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1889.

A MONTHLY  
REVIEW

**THE BYSTANDER**

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# THE BYSTANDER.

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NOVEMBER, 1889.

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MR. LAURIER came to see whether Ontario Liberalism would accept a leader opposed to Equal Rights. The answer seems to have been decisive, and the more so as Mr. Laurier is and deserves to be personally most acceptable. Unless the Liberal Party soon puts intrigue under hatches and calls principle to the helm, it will be in danger of going on the rocks. If the result of the Rielite intrigue will not cure Liberals of listening to bad advice what will? Let them remember that the same men who drew her into that intrigue and who are now trying to set them against Equal Right also threw cold water at first on Reciprocity, so that under this guidance they would have been left absolutely without a policy at all except that of mere huckstering for votes. It is pretty evident, from the success of the Equal Rights' meetings recently at Toronto and Montreal, that the feeling is not dying out, that it is settling down into conviction, and that the parties will have to reckon with it at the polls. The lineaments even of a new party begin to show themselves, if leaders could be found. In both parties there is a strong revolt, let them affect to talk lightly of it as they may. The Conservative Machine perhaps stands the strain better than its rival, because it is the more strongly organized, and its managers have the patronage and the appropriations in their hands. The Richelieu election seems to show that even in his own Province the Liberal leader is weak and that the priest party give to Sir John Macdonald, as Mr. Chapleau says they ought, the chief credit

for the passing of the Jesuits' Estates Act and regard him as their true friend. Yet the Conservative managers are evidently afraid to bring on an election for East Toronto, and the country has become sufficiently familiarized with party practices to allow the office of Collector of Customs to be kept vacant on that account.

Each of the political parties has tied a millstone around its neck by embracing a theory of Provincial Right incompatible with the integrity of the nation. The Liberals did it because the Central Power was in the hands of their opponents; and now the Conservatives have done it to cover their surrender to the Quebec vote in the matter of the Jesuits' Estates Act. Both have fallen into the trap of making principles to suit situations. From the language used it might be supposed that Provincial Right was something far more sacred than National Right, or any other kind of right; that it had existed, so to speak, before the political worlds, and had a transcendental claim to reverence. What is it but the portion of power assigned to the Province by the Act of Confederation? Why is the national right of controlling Provincial action in the common interest less sacred than the Provincial right of action? Sir John Thompson avers that the authority of a Provincial Legislature is as absolute within its sphere as that of the Imperial Parliament by whose act the Provincial Legislature was created and which can change or abolish it to-morrow. But the sphere of a Provincial Legislature is bounded not only by the definition of its subjects, but by the national veto. That the national veto was intended to be a reality has been proved out of the mouths of those who are now holding the opposite doctrine, and no answer to this evidence or to that furnished by Sir Alexander Galt's pamphlet has been attempted. Sir John Macdonald says that popular government means the liberty of the people to rule or misrule themselves as they please. But Constitutions are framed, we submit, for the purpose of saving us from misruling ourselves, and all parts of them have an equal claim to observance. So

Sir John Macdonald must have thought when he vetoed a local railway Act passed by the Legislature of Manitoba. If the Dominion retains its power of controlling Provincial action for the common good, Canada may be a nation ; if it does not, she can be nothing but a league. And who wants a league with a French and Papal Quebec ; a league too on such a footing that while Quebec pursues objects of her own, she is to dominate over our politics and extort money from our treasury by her solid and alien vote ?

If the veto is a nullity the question arises whether any Province ought to be left without a Second Chamber or some equivalent security against rash legislation ? With all due respect for our local legislators, we can hardly deem them men of such calibre that in their case we can afford to dispense with the checks and safeguards deemed indispensable in the case of the most august assemblies in the world. One of them the other day was seen selling pools for races. By this gentleman's vote a great question relating to the distribution of political power, the tenure of property, education, or the relations between the sexes, might have been settled after a single hearing and without power of revision. The legislature of Ontario once broke a will, and it was not contended, we believe, that it had exceeded its legal power. The States of the American Union have all of them two houses, and the veto of the Governor is a real safeguard. We, with all our mock-monarchical buckram and costly shams, are left without any safeguard at all.

It is very true that the national veto is not in satisfactory hands. Under the cloak of the Governor-Generalship it is exercised by the leader of the party in office. But this is an inevitable incident of that party system, from which it is to be hoped that the Commonwealth will some day be delivered. Under the party system all power is not in national but in partisan hands. It has been said that the Liberal leaders think of proposing to transfer the veto to the Home Government ; if they did propose such a surrender of independence, they would complete their ruin.

The Machinists still try to persuade us, and perhaps succeed in persuading themselves, that the Equal Rights agitation is merely an outburst of bigotry and intolerance on the part of the Protestant clergy, and the cry is taken up by some to whom all religious movements are repugnant, and Protestant movements most of all, because Protestantism is the form of religion with which they come most into conflict and perhaps that which they think they have most reason to fear. Of those who thronged the Equal Rights' meetings at Toronto, at Montreal, and in all parts of the country, how many were clergymen, or in any way connected with the clergy? Ministers of the Gospel will probably bear with equanimity the reproach of being "simple and earnest souls," cast upon them by the Machiavels of the Machine. Not a syllable has been uttered, not a thought has been conceived, against the most complete and unqualified toleration of all opinions, including those of the Ultramontane and the Jesuit. The protest is solely against the bestowal of State aid and encouragement on any particular religious body, and notably on the Jesuits. The advocates of Disestablishment in England might as well be accused of intolerance as the advocates of Equal Right. "France," says Mr. Laurier, "expels the Jesuit; England tolerates him. Will you follow the French or the English method?" We are not sure that we should not have to follow the French method if the Jesuit were by his intrigues to bring upon us, as he has brought upon France, an avalanche of ruin. The English method, however, as set forth in the Act of 1829, which a British Prime Minister declared the other day to be no dead letter, is to treat the Jesuit as a person dangerous to the State and to permit his presence in the country only under very jealous restrictions. Would Mr. Laurier and his Ultramontane friends like Canada to adopt the British Act of 1829?

—Toleration preached in the name of the Jesuit! In the hapless Netherlands, after half a century of religious carnage, who

was it that revived the dying fires of persecution? "And now," says Motley, "the hour had come when the Jesuits thought that they might step openly with their works into the daylight again. Of late years they had shrouded themselves in comparative mystery, but from their seminaries and colleges had gone forth a plentiful company of assassins against Elizabeth and Henry, Nassau, Barneveldt, and others who whether avowedly or involuntarily were prominent in the party of human progress. Some important murders had already been accomplished, and the prospect was fair that still others might follow if the Jesuits persevered. Meantime these ecclesiastics thought that a wholesome example might be set to humbler heretics by the spectacle of a public execution." The historian then gives the story of Anna van den Hove, a poor servant girl who while her two mistresses had gone back to Roman Catholicism remained steadfast in the Reformed faith, and whom the Jesuits denounced to the civil authority, demanding her execution under a statute then deemed obsolete. The girl refused to apostatize. "So Anna van den Hove was led, one fine mid-summer morning, to the hayfield outside of Brussels, between two Jesuits, followed by a number of a peculiar kind of monks called love-brothers. These holy men goaded her as they went, telling her that she was the devil's carrion and calling on her to repent at the last moment and thus save her life and escape eternal damnation beside. But the poor girl had no ear for them, and cried out that like Stephen she saw the heaven opening and the angels stooping down to conduct her far away from the power of the evil one. When they came to the hayfield they found the pit already dug and the maid-servant was ordered to descend into it. The executioner then covered her with earth up to the waist and a last summons was made to her to renounce her errors. She refused and then the earth was piled upon her and the hangman jumped upon the grave till it was flattened and firm." Has the Jesuit changed and become a convert to toleration, as Sir John Thompson and Sir John Macdonald would have us believe? It was no longer ago



than in 1867, that Pius IX., in whose name the Jesuit reigned at Rome, conferred the honour of saintship upon Peter Arbués, the bloody Spanish Inquisitor, because he had met his death by an avenging hand in his path of religious murder. Ask the Jesuit himself, whether he has changed. You will not get a straightforward answer: but you will get one which will probably satisfy your mind. Apart from any consequences to ourselves, what right have Canadians, as men or as Protestant Christians, to furnish the Jesuit with funds and a legal status for his machinations against humanity and Protestant Christendom? Sir John Macdonald's levity shows that like other politicians of his stamp, however astute, he is liable to loss of touch with common sentiment. He evidently finds it impossible to believe that people seriously and inflexibly object to being made partakers in a dark and deadly conspiracy against liberty, light and the progress of mankind.

For two centuries the Church of Rome in alliance with reactionary despotism struggled to extirpate Protestantism with fire and sword, by open war and midnight massacre, by the rack and stake of the Inquisition, the arts of the Jesuit and the dagger of his pupil the assassin; and in the attempt she made a hell of Christendom, decimated whole communities, and half-wrecked civilization. Nor has she now renounced her methods; on the contrary she has proclaimed them anew in the Encyclical, consecrated them afresh by the canonization of an Inquisitor, and stands ready to apply them again to-morrow if she had the power. In no case has she willingly conceded the smallest measure of liberty to those whom she styles heretics, and in countries such as Spain where she retains her influence Protestantism can hardly be said to enjoy full toleration at this hour. Protestant communities which had narrowly escaped destruction at her hands bound the arms of her liegemen, who were also her political emissaries, with the manacle of political disability sometimes too tightly and sometimes too long. But those manacles began to be loosened as soon as the fires of the Inquisition had ceased to burn, and they were

struck off long before toleration had been granted to Protestants in any country still under the sway of Rome. The Church of Rome is now invited in free countries like ours to a system of perfect justice and perfect liberty, under which all men and all churches shall be free to preach and propagate their opinions, while none shall receive aid from the State or from any source but reason and truth. With this she will not be content if by the votes of subservient masses she can gain more ; but a party has arisen in Canada which is resolved that with justice and liberty she, like all the other Churches, shall be content and that ecclesiastical encroachment, which threatens at once conscience and civilization, shall have an end. What the consequence to political parties may be is a consideration for the parties themselves.

—The conduct of the Protestant Committee of Education in Quebec in receiving a portion of the Jesuit fund has perhaps been harshly judged, or at all events somewhat misconstrued. Their course, if it is not precisely that which Latimer, Luther, or Knox would have taken, is intelligible and implies no personal approbation on their part of the Jesuit Act. That Act is law, and their position, as we understand it, is that the money has come to them as trustees and that they are legally bound to accept and administer it. They have at all events insisted firmly on the recognition of the trust in favour of superior education. If there has been anything amiss in the personal bearing of any of them we must recollect first, that they are appointed by the Government, and secondly, that they are liable to ecclesiastical resentment, which some of them might dread for the institutions with which they are connected more than for themselves.

Some people are much shocked at the idea that political lawyers in giving an opinion on a Constitutional question can possibly be biassed by party feeling or by the exigencies of party. Holy simplicity ! Have these people forgotten that

on the appeal in O'Connell's case to the House of Lords, the two Conservative law lords voted one way and the three Whigs the other, while the judges whose opinion had been taken were on the side of the minority? At all events, let us have the case on which the opinion was given, and without which, as everybody knows, the opinion is worthless. But why opinions or cases at all? Why is anything left to suspicion or surmise? Why was not the country allowed to have the Constitutional question openly and fairly argued before its own Supreme Court? Why was every manœuvre and subterfuge employed to close the gate of public justice against the nation?

—Since the last appearance of the *THE BYSTANDER*, the verdict of experience has been pronounced upon the Scott Act, and assuredly no verdict ever was more decisive. It has told in England where the question had just come to a head, and in the United States, as well as here. In England it may even prove to have given Prohibition a death-blow. It is remarkable that the battle was fought and the decision of the people upon the issue was obtained by effort entirely outside the party lines. The politicians, as soon as the Temperance vote showed strength, fell on their knees before it, and political journals paid a homage which, as has since appeared, was hollow, to what they took to be the prevailing power. The first stand was made by the Liberal Temperance Union, a non-political organization. The position taken by leading clergymen and preachers also produced its effect. By the members of the Liquor Trade, as they were morally disqualified by their interest in their own cause, no effectual resistance could be offered, and the Scott Act was taking in county after county, like the tide running in over a flat, when the Liberal Temperance Union appeared in the field. A word from men who were known to have none but a public interest in the matter set the people thinking for themselves and experience soon did the rest. Everywhere it was found that the effects of the

Act were defiance or evasion of the law, contrabandism and perjury, together with an increase instead of a decrease of drunkenness, clandestine drinking, always leading to more excess, deterioration of the liquor, demoralization of the trade, and the substitution of whiskey, as the liquor most easily smuggled, for milder beverages such as lager and cider. An unlicensed and unregulated took the place of a licensed and regulated trade; and it was a notable and instructive part of the experience of the contest that the tavern-keepers of the worst class were not strenuous opponents, in fact were often secretly friends, of the Act: they knew that the practical result, so far as men who had no scruple in evading the law were concerned, would be simply escape from the license fee. Recent inquiry assures us that the fruits of Prohibition in the North-West, where it is nominally enforced by the Mounted Police, are no better than they were in the East; that, as regards the quality of the liquor they are worse; and that instead of an extinction of the taste, an artificial excitement of it is the general result. The repeal vote was essentially popular, the politicians fearing to take any part.

Let all due honour be rendered to those who took part in what they believed to be a moral crusade against a great social evil. It was not their fault if the movement drew into it some whose object was to carry the bag, and who kicked away the Temperance ladder as soon as they had clambered to their mark. Had not the first crusade of all its crafty and self-seeking Bohemond as well as its pure and devoted Godfrey? Nor is it possible that enthusiasm, however genuine and well warranted, should not have fanaticism as its shadow. That shadow fell darkly on some clauses of the Scott Act by which, for an object assumed to be better than justice, the safeguards of justice were set aside, hearsay evidence was admitted against the accused, appeal from the arbitrary jurisdiction of Prohibitionist magistrates was denied, and, worse than all, husband and wife were compelled in defiance of the laws of affection and in breach of their marriage vow to give evidence

against each other. Nor was the proposal to treat tavern-keepers as criminals, when their trade had been specially licensed by the State, and to deprive them without compensation of their property and livelihood, consistent with equity any more than the language held by fiery declaimers about these men was consistent either with reason or with charity. It is necessary to record that the rising against the Scott Act has been in part a rising against tyranny—tyranny which was not more endurable because in this, as in many like cases, the intention was unquestionably good.

What then do the Temperance party, to give them in courtesy a name to which we cannot allow that they have an exclusive right, now propose to do? Are they still bent on striving at once to eradicate by legislation in this community a taste which prevails over the whole world, and which the earliest mythologies prove to be primeval if it is not congenital to man? Before they make up their mind to this and before they renew their resolution of excluding from the Legislatures, and from the public service, all who will not do their will, let them once more fairly consider whether there is a case for arbitrary legislation at all. Is not Temperance making way at least as fast as any other good habit is making way under the spontaneous influences, religious, educational, social and scientific, of an advancing and spreading civilization? Is not public opinion growing daily more strict upon the subject and daily enhancing the penalties, social and commercial, which wait upon excess? Are not the masses of our people in Canada temperate, and has there not, for the last two generations, been a marked progress among us in that direction? Even in our cities is the amount of intemperance scandalous, and is it not chiefly foreign? Let legislation be founded on fact, not on the fictions of declaimers, who tell us in the fine frenzy of the platform that nearly half the adult male deaths in Canada are from drink, and that if all the confirmed drunkards were drawn up in line they could put a girdle round the earth. There are besides the Voluntary Associations, free so

long as they are really voluntary from any objection on the score of tyranny, which have undoubtedly done good, and which it must be remembered would cease to exist if Prohibition were enacted, and, should the experiment fail, could not easily be revived.

If, however, the Temperance men resolve to strike for Prohibition, we would conjure them in the name of public morality, as well as in that of their own cause, to show the courage of their convictions and do thoroughly that which they have made up their minds to do. Let us not have another régime of unlicensed drinking, perjury, and contempt of the law. The object of the Prohibitionists can be effected by nothing short of the total suppression not only of the sale of liquor but of its manufacture and importation. The use or possession of liquor as well as the sale must be made a crime, since buying is as essential a part of the forbidden trade as selling. To enforce the law against the resistance which we have already experienced, a great extension of the police force, especially in the rural districts, will be required. Nay it is doubtful whether, to make the system thoroughly effectual, it will not be found necessary to issue a perpetual writ of *ne exeat* against all the inhabitants of the Dominion; for if they are allowed to go into countries not under Prohibition they will be very apt to relapse and to bring back the infection with them. A local addition to the Decalogue must always be an arduous undertaking. Even if liquor could be completely banished by law, perhaps the next Parliament might be occupied in passing supplementary laws against the use of opium or the hypodermic injection of morphine. Compress human nature forcibly in one part and you are pretty sure to produce a swelling in another.

Nobody denies the special evils and danger of the liquor trade or objects either to stringent regulation or to any reasonable action of the Government in the matter. We may cherish liberty as the sole foster-mother of sterling morality, and regard democratic tyranny as not less dangerous than the dynastic

type without pedantic addiction to *laissez faire*. Liberal Temperance has its positive as well as its negative side. It not only does not deprecate, it calls for such regulations in regard to the license fee or anything else as shall put the trade in the hands of responsible men and hold them thoroughly to account, though the fact is that nobody has really more interest in the repression of drunkenness and riot than a decent tavernkeeper himself. It advocates all measures which will promote the use of the milder beverages instead of whiskey, which, especially in the form of dram-drinking, is the real evil. If medical science, unbought and uncoerced, pronounces any beverage to be poison, Liberal Temperance is ready to prohibit its sale. But merely to harass the retail trade and make it disreputable, without suppressing it, is a policy not less foolish than pusillanimous. Nor is there any use in arbitrary reduction of the number of places of supply when you cannot reduce the demand. A recent measure of that kind in Toronto had for its result the most drunken Christmas that had been known for many years. The crowding into the taverns which were left led to an increase of treating and of riot. So easy is it for the sumptuary or moral legislator in mending one hole to make two.

We think only of the harm done by excess in drinking when not less harm is done, as Sir Hy. Thompson has told us, by excess in eating or by eating unwholesome food. It is likely that the craving for drink itself is not seldom produced by bad cookery, such as is too common in the farm-house and the country inn. If lunacy is on the increase, as it is said to be among farmers' wives, as farmers' wives do not often drink, the cause, supposing it to be in diet at all, must be sought rather in the frying-pan than in the cup. Indigestion seeks relief in patent medicines, which again aggravate the evil. A movement for the reform of our cookery is understood to be on foot, and it may help the cause of Temperance as well as that of Eupepsia.

—With regard to Reciprocity there is nothing new. The question is in abeyance till Parliament and Congress meet. Columns are still filled with the complaint of indignant patriots that we belittle the country by proposing to extend its market, while the people who raise the cry are themselves confessing the need by trying, though so far without success, to open new markets in Australia, Jamaica, and all parts of the world. Did not the origination of the N. P. “belittle” the state of things which existed before? The alarm bell of Annexation also continues to ring. Yet the alarmists declare that no Annexationism exists except in the secret counsels of a few bad characters who if they ventured to show themselves would be crushed by public indignation. What then is there to fear? Nobody pretends to believe that the Americans think of annexing us by force. Apparently we are at liberty to discuss the Commercial question when it comes before us on its own merits, without troubling ourselves about that which the political future may have in store. When the scheme is presented we shall see among other things how it affects the interest of the mother country. Supposing the mother country acquiesces, will the Commercial loyalists be ready to accept the scheme?

The interim may be profitably employed by Protectionists in clearly settling and preparing distinctly to state the principles of their own policy, which we have never yet been able to apprehend. What makes an industry “national,” and entitles it to protection? Subscribing to the Government election fund? What is the proper area of protection? Would Ontario profit commercially by being protected against the other Provinces? Do the Protectionists propose to tax the people for the purpose of Protection, even though the taxes may not be wanted for revenue? It would seem so from what they are doing in the United States. We should be glad also to be furnished with an instance of an industry which having been protected during its “infancy” has on reaching maturity been able to dispense with protection, or has not clamoured for



more. Protectionism, like slavery in the United States, having first craved liberty of existence as a transient necessity, turns round, as soon as it grows strong, proclaims itself a permanent blessing, and takes the community by the throat. How does a settler in the North-West profit by being taxed thirty-five per cent. on his farm implements and forced to resort to the markets of Eastern Canada? That is a concrete form of the problem which may vary the theoretic treatment. Nor are the direct evils of the system alone to be considered. It fills us with the spirit of monopoly which generates combines on one side and unionist attempts to close the labour market on the other, while in politics it is the very mother of corruption. Free Trade, says Sir John Thompson, is unpatriotic. Was there any want of patriotism in Pitt, Peel, Palmerston or Cavour?

We had the pleasure the other day of hearing one of the first Protectionist orators in the United States. An excellent speaker in point of language and delivery he was. His theme was the miserable state of the working-class in Free Trade countries. He said that to be fair he would take his instances from England, which was the best wage-paying country in Europe. If England is the best wage-paying country in Europe, as she is the only Free Trade country in Europe, the orator had at once given away his case. He drew harrowing pictures of the distress which he had witnessed in Germany, forgetting that Germany is a highly protected country. In his comparative estimate of destitution he left out of sight the fact that while in America population is about 17 to the square mile, in England and Wales it is about 447. He did not compare the state of England before Free Trade, when famine stalked through the cities, when people were selling their wedding rings, boiling grass, and digging up carrion, with the burst of prosperity which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws. In one part of his speech he vaunted the high price of goods under Protection to show that the workman must be receiving high wages, in another he undertook to

prove that goods were cheaper under Protection than under Free Trade. He said nothing about the farmer who has all this time been exposed to free competition not only with the pauper labour of Europe but with the Hindoo. Of course he threw in a little sentiment, with which even fiscal brigandage cannot dispense. He talked about the diversification of national character and he did not tell us what had become, under a system fatal to trade, of those mariners of America, about whose enterprises, as a feature of national character, De Tocqueville grows so eloquent. But these arguments convince—with a contribution to the election fund.

—Independence found the Spanish Colonies in Central and South America totally devoid of political training and utterly unripe for self-government. The natural consequence was a period of convulsions and revolutions, of political brigandage under the name of pronunciamientos, of usurpation alternating with anarchy. Canning's boast that the New World had been called into existence to redress the balance of the Old World seemed destined to rank among the mockeries of history. It is the fault of the prison house if the limbs of the prisoner when he first comes forth from it are weak and his eyes are unable to bear the light. Most of these States have now struggled through the days of tribulation to something like stability of government and ordered freedom, while the leading shoots of the tree, such as Chili and the Argentine Confederation, are apparently entering on a very prosperous career. Even in Mexico pronunciamientos appear to have ceased, elections take place in a constitutional way, brigandage has decreased, and commerce is comparatively safe. Brazil, under her Portuguese dynasty, has always enjoyed stability, though her progress has not been so great as might have been hoped. The cloudy part of the prospect is that, whether it be to the climate or to habits of which the climate is the cause, the superior race, Spanish or Portuguese, seems to be dwindling, while the native

Indian race, which multiplies, shows little aptitude for civilization. Life and property, however, being now secure, emigration may flow in and recruit the growing element. This great group of States, at any rate, has now fairly put in an appearance on the political scene, and "the three Americas" have an interest in each other. It would have been ungracious, perhaps impolitic, to allow the delegates of our distant partners on this Continent to set foot on our soil without receiving any token of friendly recognition; and it is a pity that the authorized representatives of Canada did not feel themselves called upon to do something on the occasion.

—Under Sir John Lister-Kaye the experiment of large farms in the North-west is again being tried on the grandest scale. It might be thought that if ever farming on the large scale was to succeed it would be on the Prairie where there is nothing to limit extension, where machinery has the freest play, and where, from the nature of the climate, aggregation of farm buildings and dwellings appears to have special advantages both economical and social. Yet experience hitherto has been adverse. It seems that nothing will make farming pay but the hard work, hard living, and hard bargaining of the man who both toils and owns the land. Sir John Lister-Kaye's enterprise however will be watched with interest, the more so as economical changes never fail to bring social and political changes in their train.

—The question of peace or war in Europe is one which concerns us more nearly than we seem to suppose, because if the war were maritime and England were in it, there would be in the first place an interruption to our trade, and in the second place a call on us to contribute to our own defence and that of the Empire. Lord Salisbury tells us that there will be peace, for the rather strange reason that the armaments are large.

The largeness of the armaments may make the masters of the legions pause, perhaps even shudder ; but it fills the world with the spirit of war. There is about as much chance of learning the truth from a Foreign Minister about anything wrong in the diplomatic sphere as there is of learning the truth from a railway guard about anything wrong on the line. Sir Charles Dilke comes away from an interview with Bismarck satisfied that there will be peace ; but we are as thoroughly satisfied that if Bismarck meditated or apprehended war he would not tell Sir Charles Dilke. Each of the last four great wars was heralded by an assurance that the peace of Europe was not likely to be disturbed. The Emperor of the French put forth the most comforting disclaimers of any warlike intentions a few weeks before he rushed upon Italy with a hundred and fifty thousand men. Nations, or even Kings, seldom deliberately go to war : they come to a diplomatic deadlock and then draw their swords. All that can be said is that gunpowder is lying about in heaps—on the Russo-German frontier, in the Danubian Principalities, in Crete, Armenia, Afghanistan—and sparks are flying in all directions. French vanity burns to avenge its defeat on somebody, and the hope that the peasantry when invested with power would vote down the conscription has so far totally failed. The Czar must have ever present to his mind the idea of shunting domestic Nihilism into foreign war, and military ambition is always whispering in his ear. The same prophets who foretold the war between Prussia and Austria, and afterwards the war between Germany and France, foretold also with equal confidence war between Germany and Russia. If Germany were attacked by France and Russia, England could hardly stand aloof, for her turn would certainly come next. Then the Colonies would be called upon to show that distant and unarmed dependencies are a source of strength to a nation.

—In England bye elections usually go against the Government. No Government can help making malcontents, and a British minister has not like a Canadian Minister the means of capturing constituencies by appropriations. By the reduction of interest on Consols, which must have brought a number of families below the line of comfortable living, malcontents many a one, we may be sure, have been made, while the rest of the community have been made ingrates. Nobody votes for a Government on account of benefits received. At bye elections local and personal influences too have free play, and in Buckinghamshire the name of Verney is very strong. But so far as the question of the Union is concerned the results of these elections, which are taken to denote the progress of Home Rule, in fact denote that Home Rule had been almost withdrawn from the field. That issue has of late been kept in the background by the Gladstonians who contest the elections on ordinary Liberal issues such as Disestablishment, reform of the House of Lords, reform of the land law, extension of the suffrage, and free education. Liberals who are Unionists, consequently, the rank and file of them at least, give a Liberal vote, whereas, if the issue of the Union were revived, they would give a Unionist vote as they did before. On this point perfect confidence prevails in the Liberal camp; of that all who are interested in the matter may feel assured. The serious part of the late elections is the evidence which they have afforded of the spread of Socialism as to which what Mr. Balfour says is right.

—Lord Salisbury's letter on Imperial Federation, now that we have its full text, amounts to a positive declaration that the Imperial Government will not move. If the Imperial Government will not move, nobody else can; for who is to call the Colonies together? The movement has of late been made a stalking-horse for Protection. For its genuine adherents we have nothing but respect and sympathy to express. Only

let them read history and see whether it affords any example of an Imperial Federation resembling in the least degree what they propose. They will find that the Roman Empire was all in a ring fence and had the world to itself, while the Spanish Empire, though not in a ring fence, was an empire in the true sense of the term, the dependencies being despotically ruled by Spain. Let them consider, too, the tendency of the race, whether it is to centralization or independence. What is the moral of the quarrel of the Mother Country and the American Colonies? Have the Australian Colonies succeeded in Federating? Have those in South Africa? Is our own Confederation an assured success? Is there not considerable risk, in tightening the political bond, of loosening or even breaking the bond of the heart? The difficulties of dealing with the Indian Empire, of determining the relations between the British and the Federal Crown and Parliament, of apportioning the representation among communities ranging in size from Great Britain to St. Helena, are already before them. Sentiment by all means, but it is vain to bid our bosoms swell with enthusiasm for an object which nobody can define and which nobody will take a step to promote.

—Politics in England for the time were almost put out of mind by the Great Strike. Socialism evidently tried to use the strike for its own purpose, and it has done the same in the case of the sympathetic strikes which have followed; but apparently without much effect, beyond that of pouring a little poison into the wound. In a strike itself, on however large a scale, there is nothing socialistic. It is simply a mode of bargaining, or to use a more expressive word, of haggling, between the employed and the employer. In all cases the loss for the time is far greater to the earners than to the payers of the wages. Whether the strike will be successful in the long run must depend upon the amount of profit which the employers have been receiving; if it is inordinate, a part of it may be

transferred to the wage-earner, if it is not inordinate the ultimate result will be the withdrawal of capital and the depression or departure of the trade. It does not appear that the dividends of the Dock Companies were large. A year or two hence the net result will appear. Strikers have always to bear in mind the fact that the man whom they regard as the employer and against whom they strike is in reality the paymaster. Their real employer is the public which cannot be made to give more than it chooses or can afford for any labour or for any products of labour, so that the effect of striking beyond a certain point can only be the ruin of the trade. They have also to bear in mind that as purchasers of the products of labour they are themselves employers, and that in buying as cheap as they can, which they invariably do, they are keeping down the wages of the labourers who produce those goods just as much as their master, or rather the community through their master, is keeping down theirs.

Protectionists point to the Dock Strike as an awful warning against Free Trade. Men whose business is unloading vessels would be better off, it seems, if importation were reduced and there were fewer vessels to unload. Are there not fully as many strikes and other labour disturbances in the United States, in Germany, and in other protected countries, as in England? Has the arch-Protectionist, Mr. Carnegie, no trouble with his men? The Docks Strike was caused by a vast accumulation of the very lowest kind of labour round the Docks, employment in which, being dependent on the amount of shipping in port, is uncertain. At the same time, be it remembered, there are millions living in London in the receipt of good wages and in comfort, while there is a comparatively small margin of distress. London and perhaps England is overpeopled, and, let people storm against Malthus as they will, when there are too many hands and too many mouths there will be too little work and bread.

—The land of the adage, that it is only the unexpected which happens, is France. The day before yesterday Boulanger was a man on horseback; yesterday he was a god; to-day, without any assignable reason, he is a political outcast, afraid to go home lest he should undergo the sentence of a felon. The account of this last revolution we believe to be the success of the Paris Exhibition, which has soothed the vanity of the French and reconciled them to the Republican Government. The Republicans have now a majority sufficient to sustain as stable an administration as the party system will permit if they can manage to control faction and personal vanity, the second of which is in France and perhaps everywhere as great an enemy to good government as the first. It is probable that the fright which Boulangerism has given them will sober them for a time, after which the Parliamentary chaos will come again. The result of the elections is in favour of peace, for a Boulanger government would have been nothing if not military.

—Most opportune, when the world is being called upon by France to celebrate an immense and devastating eruption of sanguinary violence and monkeyism as the grandest and most beneficent event in history, is the publication of the "Diary of Gouverneur Morris," a shrewd and clear-sighted American, who was in Paris during the Revolution and had the best possible opportunity of observing men as well as events. Morris clearly reveals the main cause of the catastrophe, the vileness of the men and the depravity of society. Paris, it must always be remembered, not France, determined the character and the course of the Revolution. "Paris," says Gouverneur Morris, "is perhaps as wicked a spot as exists: incest, murder, bestiality, fraud, rapine, oppression, baseness, cruelty; and yet this is the city which has stepped forward in the sacred cause of liberty." Not only stepped forward in the sacred cause of liberty, but stepped forward to regenerate the world. The



levity was as great as the immorality. The whirl of dissipation of every kind was going on, as the Diary shows, without abatement, beneath the deepening shadow of the coming storm, and while a cannibal mob was butchering men and women in the streets and carrying about their heads on pikes. In judging the conduct of those who took arms against Jacobinism we are apt to make too little allowance for their natural indignation at atrocities which disgraced humanity. Inexperience and flightiness were dangerous, no doubt, especially when combined with extravagant self-confidence and vanity, but even if they had produced a political Bedlam they would not have turned it into a slaughter-house. This was done by cruelty the twin-brother of lust, which has marked every revolution in Parisian history from the civil war between the Burgundians and Armagnacs down to the Commune. Good husbands and fathers, such as Hampden and Cromwell were, would not have butchered each other like the Terrorist disciples of a sentimentalist who wallowed in moral filth and sent his own children to the Foundling Hospital. The men generally had not even intellectual height: we can see plainly through Morris's eyes that Lafayette, with whom he was very intimate, was far from great, while Mirabeau's moral meanness detracted greatly from his power. The interest which these men and their revolution excite is the morbid interest which attaches to grandiose crime. Unhappily the conflagration set the world on fire. Nothing in history is more to be deplored than the course of events by which the great movement of enlightenment and reform which had been quietly advancing in Europe and gaining gradual possession of opinion and of governments was suddenly brought to a violent head in a metropolis of profligates with a populace of savages. To this, we owe, besides an untold amount of carnage and material destruction, the specific political disease of Jacobinism and the violent and volcanic character which political and social questions generally have assumed. The old monarchy and aristocracy of France fell by their own corruption, and their fall

was a good riddance; but ruin is not creation. France herself, after a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions is almost as far from good and stable government as ever; and she is hardly less centralized than she was under Louis XIV. Peasant ownership, whatever it may be worth, prevailed largely before the Revolution, though with some oppressive incidents, which might have been removed without wrecking the world. How far the working-class is satisfied with the result the days of June and the Commune show. To pretend, as President Carnot does, that modern science was born of the French Revolution is preposterous. Did not the Jacobins murder Lavoisier and proclaim that the Republic had no need of chemists? Celebrate the French Revolution! We might as well be asked to celebrate the Earthquake at Lisbon or the Black Death.

—What are all the disturbances of the political world to that which is going on in the world of thought? In fact the disturbances of the political and social world are largely the consequences and signs of the deeper revolution in the fundamental beliefs of men. Never has man been brought as he is now face to face with the great problem of existence. Greece and Rome had thinkers, but they were few, and compared with the serious inquirers of our time almost like children engaged in intellectual play. Nearly the same may be said of the freethinkers of the Voltairean era, whose sceptical writings were rather the excitements of a novelty-loving circle of intellectual pleasure-seekers than powerful engines of universal change; for the philosophers had less to do with the Revolution than is commonly supposed. The advance of those twin-dethroners of faith, science and historical criticism, has opened a new scene. So momentous, so overwhelming, are the problems now set before us in regard to our origin, the nature and intentions of the Power in whose hand we are, the laws of our being and our destiny, that it is almost wonderful that

those to whose minds they have been brought home can have thought for anything else. Even in its merely social bearing, the theological question is all-important; for no one can doubt that the social fabric has hitherto been largely built on a religious foundation which appears now to be giving way.

The most significant event which has lately taken place in the theological and philosophic sphere, perhaps, is Renan's manifesto in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled "Examen de Conscience Philosophique." Renan is not of all inquirers the one to whose words we should attach most weight. In him, as in Matthew Arnold, the literary artist predominates over the seeker after truth. His "Jesus" is the creation of an erudite fancy without a critical basis. He is also beset by a notion that truth can be kept in the exclusive possession of the intellectual few, while salutary illusion is preserved for the benefit of the many. It seems as though he had not entirely thrown off the Seminarist and was still haunted by the *populus vult decipi et decipiatur*, though he would give the maxim a beneficent turn. Still he is sincere and earnest as well as erudite; what he says has weight and will certainly tell. After a solemn genuflexion before the altar of Truth, Renan proceeds to avow his belief that in this world of ours there is no evidence of any will or intelligence other than those of man. This world of ours, the solar system, and even the sidereal system may, he admits, be a mere grain of a universe beyond the ken of its inhabitants and totally different in character from itself, like an atom of granite in a quarry or of coal in a mine. The infinite universe beyond may have an order of which we can form no conception. It may have a God and that God may some day be revealed. But so far as the universe which we see is concerned Renan declares the hypothesis of a God to be entirely baseless. There is absolutely no proof of it, he says, and therefore there is no need of disproof. This profession of scepticism is qualified by some mysticism touching the sublime character of love and duty and the glimpses afforded by them of the infinite, which though instinct with Renan's

unfailing gracefulness is poetry, not philosophy, and would probably find short shrift at the hands of the unpoetic apostles of Evolution. Without superstition, Renan says, we should have an insufferable Positivism; insufferable perhaps to him but not to Mr. Herbert Spencer or Herr Haeckel. Renan himself may feel that the conception of acting in the presence of a Supreme Being is a necessary aid to a virtuous life, and that, consequently, to assume the existence of God is the best and most reasonable course. But many people, at all events, will tell him that supposing the facts of religion to be gone they do not care to replace them with figments. If there is no evidence of a God or of a Future State of retribution in the universe which we know, the surmise that there may be a God in a universe which we do not know and that he may have justice in store for us all, will exercise little influence on ordinary minds. The unrevealed Master of a universe beyond our ken may be beneficent or he may be the reverse; his nature may be indicated by the good in this molecule of ours, or it may be indicated by the evil; we cannot possibly divine anything about the utterly unknown. The work-a-day world is uncultivated and unimaginative; mystical breathings from a hypothetical empyrean do not reach its ear. If no evidence of the existence of a God can be produced it will live and act as if there were no God.

Renan, however, while he denies that there is any evidence of volition or intention in the order of our universe, incidentally admits that there is visible a *nisus* or effort, and he palliates the secondary shortcomings of Nature in terms which imply a supreme design: indeed if we substitute the word Deity for Nature his language might be taken as implying the manifest existence of a God. It was some time ago observed, by way of meeting the difficulty created by the co-existence of imperfection with Benevolence and Omnipotence, that the Creator's mode of action, so far as our world is concerned, appears to be not fiat, but something analogous to human effort—a gradual process pointing through temporary vicissitude

and miscarriage to ultimate perfection. Why this mode should be preferred, we cannot tell; we only know with regard to our own nature that excellence produced by effort is the highest thing we can conceive. Mr. Herbert Spencer says that this view is ascetic; but dubbing a view ascetic does not make it false unless it can be shown that immediate enjoyment, not moral training or the formation of character, is the object of the Power which made and rules the world. In admitting *nisus* or effort, with a tendency towards good, as he plainly does, Renan really admits volition and intelligence, without which effort cannot be. Evolution there may be without volition or intelligence, if only a starting-point can be found; effort there plainly cannot be. If in our universe there is evidence of effort, and of effort manifestly tending towards good, the Theistic hypothesis is proved. Besides, how came the idea of volition and intelligence to exist? Renan says they reside only in human nature. Still human nature is a part of the world; if the pride of species does not mislead us, it is of our world the crowning part. It must be therefore included, and not only included but regarded as the chief among the indications of the character and objects of the Power whose creatures we are. The generation of will and intelligence by matter or force devoid of either seems of all hypotheses the most untenable.

In trying, as he does, to prop the belief in God and Immortality up again after throwing it down, Renan is led by his conservative instincts, and they lead him right. The most terrible consequence of Atheism is that it leaves us fatherless and guideless in an immeasurable vortex of blind force. It "rounds" individual life with "a sleep" indeed and reduces affection to the momentary attraction towards each other of two atoms which will never meet again. But supposing it could take hold of the general mind, its social effects, notwithstanding the control of long habits and existing organizations, could hardly fail to be tremendous. The various treatises on Ethics are so many attempts to find a sanction for morality

irrespective of the authority of God, and all in this respect are failures; the sanction in each case itself requires a sanction. If it is shown that morality is the interest of the community, the question still remains why each of us should prefer the interest of the community to his own. Cain did the one essential thing—he survived: that is his answer to his critics. Evolution, as its bolder professors tell us frankly, is not moral. Survival is the title to existence and apparently it is as good a title in the case of the human tiger as in that of the human lamb; the means by which the human tiger survives are their own warrant and no more apparently is to be said on that score against a successful brigand or conqueror than against the benefactors of mankind. Mr. Cotter Morison, the most thorough-going and outspoken of Agnostics, proposes to meet the difficulty simply by killing the bad men, or to speak more correctly, the men who make themselves a nuisance, since bad is a moral term. But then supposing you could pick out the bad men, it is possible that instead of your killing them they may kill you. There is an end of human brotherhood, even in the Jacobin sense of the term. Without a common father, it has been truly and finely said, there can be no brotherhood. That all men are physically of kin to each other Science holds to be doubtful; but assuming that they are, why, on the Atheistic hypothesis, are we bound or concerned to spare our kin if by putting them out of the way we can secure our own survival, or a gratification of our own desires, which by producing in us comfort and hilarity tends, as the physical philosophers tell us, to the prolongation of our lives? No one who reads journals of a revolutionary type can doubt that the failure of the belief in a Providence, which rules here, and in compensation for sufferers hereafter, has had a great deal to do with social disturbances and industrial war. Men cease to acquiesce in an unequal distribution of lots which they no longer regard as a divine ordinance but as human injustice, and they feel that if there is no life hereafter they must grasp enjoyment in this life or never. The Parisian Communist, the Spanish In-

transigents, the Nihilists, and the Socialists of the more violent section, all of them are Atheists; some of them make Atheism a plank in their platform; and Christian Socialism as an attempt to reconcile Socialism with religion has met with very poor success.

That this world of ours is a molecule to infinity and that its denizens can know nothing of the infinite, is a truth forcibly put by Renan; and it ought to moderate the pretensions of physical science, which, though it is the necessary and beneficent guide of our material life here, cannot possibly show us things as they are, since it must present everything in time and space from which no inference can be drawn as to eternity and infinity. Besides, physical science is nothing but the systematized evidence of our bodily senses. And our bodily senses are what? Even about the world in which we live they may tell only a little more in comparison with the perceptions of a higher intelligence than the senses of a mole.

—By the Copyright legislation of last session at Ottawa, and the renewed opposition of English publishers to Canadian enactments on the subject, fresh interest has been awakened in a vexed question. The difficulty in dealing with the matter has hitherto arisen from this fact, that the English book-trade have continually made Copyright legislation in the Colonies a publisher's, rather than an author's, question. To add to the complications, the music-publishers have, it seems, joined the book-publishers, and their combined interests have of late strengthened the case against the Canadian book-trade and the aim of the latter to legislate at once in their own interests and in those of the author. It could hardly be helped, perhaps, that the question, as it affects British interests, should become a publishers' one, and that for two reasons. First, because the publisher, in the case of young authors and those who have not made a reputation, generally assumes the greater part of the risk involved in publication, and thereby controls, if he

does not wholly acquire, copyright. Secondly, because the authors (and particularly the novelists) have not been able as yet to break down the artificial library system, which by maintaining the high-priced three volume issues and editions not for popular use but for the privileged classes, plays into the hands of the publishers, and makes the author a mere cipher in regard to the trade arrangements for bringing out and handling his book. Helpless in regard to his home market, the author is not any better informed about, or more in a position to conduct negotiations with, the foreign market. Hence the difficulty in getting him to see not only the reasonableness, but the gain to his pocket, in meeting the views of the Canadian publisher, whom he somehow treats as an accomplice of the American literary pirate, nefariously robbing him of his due, rather than as a fellow-subject who would gladly protect the interest of the British author if the British author would put him in a position to do so. What the Canadian publisher seeks reasonably and justly to do, the author, if he will dismiss prejudice from his mind, and recognize the exceptional circumstances of the Canadian position, will find embodied in the Ottawa Copyright Act of last session, as well as in the Act of 1872, which, at the instance of the English book-trade, was vetoed by the Imperial Government. The principle on which both of these Acts were based may be briefly stated. Their first aim was to protect the native market from the inroads of unauthorized American reprints, which by a British Order in Council in 1847 were on certain conditions privileged to enter Canada. Their second and chief aim was to secure the British author's interest by legalizing native reprints, paying a royalty to the copyright owner on the edition authorized to be printed, while their manufacture in the country would give employment to the various industries connected with publishing. In this effort of Canadian legislation to solve a knotty problem, it is not of course claimed that the highest regard is paid either to vested interests or even to abstract right. The compulsory clauses of the Acts take perhaps too much liberty



with the author's or copyright owner's property for that to be maintained. But this was demanded by the peculiarities of the situation, and involves no detriment to the English author. It was, in truth, the only way of relieving Canada from being dependent for its intellectual sustenance on the costly and almost prohibitory issues of the English market on the one hand, or, in the absence of an International Copyright, on the often worthless issues of the piratical presses of the United States on the other. What the Acts sought to secure was some provision for the author, which at present is practically lost to him, and to substitute a desirable and operative law for an undesirable and defective one, which the author's ignorance or indifference has too long allowed to remain on the Statute Book. In other words, by their common-sense proposals, the author would receive a royalty, secured to him by the Government, on all editions of his work sold in Canada, as well as on such editions as might also be disposed of in the United States, as against the precarious and, at the best, inconsiderable sums collected at the Customs ports on stray copies of pirated American editions which a listless scrutiny detected entering the country. The proposals have this also to recommend them, that while the Canadian reprint would give employment to the native industries, the author would receive as royalty a sum *en bloc* on the edition authorized to be printed, with the practical benefits of acquiring on this continent a market which he does not now possess, and which, while being supplementary to the English one, would not interfere with it. Nor by either of the Acts are the interests of the English publisher, whether he is the owner of the Copyright or not, invaded or in any way disregarded. The Act of last session provides that at the expiry of a month after publication of the work in England, if the Copyright owner has not previously arranged for an edition, a license may issue from the Government to the Canadian publisher who applies for permission to reprint, and gives a bond for the amount of the author's royalty. But the English publisher may forestall that reprint, not only within

the month of grace, but prior to the issue of the book in England he may negotiate with his own agent in Canada and place on the market an edition which, if he likes, he can print from his English plates forwarded here for the purpose. Thus are even the British publisher's interests protected, though to secure them he must of course comply with the law, or allow the native publisher to step in and by Government license secure the market against the foreign reprint. In this surely there is no injustice; nor is either author or publisher at any serious detriment. The Act neither contemplates nor connives at any sharp practice or questionable advantage; it merely recognizes the exceptional circumstances of the Canadian market and seeks to legislate accordingly. Like reciprocity with the United States, it takes note of the economical situation, and endeavours, not from the manufacturers' point of view merely, but from that, in conjunction with the interests of the people, to meet as best it may the difficulty. English publishers and authors must recollect that Canada is on the American continent; and to treat it as an outlying possession of England, without reference to its connection with the United States, is to perpetuate the evil which Canadian Copyright legislation has again attempted to remove. To interfere with this legislation would not extend the British book market. It would extend that of the American reprinter, who alone would reap the benefit, while Canadian publishing industries would stagnate.

—We cannot attempt in so narrow a space to make up our long arrears of Canadian Literature. It must suffice us to mark the growth of Canadian poetry, which soon makes collections obsolete, and to pay particular homage to Mr. Wilfred Campbell as a poetic interpreter of nature, especially of lake scenery, to Mr. Archibald Lampman as a philosophic or subjective poet, to the sap which runs through the productions of Mr. Hereward Cockin and with a little more finish will en-

sure a long life to such poems as "Gentleman Dick o' the Greys." In another line Dr. Withrow's "Our Own Country" speaks to the eye by its pictures, as well as to the mind by its letterpress, of the glories, natural, historical and architectural of our country. Nor are materials for the panegyric wanting. The sunsets and autumnal tints under our institutions are magnificent.

We may claim as Canadian, though published at New York, Mrs. Blackstock's bright and nicely illustrated booklet on "The Land of the Viking and the Empire of the Tsar." Among the illustrations is a portrait of the Czar, and we scan it with interest, as that of the man who holds the trigger of European war in his hands, to see whether from the character indicated by his features he is likely to pull it. We incline to think that he is.

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NOTE.—We learn that it was not as we had previously been informed, on the Citadel, which is under military control, but on the Parliament Buildings at Quebec, that the French flag was hoisted above the British in honour of the French frigate *Minerve*. The statement, on page 3 of our last number, is therefore to this extent corrected,

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