is no hope.

Ulster, like the rest of Ireland, is in the Union, yet Ulster is prosperous and contented: whence it follows that the Union cannot be the cause of Irish misery. The force of this practical syllogism is not to be broken by any new theories as to the comparative ethnology of Ulster and the three distressed Provinces. That the three distressed Provinces are Roman Catholic, while Ulster is largely Protestant, cannot be questioned; but it is little less certain that they are distinctively Celtic, while Ulster peopled by Scotch immigrants, is distinctively Teutonic. That Leinster was the Norman Pale, is true; but of Norman blood there is probably now little left anywhere; conquering races which are not industrial die out fast. The bulk of the population in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, especially in the last two, is certainly identical in origin and character with that of Brittany, where we have the Celt unmodified by the Roman Empire, and where he is painted by his compatriot Renan as amiable, pious, saint-worshipping, legend-loving, wanting in commercial energy and in mental independence. The influence of race may have been overstated, yet it has played its part. Cæsar saw the difference between the Teuton and the Celt, and Mommsen has facts before him when he closes a not unsympathetic delineation of the Celtic character with a severe sentence on its political weakness. Let the history of the Celtic Walloons be compared with that of the Dutch, and the contrast will appear. Mr. Sullivan is right in saying that the leaders of Irish disturbance are, and have generally been, Teutons. Parnell, Sexton, Healy, Biggar, Ford, Collins, are all English or Scotch names, and the leaders are men of British race traducing their own blood. But the Celt is not a leader: he borrows Tweed as well as Parnell. Normans, both in Ireland and Scotland, were accepted as chiefs by Celtic clans, which, however, lost none of their Celtic or clannish characteristics. It is not only under British dominion that the violent excitability of the race is seen. In the Draft Riots at New York, atrocities were

committed against the unoffending negro exactly like those which have been committed in Ireland. Negroes were murdered; old negro men and women were cruelly beaten; a negro orphan asylum was sacked and fired; a negro was tied to a tree and roasted alive. Then came repression in its sternest form, which never drew from the Celt a syllable of resentment; though the more Mr. Gladstone yields to him, the more furiously he vilifies Mr. Gladstone. Peculiarities of race are probably not indelible, but neither are they chargeable to the account of the British government. The British government would be more plausibly charged with having preserved the Irish Celt from the inroad of the stronger race, which might otherwise have overrun the island from the north, and with having conferred on him the doubtful boon of Parliamentary institutions, which the Irishman assuredly would never have given himself.

—Irish history is a sad tale, but it ought to be truly told; falsely told as it is, by demagogism or passion, it not only lays blame where blame is not deserved, but fatally misleads the people by making them believe that everything is wrong in their circumstances, that nothing is wrong in themselves, and that whatever outrage they can commit in any part of the world, will be justified by the injuries which they have received. The race must have been originally weak, which, in the primeval struggle for existence, found shelter in the remote island of the west, and its weakness was shown in the double invitation addressed to the Norman conqueror, who was called in at once by a chief to avenge a clannish wrong, and by the ecclesiastics to protect the privileges of their order against the encroachments of the barbarous chiefs. The English, themselves subjugated by the Norman—though instead of inviting, they had stubbornly resisted the invader—had no more to do with his conquest of Ireland, than the Mexicans had to do with the Spanish conquest of Peru. This, however, was the origin of the Pale, with the long war of races, the first great fountain of Irish woes. The next was the European struggle of the sixteenth

century, during which the Irish Catholics were allies of the Catholic powers in the attempt to extirpate Protestantism, and as a weak and outlying portion of the confederacy, felt the full measure of the victors' wrath, though they never suffered a tenth part of what their Spanish and French confederates inflicted on the Protestants wherever they had the power. In 1641, they rose and massacred every Protestant in Ireland on whom they could lay their hands (as they would massacre the English and Scotch Protestants now if British protection were withdrawn), and thus virtually brought down upon themselves the heavy, but not exterminating, or even cruel hand of Cromwell. In 1688, they again took part with the House of Stuart in its conspiracy for the destruction of Protestant liberty, and in their hour of ascendancy proscribed by act of attainder, and doomed to death, the whole Protestant proprietary of Ireland. Protestantism, having thus narrowly escaped with its life, bound them down with a Penal Code, extremely severe, and abhorrent to our better sentiments, yet humane compared with the treatment which Protestants were still receiving at the hands of Catholics in every country where Catholicism prevailed; in France, where the Protestants were being exterminated by Louis XIV., and in Spain where they were being burned by the Inquisition. As the sense of danger subsided, the Penal Code was partially relaxed, though the persecution of Protestantism continued on the continent; and the Pope now proclaims that in no country under a Protestant government is his Church so well treated as in Ireland. In the last century, when Protestantism reigned everywhere, the British Parliament passed foolish and unjust laws protecting Great Britain against the trade of Ireland, which, it must be remembered, was then a separate kingdom; but the Union brought free trade, and Great Britain has since afforded the best of all possible markets for Irish produce, besides giving employment in her manufactures to an immense mass of the surplus Irish population. The tale, we repeat, is a sad one; but not so exceptionally sad that it can be pleaded as a perpetual warrant for antagonism to law and civilization. The Italians, against whose freedom an army of Irish Catholics was fighting but yesterday, have had fully as much to undergo, while

their misfortunes have been less their faults ; yet no privilege is claimed for Italian crime.

—A wealthy and exhausted sybarite is reported to have said that the only pleasure of which death could rob him would be that of seeing the faces of the expectants at the opening of his will. Mr. Gladstone, as an elective king, enjoys in his lifetime the somewhat similar pleasure of seeing the opening at least of the struggle for the succession to his throne. In undissembled eagerness for the prize Mr. Chamberlain surpasses all his competitors, and if the horse which rushes to the front at starting were always the winner of the race, the member for Birmingham might be set down as Premier elect. His anxiety at once to secure the Irish vote for the Birmingham administration of the future led him to draw his chief into the Treaty of Kilmainham, and had not the treaty been torn up by the Phoenix Park murders, he might have found that he had overrated the sufferance of a nation which, though its spirit is for the moment depressed by the weakness of its leaders, has not yet learned to see without a pang the ministers of the Crown allying themselves with lawbreakers and assassins. He now, in disregard of the implied engagements which make cabinet government possible, comes forward apart from his colleagues ; and in defiance of what he must know to be the wish and intention of most of them, promises universal suffrage. What is his chance of success the next general election will show. In the meantime it is essential to a clear view of English politics to know that he and those who follow him represent a totally new phase of Liberalism. The watchword of the Liberals of the last generation was individual freedom, of which they desired as large a measure as possible, with as small a measure as possible of government interference. Their sentiments are embodied in Mill's famous treatise "On Liberty," where the principle is carried to the length of making eccentricity a virtue. Mr. Herbert Spencer is a surviving member of the same school : his aim as a social philosopher is always to secure to the individual the utmost freedom of self-development, and to confine within the narrowest

limits the action of the Government. But the school of which Mr. Chamberlain is the Coryphæus, and which now decidedly prevails, instead of wishing to limit, seeks indefinitely to extend what it deems the beneficent action of the Government, especially in municipal life. It also, unlike its predecessors, is inclined rather to increase than diminish taxation, though it promises to expend the money which it takes from the taxpayer, not in armaments and other Tory objects, but in social and sanitary improvement. Mr. Chamberlain can hardly be a Socialist: he is very wealthy, and the process by which he made his wealth is said to have been one of the most ruthless competition; but he seems to have a Socialist's faith in Government, which he probably, like a Socialist, identifies with himself. At all events he is not without a touch of the Jacobin, whose idea of liberty is liberty for himself to play the despot; and as the fraternity of the Jacobins is said to be the fraternity of Cain, a Tory might have reason to say something analogous of the paternal rule by which the master of the caucus would insist on promoting his happiness. British opinion is at this moment in such a state of flux and disturbance that the best informed and most clear-sighted observers on the spot renounce the attempt to divine the future; they only say that there appear to lie before them unlimited possibilities of change. Yet the character of a nation is not altered in a day, and it is difficult to believe that love of individual freedom and impatience of taxation have entirely departed from the British breast.

—With the Comte de Chambord dies the Bourbon era. On the escutcheon of the Spanish Bourbons there is a revolutionary bend sinister; there is a regicidal bend sinister on the escutcheon of the House of Orleans. If the Comte de Paris ever ascends the French Throne, over him will wave the Tricolor, not the Oriflamme; and the founder of his line will be not Hugh Capet but Egalité. The Sainte Ampoule is shivered never to be repaired. The departure of Chambord is a loss to the Republic, since his uncompromising Bourbonism made the Monarchy impracticable and paralyzed the dynastic wing of the Reaction. But the Republic

has nothing to fear from the machination of any Pretender. Neither Prince Napoleon nor Philip VII. could, by any forces at his command, get up a street riot. If the Republic perishes, she will perish by her own fault, as it has been said of the Old Monarchy that it was not overthrown but fell. The perils of the Republic are the sectional divisions, the factions, the rivalries, the caprices of the Assembly which are fatal to the existence of a stable government; the selfish ambition which broke forth in the scramble for the leadership after the death of Gambetta; the propagandist violence of atheism, which not content with perfect liberty of discussion, insists on using the government as an engine for the purpose of waging internecine war against the national religion; and now the renewed activity of that military ambition which is the most potent of all conspirators for the restoration of the military empire. This passion seems to be ineradicable in the French breast. That France would again attack Germany we have never thought likely, loud as were the French threats of vengeance. A Frenchman is impetuous, but he knows when he is beaten, and perhaps Bazaine's true defence, if he had dared to produce it, was that after Gravelotte his army would fight no more. Turning aside from the serried front of Von Moltke's phalanx, France falls upon communities which she deems weak, hoping to find in victories over them an easy satisfaction for her pride, though she must see already that China is changed, as a military power, since the days when its troops were armed with bows and arrows and tom-toms. For some time past the restlessness of French diplomacy has been felt everywhere; it has been felt even in Quebec, where there has been an effort, perceptible though unofficial, to revive French sentiment and win back the people to French connection. It seems too that though the French government is not unfriendly to England, which has shown it nothing but good-will, the old hatred of Great Britain and the old desire of avenging Waterloo are being manifested again by the press and a portion at least of the people. It is thought, no doubt, that England being weakened by the Irish difficulty is a safe object of menace and insult. Yet the attack of a foreign power and a movement among the Irish in concert with the enemy, would be

more likely than any thing else to rouse the languishing spirit of Great Britain and force her to solve the Irish question promptly, effectually and for ever.

—"Underground Russia," which has been creating some sensation, is Nihilism painted by a Nihilist, and painted of course as a black angel, terrible, yet beautiful and heroic. We cannot say that the individual portraits strike us as altogether seraphic. Stefanovic had the face of a negro or rather a Tartar, prominent cheek-bones, a large mouth, and a flat nose. His smile "had something of the malign and the subtly sportive;" he was "extremely reserved" and "very astute," his force being "not that which goes straight to its object, but that which delights in concealment." Ottilia Horn is distinctly averred to have been impelled to Nihilism by failure to obtain a Court appointment. Of Vera Zassulic, we are told that "an extreme idealism was the basis of her character," as it was the basis of the character of Robespierre. She "would like to shoot Trepoffs every day, or at least once a week, and as this cannot be done she frets." The friend of her bosom consoles her by reminding her that "we cannot sacrifice ourselves every Sunday as our Lord is sacrificed." It does not appear that these people belong to the class to which the system of society is most unkind, and in whose sufferings a justification for Communism is sometimes found: they seem to be the children not of social or political wrong; but of wild and malignant reverie. Whatever they may be, their method is murder, and murder is foul. It is not only foul, but senseless: it discredits reform, and puts morality on the side of tyranny. To the murdered Czar succeeds another Czar with a heart full of vengeance and rendered cruel, even as the best natures are by fear. The line of Ethics is in no case hard and fast. Circumstances are conceivable in which public justice may arm a private hand. When a constitutional ruler, like Louis Napoleon, turns the national force with which he is entrusted against liberty he, in trampling law under his feet, outlaws himself; and the life of a free community cannot be left without defence. Killing

a Caligula or a Nero is little more than killing a mad dog when it is rushing open-mouthed into a crowd. It is another thing to assassinate a legitimate ruler because you and your circle wish to change the form of government. Alexander II. was assassinated in the name of the people; but the people would have torn the assassins to pieces. Raliac, Balthazar Gérard, Booth, Vail, and Guiteau all thought that their victims stood in the way of the public good. Nihilism does not hesitate to blow up the Czar's railway train, full of unoffending people, nor does the writer of "Underground Russia" deem a word of excuse needed. Society can hardly afford to tamper with Satanism. The spirit is spreading. Apart from social fanaticism, there is something fatally attractive, especially to weak and feminine minds, in the practice of terrorism, in the power of signing the secret death-warrant, and bidding the minister of destruction go forth. This is partly the explanation of the murderous brotherhoods of history, including that from which the name Assassin is derived, of the strange passion for poisoning which once possessed the Roman matrons, and even of such a career as that of the Marquise de Brinvilliers, who seems for some at least of her crimes to have had no motive but the lust of exercising malignant power. Let us be lured into sentimental dalliance with criminal chimeras and we may have an "Underground Russia" beneath our own feet.

Russia is no longer a dark mystery. Besides the conscientious and exhaustive work of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace we have other works, English and German, which are trustworthy in their way. Russian civilization is backward, and of its backwardness such intellectual phenomena as Nihilism are not the most striking proof. There is no native philosophy, and imported theories assume the exaggerated and violent forms characteristic of minds impulsive and unbalanced as those of barbarians always are. The causes are mainly geographical, enormous extent of country with a sparse population and seclusion from that mother of intelligence, as well as of wealth, the sea. Historical accidents, notably the Tartar domination, have also played their part. Peter, called the Great, a varnished savage, with no deep insight into the conditions of real progress, forced upon his people with the

knout an anti-national, premature, and essentially spurious civilization. A genuine national life is now beginning to show itself, though it takes the somewhat aggressive form of Panslavism and is connected with dreams about the Village Community as an organ of social regeneration which a better knowledge of economy will almost certainly dispel. Bureaucracy, the gift of Peter and Catherine, has been carried to a fatal excess, and one of its consequences is the licentious idleness of a nobility which has nothing to do but squander its revenues in the pleasure capitals of Europe. Corruption is also rife, though it is not so much the corruption of sheer depravity like that which prevails on this Continent as the survival of that ancient habit of giving presents and fees to all persons in authority which still lingered in England in the time of Bacon. But there is the usual correspondence between institutions and the character of the people. Arbitrary the government is, and we cannot look on it without feeling enhanced thankfulness for freedom: cruel it is not unlikely to be when the Nihilist is at its throat; there is no saying to what measures of self-defence governments and society may be goaded if Thuggism continues to assail them, and the opening of that vista is a sufficient reason with all right-minded people for refusing to flatter communistic illusions. But the Rev. Mr. Lansdell, a missionary, who the other day took advantage of his calling to explore the prisons of Siberia, found them far indeed removed from the model prisons of the highly civilized west, yet not less far removed from the hideous dens of iniquity depicted by Revolutionary writers. Of the quicksilver mines, the reputed scenes of the most horrible form of penal servitude in the world, he failed to discover the existence. The charge of torturing Nihilist prisoners, for the purpose of extorting revelations, is rejected, as a matter of course, in "Underground Russia," but merely as a rumour which the writer wishes his readers to believe, without names, details, or a particle of evidence of any kind: we can scarcely designate at least as evidence the insinuation that General Lovis Melikoff, being an "Asiatic Jesuit," is likely to have resorted to the rack. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, as to the motives which prompted the Emancipation of the Serfs, and other measures of re-

form introduced by the late Emperor, sometimes perhaps in advance of the fitness of his people. Russia, though peculiar, is not in a planet by herself. Her government is influenced and stimulated both by European opinion and by the example of other governments. It was especially influenced by the Government of England till Jingoism, with its Russophobic follies, turned the old friendship into enmity. On the other hand, a domination of Nihilists, if it could be erected on the ruins of the Empire, would, we may be sure, leave the exploits of Robespierre far behind. The "extreme idealist" of the French Revolution guillotined but did not assassinate, and he certainly would not have blown up a railway train. "Underground Russia" and Satanism generally forget that the world has the blood-red light of experience to guide it in determining whether it shall embrace their promise of a millennium.

—In Eastern Europe there have been renewed risings of the people against the Jews. Once more everything is charged to the account of religion, and once more that interpretation of the disturbances is essentially untrue. Religion is, at all events, the least part of the matter, as it has been in a good many other cases in which it has been set down as the chief culprit. Hungary, which is now the principal scene of the outbreaks, is a menagerie of creeds, as well as of races, in which Catholics, Roman, Greek and Armenian, are mingled with Lutherans, Calvinists, members of the Greek Church, and people of other denominations, non-Christian as well as Christian. Some of these Churches have, by their theological quarrels, brought scandal upon Christendom, yet they do not persecute each other, or accuse each other of hideous crimes. The main root of the evil in Hungary now is, as it has been everywhere and in all times, the position of the Jews as an intrusive and parasitic race, subsisting upon the labour of other races by usury, and at the same time maintaining towards the Gentiles, on whom they prey, an exclusive and unsocial bearing, which adds to the bitterness of extortion. A fresh swarm of these people has lately been descending on Hungary, and the sub-

stance of the people is passing rapidly into their hands. They are most rapacious, and the most hateful of all invaders. In Hungary, as in Russia and Roumania, they no doubt keep the drinking-shops, and make use of them for the purpose of entangling the victim in their toils. Philosophic Liberalism, much at its ease, enjoins the people to allow themselves quietly to be devoured, and to bow before the superior intelligence of the race which is stripping them of their property and supplanting them in their homes. But the peasants are not philosophic Liberals, nor are they at their ease; they try to kick off the bloodsucker, and in their convulsive efforts bring disgrace on their own cause. It ought to be borne in mind, however, that the telegraphic agency and the Vienna Press are in Jewish hands. The Russian Christians were accused of wholesale violations of Jewish women; but these statements were positively contradicted after careful inquiry by the British consuls, whose reports also showed that the amount of damage done to property had been extravagantly exaggerated in the Jewish accounts. It is the old story. Journalist after journalist repeats as a fact beyond all question, that the Jews in England were prevented from taking to agriculture and driven to usury by the bigotry of the Christians, who forbade them to own land. The truth is that they came into England in the wake of the Norman Conquest for the very purpose of plying the trades to which they are alleged to have been driven, and that they were not forbidden to own land till towards the end of the reign of Henry III., when it appeared either that England must be mortgaged to them, or that Parliament must step in, which it did in the rough fashion of those times.* The worst outrage is the murder trial

* The truth begins to be seen, however. The *London Times*, which at first treated the outbreaks as religious persecutions, and invoked against them the indignation of humanity, now says — "Jews all over the world will be well advised if they face the fact that there must be some deep cause for the unpopularity which their brethren have to endure in Russia. It cannot be supposed that Russian statesmen are bent on persecuting the Jews, because there is no general reason of State policy which could justify them in so doing. Put, on the other hand, Ministers must take account of a widespread feeling which has been raised against the Jews owing to the hold which this people have taken upon the country as usurers, and speculators in all the least reputable trades. Most of the rural communes are indebted to Jews; individual peasants are so almost as an invariable rule; and a great number of landowners have been im-

in Hungary, a revival, among an ignorant and superstitious population, of a medieval fable; for we cannot believe with Milman that there was ever any real ground for these stories, though, in the Middle Ages, when the Jews were the great slave traders, there may have been cases of kidnapping to set the popular fancy at work, as in this case there was a mysterious disappearance. To measure the credulity of the people fairly, however, we must bear in mind the great difference between the Western and Eastern Jew. The Jews of the West, being a mere handful, have been softened and partly assimilated by the surrounding civilization. The Jews of Eastern Europe, numerous and closely united, retain the dark and ferocious intolerance of their race; worship, with all their souls, the Deity who taught them to spoil the Egyptians, and gave the Canaanites over to their exterminating swords; strictly refuse to eat, drink, or intermarry with the people among whom they dwell; and act thoroughly up to the precept of the Talmud which tells them that if they will keep the Law, the wealth of the Gentiles shall be given into their hands. Of the

poverished by selling their crops for years in advance, and at absurdly low rates, to money-lenders of the Shylock type. The Jews may urge that they have done no more than strike good bargains when they had their chance; but it is never a wise plan to take what are called mean advantages, and to press them heavily when the victims are in distress. There is a story of a Russian prince, who, having become heavily involved, sought to raise money by the usual device of selling five years' crops for a comparatively small sum in ready money. He signed a bond, and held out his hand for the rouble-notes, but only received a parcel of his own dishonoured bills which had been bought by the Russian Jew from co-religionists in London and Paris. The idea that all the scattered tribes of Jews are in league to wrest money from the Gentile is one which prevails universally in Russia owing to experiences of this description; and then it must be added that in their dealings as publicans the Jews have contrived to excite the hostility of the lowest and most turbulent classes of Russians. Holding almost all the *vodka* shops, they are accused of selling bad spirit, of selling it dear, and of allowing just so much credit as may serve to bring improvident customers into their clutches. Distrain upon peasants and artisans, who have run up long scores at the *vodka* shops while they were drunk, has been no uncommon sight in Russia, and one case of this sort does more harm than a hundred instances of generosity can remedy. We are not citing examples of Jewish exactions and misbehaviour to urge any excuse for acts of brutality and rapine, such as those which have disgraced Ekaterinoslav, but it is at least fair that in considering popular movements, however irrational they may seem, one should take all facts into view. Much of what has happened, and may still occur, not in Russia only, but in other countries where the Jews are settled in large numbers, would be inexplicable if one looked upon the Jews merely as religious martyrs."

bigotry and of the prejudice of race against which they and their champions declaim, they are themselves the strongest example. In "Underground Russia," which we have noticed elsewhere, it is mentioned as a normal part of the character of a Jewish lady, that she had been brought up in hatred of everything Christian, and especially of Christian science. "Murder of a Russian Jewess," is the heading of a paragraph in the *London Times*, which naturally prepares the reader for some tale of Christian cruelty. But the murderer of the Jewess was her own father, who, according to the paragraph, had her killed, chopped to pieces, and thrown into the Dnieper, because she had married a Christian and embraced her husband's faith. Suppose the Freemasons were to do as the Jews do in Hungary, suppose they were to form themselves into a mysterious brotherhood of extortion, and at the same time to treat their fellow-citizens as unclean, refusing to intermarry with them, or to sit at the same board, might not they become the object of suspicion as dark, and perhaps as unfounded, as that which gave rise to the Hungarian trial. The latest news is that the Jews who have gone from Russia and Austria to Palestine, instead of earning their bread honestly by the labour of their hands, have established a cordon round Jerusalem, and are intercepting all the vegetables brought in from the country, and selling them again at exorbitant prices. Is it wonderful that the unlettered victims of these practices should be ready to believe anything, however dark and monstrous, of the extortioner? English journals ask what is to be done. Nothing can be done unless the Jews will give up tribal rites and practices which have nothing to do with religious doctrine, earn their bread by labour, and become like other men.

—The education of Protestant ministers has formed the subject of a notable article in the *Princeton Review* by President Eliot, of Harvard and a reply by Professor Potter, of Princeton. President Eliot, as a thorough-going Liberal, desires that ministers henceforth, instead of being instructed in the defences of established doctrine shall be trained on the principle of free inquiry and

shall always continue free inquirers. This, he says, has become necessary to meet the demands of an age which repudiates authority in matters of opinion and will not listen to arguments in favour of foregone conclusions, or to anything but honest statements of conviction conscientiously formed after fair and adequate investigation. Apologetics, if they ever convinced, now convince no more. This is due in great measure to the increasing influence of physical and inductive sciences on the intellectual tendencies of man. But the minister's position is also greatly altered by the general rise in the level of knowledge which has taken from him his monopoly of learning. A radical change in clerical education has become necessary if a clergyman is to retain any intellectual hold upon the minds of the people; and in this case as in that of any other student or inquirer, the training instead of being cut short on admission to the ministry must be carried on through life. As things now are, no profession is under such terrible temptations to intellectual dishonesty as the clerical, while the public standard of candour is higher than it ever was before. This turns away from the gate of the profession the choicest minds, whose place is ill supplied by boys subsidized at school and college out of the funds of sectarian societies on condition that they shall enter the ministry. Such is the upshot of President Eliot's trenchant paper. Professor Potter's reply is less trenchant than peremptory. "Young men who fear that the obligation of an authoritative creed will prove too great a strain upon their honesty are summarily told that "they are not wanted in the ranks of the Protestant clergy on any terms;" a sentence which to our ears has a very funereal sound. The main and most momentous question is almost smothered under a burst of theatrical indignation—"Let the fires of Smithfield, the graves of Covenanters and Huguenots tell whether Protestant ministers have been insincere!" The Reformers in their day were free inquirers; such of them as had been originally priests of the Church of Rome, Cranmer and Latimer, for instance, must certainly have continued their inquiries after their ordination; yet the conditions under which they lived were widely different from those of our critical and scientific days. The authority of the Pope had been cast down;

but that of the Church remained practically unassailed; nor had criticism yet laid its hand upon the inspiration of the Bible. Professor Potter forgets, too, to notice that Protestantism has not only a creed but creeds, only one of which at most can be absolutely true, while the differences between them are proclaimed vital by the several Churches. On the other hand, President Eliot, if he sees, does not show us that he sees, the difficulty of putting Free Inquiry with its liabilities into the Pulpit from which the mass of the people have been accustomed to hear, as they thought, the utterance of immutable truth. The change involves not only an improvement in ministerial education but a revolution in the ministerial office and in the present organization of a church. What is a Protestant minister? We know what a Roman Catholic priest is; his position is perfectly intelligible; and if the doctrines on which it is founded were true would be thoroughly sound: it is, at all events, not affected by those circumstances which affect that of the minister. An organ of the teaching of an infallible Church, and an accredited performer of sacramental miracles essential to salvation, in neither capacity does he need the support of intellectual superiority or indeed of personal superiority of any kind. The Claims of Science he meets with the Syllabus. His only weak point is that his credentials are demonstrably a fable and his system is an usurpation, the course of which can be plainly traced by history. But what is a Protestant minister? It seems to be as certain as anything which depends on negative evidence can be that before the close of the second century, or thereabouts, there was no such thing as a clergy or a ministry in the modern sense of the term. Office-bearers of the congregation under the name of Overseers and Elders there were; but their functions were administrative not spiritual; the spirit being still believed to breathe where it listed and to move the gifted members of the congregation. Various influences, political as well as ecclesiastical, combined to turn the officers into a clerical order; and the contagion of paganism conspiring with the general tendency to thaumaturgic assumption, converted the clergyman into the priest. The Reformation discarded the priesthood with the Sacrifice of the Mass; but it left, what under the circumstances

of those days it could not without evident risk of bringing on chaos have helped leaving, a separate order of men set apart for the preaching of the Word and the administration of such sacraments as were retained. An exclusive possession of learning, added to the popular sentiment ingrained by ages of clerical supremacy, enabled the Protestant minister to maintain a position scarcely less exalted and secure than that of his predecessor, the priest. His teaching was the message of God to men, as to which no sceptical misgivings had arisen, and which he had been pronounced by the Church duly qualified to deliver. The essence of his discourse was thus given him and was recognised by his hearers as divine. For the human part, for all that was exegetical, hortatory or rhetorical, he enjoyed an unapproached superiority both of knowledge and expression. He was a spiritual guide and pastor, in the fullest sense of the terms, nor could a congregation at that stage of popular intelligence have dispensed with such a chief. But what, we ask again, is the minister now? His intellectual superiority is gone; his message has become the subject of doubt and criticism, clerical authority or authority of any kind, except that of superior knowledge and ability, in matters of opinion, is for all but Roman Catholics or High Churchmen a thing of the past. If the principle of free inquiry is to be recognised, the least qualified of all the members of the congregation to preach to it will be the minister, since he, so long as any ordination test remains, will be the one member specially restrained from avowing the conclusion to which, as a free inquirer, he may be led. Eloquence will attract; but eloquence is rare; the great orators of the world may be counted on ten fingers; and, as every literary man will say, considering the rate at which sermons are produced and the narrow circle of subjects to which the preacher is confined, the wonder is not that preaching should not be better than it is but that it should not be worse. Zeal and piety are titles and the best of titles to reverence; but they are not grounds for the existence of a distinct order. Liberal theologians, such as Mr. Fremantle, avow their belief that Church services altogether are losing in importance relatively to literature, art and other influences hitherto regarded as pertaining merely to this world. Are the Churches destined ever to revert to something

like the early Christian system, to put again at the head of each congregation, instead of priest or pastor, an administrative president with a council of elders, and throw open the function of preaching, or whatever may be analogous to it, to the most gifted and best qualified members of the congregation at large? Some peculiar sects such as the Quakers and the Plymouth Brethren have already taken this, or something like this, course. Many a pastor would surely find it a relief to be restored to the position of a primitive overseer, accompanied, as it would certainly be, by his full share of more distinctly spiritual work instead, of having by a constant strain to support his intellectual ascendancy over a critical and exacting flock, and being expected to furnish to the hearts of the multitude, deadened perhaps by incipient scepticism, religious life out of the store in his own breast. The character of the present situation is painfully betrayed by the increasing demand for qualities and accomplishments in preachers which have nothing to do with religion, but are those of the platform or the stage, as well as by the restlessness of congregations, which soon weary of a single performer, and by the friction and caballing to which that restlessness gives birth. The Roman Catholic and the Ritualist escape those difficulties each in his way by offering the Mass or the quasi-Mass, with music and ceremonial as attractions in place of preaching; but it is of Protestant ministers that President Eliot and Professor Potter speak.

The question which they moot is one of urgency. One after another all the Churches are called upon to deal with outbursts of post-ordination independence in clerical minds. Presbyterian orthodoxy struggles to expel Dr. Robertson Smith, as it before expelled Dr. Macleod Campbell, the author of a very excellent but, in those days, heterodox work on the Atonement. Methodism arraigns Dr. Thomas. Episcopalianism finds a second Colenso in the Rev. Heben Newton, the author of a treatise on "The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible." Mr. Eliot's work is indeed a galaxy of heterodoxies, social and economical as well as theological. It reminds us of the explosion of a bouquet of rockets at the close of an exhibition of fireworks. Perhaps one moral which may be drawn from it is the inexpediency of appointing any one to teach by au-

thority, unless his authority is such as really to guarantee him against error. Irritation, acrimony, a passionate desire to relieve the conscience at once, and in the most startling form, of all its accumulated doubts and antagonisms, are the natural consequences of the repression imposed by tests and ordination vows. This was seen in the case of Bishop Colenso ; it is seen again in the case of Dr. Heber Newton ; and surely it is a strong reason for relaxing the tests and tempering the vows, as far as is possible, without depriving the Church at once of what may be still a necessary bond of cohesion. Nothing can be more ruinous than for a Church, in the meridian light of a critical and scientific age, to exhibit itself before the public in the attitude of orthodoxy coercing a man who has given utterance to inconvenient truths. The only possible effect of such a policy is to turn individual disquiet into general revolt. Perhaps the day may arrive when it will be seen that the Founder of Christianity asked those who came to Him no questions about the date of the Book of Daniel, the authenticity of the second part of Isaiah, or any of the problems of Alexandrian theosophy ; that the bond between Him and His disciples was wholly spiritual and that such ought to be the bond between the members of His Church, But organization has become more or less bound up with dogma and we cannot expect a radical change to be made at once : what we may expect is that the soul-strangling tightness of the tests shall be relaxed on one side and, that the caution which is a part of Charity shall be used on the other. Mr. Heber Newton's wine is very red, and the bottles of Episcopalianism are very old.

—At once in Ontario and in Manitoba, the Sunday Question has been under debate. On every side the rising tide of scepticism and secularism is encroaching on the coastline of Christian institutions. In the case of Manitoba the discussion has a special interest, because a new country, comparatively untrammelled by tradition, looks at questions with an open mind. Christianity is no longer the law of the land, even in England ; so, in effect, the Court of Queen's Bench has decided. But suppose it

were, what is the Christian Sabbath? To the Puritan it is a day of austerity, and a day of austerity it remains, in a greater or less degree, to those Churches by which more or less of the Puritan character is retained. But the Roman Catholic treats it as a holiday, his seasons of austerity being Fridays and the days of Lent. Of the two sects which in the Episcopal Church dwell beneath one roof, the High Church Anglicans, with their Book of Sports and their Sunday afternoon cricket clubs, lean to the Roman Catholic practice, the Evangelicals to the Puritan. In the cities of Lutheran Germany, a Sunday afternoon presents nearly the same aspect as in France. Dogmatic certainty is unattainable. No task can be more desperate than that of disentangling the threads of Judaism, original or as revived by the Puritans, of primitive Christian usage and of ecclesiastical law, which have mingled in the several beliefs and dictated the different modes of observance. "Those who judge that, in place of the Sabbath, the Lord's Day was intended as a day to be necessarily observed, are greatly mistaken. Scripture abrogated the Sabbath, and teaches that all the Mosaic ceremonies may be omitted now that the Gospel is revealed. And yet for as much as it was needful to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to assemble together, it appears that the Church destined the Lord's Day for this purpose. This day seems to have rather pleased them, in order that men might have thereby a proof of Christian liberty, and know that the observance, whether of the Sabbath or of the other day, was not a matter of necessity." So says the Confession of Augsburg, penned by Melancthon, but inspired by Luther. The Sabbath of the Pilgrim Fathers nobody would desire to restore: the wonder is that Christianity survived it. The Hebrew Sabbath is still more a thing of the past: its observance is avowedly founded by the lawgiver on the belief that the Creation literally occupied six days, and that Omnipotence, like a weary artificer, rested on the seventh; but besides this, it is adapted to a primitive and purely agricultural civilization. It was easy for the Hebrew husbandman, at the setting of the sixth day's sun, to stay the plough, bid the bondsman rest, and let the ox go free. It is not so easy to stop all the wheels in the vast and

complex machine of modern commerce, to arrest the freight train on the road, the telegram or the letter in its transit. Still less can the ship furl her sail in mid-ocean: maritime trade and travel, of which the Hebrew legislator never dreamed, must go on without interruption. Christians will be always at liberty to keep Sunday in the way which each of them deems most Christian, and their collective influence, while they remain the majority, must largely regulate the practice of the community: it will be unprofitable to open the stores if the customers are in Church. It does not follow that even if State enactments cease, a great body of opinion will at once melt away. But the possibility of enforcing religious observance has departed with the possibility of enforcing theological belief, nor could anything be more suicidal than the presentation of religion as the arbitrary imponent of Blue Laws upon an unbelieving people.

The Day of Rest, however, is not merely a religious observance, but a common need of humanity. Everyone except the practical materialist desires repose for his spirit; even the materialist desires refreshment for his body. The Sabbath was only one of the many modes by which, in different nations, the necessity was recognised and provision made for it under the sanction of religion. It was peculiar chiefly in being periodical, whereas the festivals of other nations were scattered irregularly over the year; for the Roman nundines, though they formed a division nearly corresponding to the week, were holidays only for a portion of the people, market days and days of business for the rest. The periodical character was a great advantage, and one sufficiently recognised, we may presume, to be preserved by the institution whatever form in other respects it may hereafter take. Holidays of uncertain occurrence unsettle industry, sometimes to a most ruinous extent, stimulate dissipation, and are far less favourable than the fixed day to family enjoyment and affection. It seems also to have been pretty well settled by experience that one day in seven is about the right proportion of time: the French Decadi appears to have failed from its insufficiency, as well as from being at variance with the beliefs still rooted in the minds of the great mass of the

French people. Nor will there be much difference of opinion as to the necessity of some positive law to guard the general rest against the fell encroachments of avarice. Such a law everywhere exists, and nobody has yet proposed its repeal. It is still generally respected as an organic part of our civilization. Relaxations of it are proposed, and in many of our cities on this Continent it has been relaxed, often with regard to conveyances, in some cases with regard to public amusements. Unfortunately, the amusement of some involves the unbroken toil of others and their almost entire estrangement from home. Local legislation will be determined by opinion, which is now everywhere in a state of transition, and by circumstances, which are not the same in a village as in New York, while the rule of the secular legislator will be the greatest rest and enjoyment of the greatest number. It is idle to imagine that, apart from theology, any definite principle or any rule of permanent and universal application can be laid down. The man of spiritual mind continuing to act up to his own ideal, will still enjoy, if he pleases, the dew of refreshment which falls upon the soul through the stillness of the Sabbath air, and if his convictions are well founded he will leaven the social lump, while all who have a care for humanity, even if they have renounced religion, will do their utmost, and make all reasonable sacrifices of personal profit and convenience, to secure to the exhausted brain and toil-worn hand the indispensable day of rest. We cannot see that with regard to the general question there is much more to be said.

—At a time when the foundations of morality are moved, every moral controversy has additional interest, because it discloses tendencies and throws light on the Ethics of the future. This may be said of the question of Vivisection, which, when the world seemed to be growing weary of it, was the other day revived in all its fury by a vote of the University of Oxford granting a large sum of money to the museum of an avowed vivisector. It is alleged that the vote was snapped: old Oxford, like the religious world in general, is no doubt anti-vivisectionist; but there is now in

the University a strong party of Radicals, and Radicals of the most thorough-going kind; for no leaves are greener than those which grow upon grey walls. The controversy will be endless, and will furnish debating clubs with a subject forever unless the question of principle can be settled; and the question of principle may lie deep. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," supposing the happiness to be that enjoyed in the present world, would justify the vivisector, provided he can show that by the medical and surgical knowledge obtained through his experiments, he prevents more pain than he inflicts. For aught we can see, it would justify him in vivisectioning a man if he had reason to believe that a thousand men would thereby be saved from suffering; and between brutes and men there is not in the creed of the Evolutionist, if he is also an Agnostic, a great gulf fixed. But there is another philosophy which sets more store by character and the hopes which moral excellence enfolds. It is surely inconceivable that the qualities of Mercy and Pity should not suffer by the practice of fixing an innocent creature in an iron instrument to prevent it from writhing or howling, and deliberately torturing it for hours. A surgeon in performing an operation knows that he is relieving his patient; he therefore may well suppress feelings which would interfere with his steadiness of hand; but the hapless dog or rabbit suffers hideous agonies without any sort of compensation, and in this case the repression of natural feeling, disguise it in philanthropic language as you will, can hardly fail to have a bad effect upon the heart. If in the constitution of things, such horrors are really unavoidable, it is difficult to believe that Benevolence rules the world. Perhaps even in a secular point of view, and with regard to the present interest of humanity, there is more ground for vigilance than the advocates of scientific progress at any cost may be willing to allow. It is a disagreeable fact that cruelty is not without fascination, and we must recollect that among the students of anatomy now are women. Whatever may be the logical force of the arguments urged on the side of Science it may be doubted whether even a male vivisector would wish to take a female vivisector as his wife.

—Toronto has of late often heard the drumbeat of the Salvation Army. Take what views of it in other respects you will, the Army is one of the curious phenomena of the age. But though curious, it has nothing about it that is unique. Of these spasmodic movements of enthusiasm, there has been a long series from the Pastoureaux and the Flagellants down to the Revivals of modern times. Generally, they have been religious, sometimes they have been social, as was the Temperance movement of Father Matthew; always they have been short-lived; nor does it appear that the traces left by them have ever been very deep. They have never failed to take up into their skirts much that was hypocritical, indecent and insane. Against any good which they may do while they last, is to be set the reaction which inevitably follows. The Salvation Army, moreover, coming upon a sceptical age, seems by the grossness and familiarity of its language on religious subjects to have furnished incentives to profanity. Still, two notable facts remain. The first is, that in spite of agnostic science, secularism, and all other influences adverse to religion, the pulse of religious life in great masses of the people still beats strong. The second is, that while the ashes of other heroes and benefactors of humanity have long been cold, men in great numbers can still be found to give up their pursuits, their gains, and their enjoyments, to lead laborious lives, to brave shame and ridicule for the sake of a peasant of Galilee who died more than eighteen hundred years ago.

—The publication of the "Sacred Books of the East" by the Oxford University Press continues. Of the last two volumes one (Vasishtha and Baudhâyana) is Vedic, the other (Pahlavi Texts) is Zoroastrian. Again the primeval treasure-house which erudition had declared to be full of spiritual wisdom is opened, and whatever may be discerned by eyes which see better in the dark than ours, we must own that we discern nothing. We can scarcely conceive anything spiritually lower than either volume. In the Vedic book two things predominate, caste with all its iniquity, and a ceremonial law which is of the most irrational, degraded, and

oppressive kind, but the knowledge of which is represented by its hierophants as bliss, while the people that know it not, are accursed. "That sin which dunces, perplexed by ignorance and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare to be duty, shall be increased a hundred-fold on those who propound it." The distinctions of caste are such as in themselves to be fatal to the existence, not only of human brotherhood, but of everything deserving the name of social morality, and to any but a morally monstrous conception of God. "If a Brahman dies with the food of a Sûdra in his stomach he will become a village pig (in his next life), or be born in the family of that Sûdra." The exclusion from heaven extends even to the children of a Brahman begotten after eating the food of the Sûdra. Thus caste is not merely an earthly distinction, necessary perhaps for the organization of society in this world, but nothing in the eye of God, or in the final distribution of happiness, which is the Gospel mode of viewing rank and station; it is a religious barrier between man and man as insurmountable in a future state as in the present. For the murder of a Brahman death and confiscation are the penalty: for the murder of a Sûdra the same fine is to be paid as for killing a flamingo, a peacock, a Brahmanic duck, an owl, a dog, or an ichneumon. Serving Sûdras is an offence classed with stealing and giving false evidence. For adultery every one is to suffer corporal punishment, except the Brahman. This is not even primeval superstition, it is Brahmanic fraud. "A Brahman who always carries water (in his pot), who always wears the sacred thread, who daily recites the Veda, who avoids the food of Sûdras, who approaches (his wife) in the proper season, and offers sacrifices in accordance with the rules (of the Veda, after death), never falls from Brahman's heaven." Here is the very essence of ceremonialism, and such is the general texture of the book. Effects infinitely blessed are ascribed to the repetition of the mystic syllable "Om." "If at sunrise a man mutters the Gâdjatri eight thousand times, he will be free from all mortal sins, provided he be not the slayer of a Brahman." Among the panaceas of the soul is more than once recommended a holy concoction of which cow-dung is a principal ingredient. The purifying efficacy of cow-dung, indeed, and some cognate substan-

ces are nowhere so fully set forth as in this Sacred Book. "Practise righteousness, not unrighteousness ; speak truth, not untruth ; look far, not near ; look towards the Highest, not towards that which is not the Highest,"—few and far between are such moral passages as this, and their effect is annulled by the all-pervading ceremonial and by caste. The Zoroastrian book belongs to the latest development of that religion at the moment when it was about to be driven by Mahometanism from its Persian seat and sent to dwell in Indian exile as the creed of the money-dealing Parsee. In the conception of a perpetual war between the Power of Good and the Power of Evil, with the liegemen of each, Zoroastrianism has always something that elevates it, and lends to it a semblance of spiritual life. "The righteous souls pass over on the Kinvad bridge by spiritual flight and the power of good works ; and they step forth up to the star, or to the moon, or to the sun station, or to the endless light. The soul of the wicked, owing to its falling from the bridge, its lying demon, and the pollution collected by its sin, they shall lead therefrom to the descent into the earth, as both ways lead from that bridge on the Dâitih peak." Righteousness and wickedness, however, are very faintly defined. With the simple idea of the Powers of Good and Evil is combined an extravagant Demonism, the body of a hero being watched over by 99,999 guardian spirits ; the conceptions of the physical universe are grotesque ; religion is mixed up with the most heterogeneous matters and observances ; intolerance is present, punishing apostacy with death ; and ceremonialism, though nothing like so dominant as in the Vedic Book, yet shows itself in a degraded form, with absurd injunctions about the exposure of corpses, the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, the use of fire in ceremonies, and other formal trivialities. The ceremonial law of the Jews, though it is the butt of Agnostic wit, and though, with the tribal morality of the Jew it ought to be cast from off the neck of Christianity, is always rational and symbolic compared with the ceremonialism found in these "Sacred Books of the East." But the special characteristic of this Zoroastrian volume is that nine-tenths of it, whatever they may be to the understanding of the expert, to the ordi-

nary understanding are sheer nonsense. We say this after making proper allowance for the want of form, which always marks the works of the Eastern mind, including even the writings of the Hebrew prophets, in contrast with the works of the Greek. The translator seems not unconscious of the difficulty, and he continually inserts in brackets the words of the original, which afford little help to the perplexed mind of the general reader. Not in these volumes, any more than in their predecessors, will there be found anything to contravene the historical fact, which stands independent of miracle and miraculous revelation, that with the publication of Christianity spiritual life began.

—The political history of Canada has been employing more than one good pen. Mr. Dent has handled the subject with great industry and in a judicial spirit: Mr. Collins with the vigour and liveliness which belong to the untrammelled utterance of conviction. A history of the Liberal Party is promised, and when it comes will no doubt supplement the work of Mr. Collins, who writes from the Conservative, though at the same time from the national, point of view. We could wish these authors a grander theme than Canadian politics since 1840. W. Lyon Mackenzie and his group are not romantic or picturesque; they do not strike the imagination like the patriots of the Long Parliament, or even like the patriots of 1638: they were rough men, and we can understand how between them and the high-bred English gentlemen who wielded the power of the Crown, there was a social antipathy as well as a political antagonism. But to their struggle attaches the interest which belongs to every struggle for a principle. Responsible government having been conceded, and its corollaries, such as the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, having followed in the natural course of things, as the ascendancy of the Liberal Party in the mother country continued, the struggle for principles was at an end. The advent of the Hincks' administration marks the opening of an era of mere party with its combinations and its tactics. But the star of Sir Francis Hincks soon faded before that

of Sir John A. Macdonald, who as a party leader and a political strategist may well kindle the enthusiasm of Mr. Collins, for in his peculiar line he would have been qualified to play a leading part on any political stage. Few more difficult feats perhaps have ever been accomplished than that of training Orangemen to vote for Roman Catholics and to march to the poll with the Ultramontanes of Quebec. Yet the ashes of all these rivalries, controversies and scandals will be gathered by history into a very narrow urn. A fresh interest arises when we come in sight of Confederation; but the impelling motive was so far from grand, the sequel was so poor, the subsequent treatment of the national aspirations by those who had appealed to them was so unworthy, that the page is turned with an unwilling hand. There is a history which if it were only recorded or capable of being recovered, would be interesting indeed, and would furnish us with a religion of gratitude. It is the history of the Pioneer in all his lines. The monument of that history is the fair land in which we live; its archives are the lines on mouldering head-boards where perhaps an emigrant and the partner of his exile, sustained through their lowly but heroic struggle with the wintry wilderness by mutual affection, rest in their humble grave. Other record, it apparently will have none.

In England the controversy about the Carlyle memoirs has given birth to a general discussion respecting the Ethics of Biography, a subject not unpractical, for at the present rate of composition the living will soon be too few to read the biographies of the dead. It seems clear that the rule of biography as of history should be truth. But to tell the truth is difficult when the biographer is a relative, or when the family have put the papers into his hands; we must be satisfied if such a writer avoids downright falsehood. Nobody expects to find in the "Life of Lord Palmerston" by his stepson an account of that statesman's private habits or a mention of such untoward incidents of his career as the falsification of the Burnes Despatches. The son of Wilberforce has indeed been terribly veracious, but he evidently did not know what he was doing. This general observation must serve for the

present as our review of the "Life of Dr. Ryerson," which we have no doubt will afford much pleasure to the Doctor's friends and to many members of the Church, a leading place in which he combined with important functions in the State. The praise of administrative vigour is conceded on all hands. That there is a different version of some other parts of the case the biographer himself can hardly fail to be aware.

—The BYSTANDER mourns the departure of Mr. G. Mercer Adam, who, after giving the best years of his life to the service of literature and the high class book-trade in Canada, has, like other men whom we could ill spare, accepted an invitation to New York, where he joins Mr. Lovell, the enterprising publisher, who is also an exile from Canada. We cannot wonder at these secessions. How is literature, how is the high-class book-trade to flourish here, under the present conditions? A Canadian writer can have no copyright of any value on his own Continent, while, in his case, copyright in England is a name. The Canadian book-trade is cut off from its natural centres of distribution, to which it cannot resort without paying double duty. At the same time both writer and trade are exposed to the overwhelming influx of American reprints from English works, with which the Imperial copyright forbids the colony to compete. The literary calling in this country if it exists at all must exist almost apart from any hope of remuneration. Against such disadvantages what can vice-regal patronage avail?

—This number will conclude with a farewell, to be followed, however, by a fresh greeting. The reception given to the BYSTANDER has seemed to warrant an experiment in independent journalism on a larger scale. In our advertising pages will be found the announcement of a weekly journal unconnected with party. For this the BYSTANDER will make way, and perhaps

his signature will be sometimes seen in its columns. He rejoices at once in the termination of his own labour and in the appearance of a more comprehensive and adequate organ of Canadian opinion, the free expression of which it has always been his chief aim to promote.

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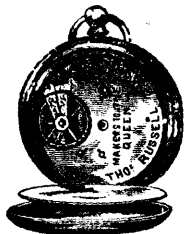
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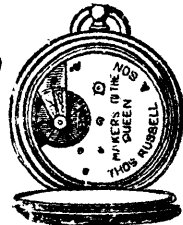
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