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THE BYSTANDER.

JANUARY, 1890.

MIDST the tangled confusion into which the Jesuits' Estates affair has thrown the parties and their relations, the broad lineaments of the situation are clear enough. avert the separate growth of a French nationality, with its certain consequences, Lord Durham conceived the design of fusing the British and French Provinces by means of a legislative union into a nation, in which he no doubt hoped that the British element would prove the stronger and prevail. Full effect, however, was not given to this policy, since the representation was not fused but was left on a quasi-federal basis, each Province, irrespective of its population, sending an equal and separate delegation to the United Parliament; a concession which though under the circumstances it may have been inevitable was pregnant with danger to the scheme. What might have happened if real power had remained in the strong and impartial hands of a Royal Governor we cannot possibly say; but in the hands of party politicians fain to seek the French and clerical alliance the fate of the scheme was settled from the beginning. Government under that illstarred wedlock became impracticable and a divorce inevitably followed. The next attempt was a nation with a federal structure, the Constitution being modelled on that of the United States, though with a false front of monarchy, which, so far as the practical operations of our institutions is concerned, is mere lumber and waste of money. To make up a federa-

tion, the other British colonies were taken in though, as their distance and the absence of commercial connection prevented their effectual incorporation, their nominal inclusion has but little modified the question between Ontario and Quebec. keystone of the new edifice was the national control over Provincial action embodied in the Veto, that "vast power," that "palladium," to cite once more the words of Sir Alexander Galt, which could alone control the divergent and separatist tendencies of the French colony. But this power upon the very first signal occasion for its exercise the two political parties have combined to surrender at the bidding of Quebec, who is thus declared at liberty to pursue her anti-national tendencies without control. So, virtually, ends the experiment of a nation with a federal structure. The existing arrangement may be mechanically prolonged by Machine management and by the payment of bribes to Quebec out of the Federal chest, in other words, out of the purse of Ontario, The Equal Rights movement has evidently had the effect of scaring all those in Quebec who are not Nationalists and making them do their best to put on the drag; and the consummation may thus be further postponed. But the keystone is out of the political arch; the hope of welding the British and French elements into one body with one soul is, to all appearance, at an end. Mr. Longley, it seems, derides the possibility of a separate French nation. What he derides as a possibility is almost a fact. ference of race, of language, of religion, with a distinct political character and ideal, and a territorial boundary line almost constitute a nation. The fundamental institutions of Quebec even are different from ours, since while we are a democracy she is under priestly rule. The connection in such circumstances becomes little more than a league. A war in Europe, if the mother countries of British and French Canada were opposed to each other, would tear away the last rag of disguise. The credit is claimed for Sir John Macdonald of having been the chief author of Confederation; but he must

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also bear the responsibility of having, in founding his Government on French support, raised the French power to its present height. However, the surrender has been complete on both sides.

If the Ottawa Government is not the organ of national supremacy and control, what is it? What does it do to justify its enormous expense, the mountain of public debt which it is piling up, and the vast development of corruption of which unhappily it is the cause? External security and internal peace with freedom of intercourse, which it is the regular function of a federal government to give, were given us already by the Empire of which all these colonies are members, and under which they were in fact federated to all intents and purposes before Canadian federation. Suppose Ontario kept her best public men in her own legislature, instead of sending them to Ottawa, why should she not be competent to make her own laws, criminal as well as civil, appoint her own judges, regulate the marriage law for herself, raise and officer her own militia, issue her own currency? To settle the tariff nothing would be needed but a zollverein, while such matters as navigation, postal rates and railway gauges might be settled by convention. This is the question which Ontario will presently begin to ask herself if Quebec is not to be a partner in the effort to found a united nation, but a load to be carried; still more if Quebec is to reign over us and make us tributary to her by force of an alien vote. As to Manitoba and the North-West, liberation from their thraldom to Ottawa and its confederates would be to them the opening of a more prosperous era.

In any case Ontario has interests of her own which she cannot afford to sacrifice. The Roman Catholic and Archiepiscopal organ at Kingston is quoted by Mr. Meredith as saying, "Holding, as we do, the balance of power between the two great factions we have but to be independent and we can dictate the terms upon which one or the other shall receive our support." This is explicit, and it is in this way, we may hope,

that Ontario has made up her mind not to be governed. We demur to the rule of an ecclesiastical Tammany even when it is allied to a "Liberal" Party. A square issue was tendered by Mr. Mowat, and still more by the organs of his party, which did not, any more than did Mr. David Mills, measure their language in speaking of the friends of Equal Right. been pretty squarely taken by Mr. Meredith, who now for the first time has a chance of at least making a good fight in the impending battle. Mr. Mowat occupies in the Province a position something like that of Sir John Macdonald in the Dominion: he has long been in possession of power, has filled the Province with his appointees, has redistributed the representation at his pleasure, and has all the means of influence in his The Catholic vote he is allowed to use, turn about with Sir John, by an arrangement very convenient to both of them, though rather perplexing to their respective organists. A Ministry thus entrenched and wielding the patronage is not to be overturned by any minor charges of misgovernment, such as tampering with licenses or jobbery about registrarships. can be overturned only by the leverage of a great question appealing strongly to the interest or sentiment of the people. Let Ottawa now leave Mr. Meredith's hands free and there will be a prospect at least of an effective Opposition, without which, everybody will admit, party government is of all forms of government the worst. Mr. Meredith, we are glad to see, firmly marked the distinction between repression of ecclesiastical encroachment and doing any sort of wrong or showing any antipathy to Roman Catholics. To deprive our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens of equal right, in any respect or in any degree, is what has neither been proposed nor desired by any human being.

The complete separation of the spiritual from the temporal and the perfect equality of all religions before the law are organic principles of civilization in the New World, which have been approved by experience as well as by conscience in their application both to Church and State. They condemn Separate Schools, the collection of tithe in Quebec, and all ecclesiastical domination in politics. They will make their way as certainly as the light of morning. Even the French peasant will in time be enlightened by the transmission of ideas to him from his compatriots who have settled in the United States and will grow tired, as all the Catholic nations in Europe have grown tired, of being eaten up by ecclesiastical imposts and exactions. Old politicians may think that they can shuffle off the issue for their time. But young politicians will find that, to say nothing of principle, they have made a grand mistake in lending themselves to that which is sure in the end to prove the losing side. Rational and manly allegiance to party is compatible with a firm refusal to be put in a wrong position on the leading question of the future.

-In estimating the electoral results of Equal Rights or any other independent movement we must bear in mind the tremendous power of the Machines. Wonderful would be the political thraldom to which they have reduced the people if we did not know that free institutions will not make free natures, and small is the number of those who are by nature free. of us crave for a sheepfold and a shibboleth. The people will vote not only against a principle, such as Equal Rights, but what is stranger still, against their material and well-known interests rather than brave the ban of Party. Virtually the Machines coalesce against anything which is independent and spoils the game, as principle is always apt to do. They have evidently coalesced on the present occasion. Every one who gives an independent vote therefore indicates the convictions of a score. In Stanstead, Mr. Colby, at all events, had to come down from his pinnacle of disdain and to condescend to fight for his seat. He took the line that if a Provincial Act is intra vires it cannot, however bad, be constitutionally vetoed, having himself the other day voted for vetoing a Manitoba Act chartering a local railway, the legality of which was undoubted and had

been expressly admitted by his chief. He grants that the Equal Rights movement is one of principle, but says that it is not one of worldly wisdom; but then his notions of worldly wisdom appear to include a use of the Speaker's chair for a partisan purpose, which is worldly with a vengeance if not so manifestly wise. In Stanstead a protest was all that could be hoped, and a manly protest breaks the spell of Machine servitude.

-A strong article in Le Canada against the Jesuits shows that the restless and intriguing Order is only a degree less hateful to the quiet people in its own Church than it is to the special objects of its hostile machinations. To understand this case, we must always bear in mind the difference between the Latin Church of the dark ages with its natural superstitions and the Ultramontane reaction set on foot when the day had dawned to prevent the spread of light. It is of the reaction that the brotherhood of Loyola is the embodiment The contrast was seen when Jesuit emissaries were plotting against the throne and life of Elizabeth, while Howard, an old Catholic, commanded the fleet against the Armada. It is seen when we compare the poetry of genuine piety and romance, embodied in the medieval cathedral, with the meretricious ornaments of the Jesuit Church and its air loaded with sensuous clouds of incense. It is seen when we compare the crafty casuistry and florid oratory of the Jesuit with the religious literature of the Middle Ages. The old Latin Church was practically consistent with nationality and patriotism. Ultramontanism is an anti-national conspiracy. Nobody doubts the perfect sincerity of Anselm, of St. Louis, or even of Becket, though in Becket we see strongly developed that ecclesiastical ambition which was at work, together with less sinister influences, in building up the edifice of medieval superstition; but charity itself can hardly believe that men who inherit our common nature can pass their lives in plotting, intriguing and casuistically tampering with morality, without feeeling at all events an occasional suspicion that they are not serving truth. The triumph of anti-national Ultramontanism over the national Catholicism followed naturally when the national governments threw off their vassalage to the Pope, and the Vatican thus became the sole centre of reaction. Yet the ancient faith was still lingering among the old Catholic families of England, at the time of the "Papal Aggression," when the Duke of Norfolk from offended patriotism became a Protestant. It lingered till yesterday in French Canada, which had been isolated from the general movement by British conquest and subsequently by the French Revolution. In the Sulpician Seminary of Montreal, the old Catholicism had a fortress which it cost the Jesuit engineer the utmost efforts of his craft to reduce. That fortress however has now fallen.

-Whether Mr. Martin's bold plan of uniting Manitoba with the adjacent territory can be carried into effect we must leave it to the inhabitants to decide. But he cannot do better than combine the people of the whole of the North-West for the maintenance of their common and distinct interests. Those interests have been sacrificed to the objects of a party government at Ottawa, which wants to make everything politically subservient to itself, and of a group of Montreal capitalists, which wants to make everything commercially tributary to Montreal. The people have themselves been accomplices in their own undoing by allowing themselves to be seduced by petty government bribes into sending untrustworthy representatives to Ottawa, though the difficulty of finding men at once of character and of leisure in a new settlement may be pleaded as an excuse for the mistake. result has been what everyone who chooses to speak the truth must pronounce, considering the vast capacities of the country, comparative failure. The country has not only been kept back but discredited, and instead of the elements of a vigorous, high-spirited and thriving community has been receiving heterogeneous scraps of population till at last it is in danger of being turned into a second Utah; the Ottawa Government, probably caring not much how the region is peopled so long as it is not by "a gang" which will assert its political independence. With fair-play that fruitful expanse can hardly fail to prosper, the rigour of its winter notwithstanding; but it has not yet had anything like fair-play. About its first chance of fair-play is that which is given it by the patriotic attitude of the Greenway Government.

The C.P. R., that great national enterprise to which because it was national, exclusively and superlatively national, the Dominion has given over a hundred millions in subsidies of different kinds, and in which no Yankee was even to hold stock, has now not only become thoroughly identified with the American railway system, but, as the Toronto Mail has proved, discriminates against Canadian trade. This surely is a fact from which commercial separatists, if they are not blind, will draw a moral. The operation of the national road with regard to immigration is much the same as it is with regard to trade. It is all the time carrying immigrants down the line away from Manitoba and our settlements to Washington, Oregon and Montana. In an emigrant train going west there were found 7 passengers for Vancouver, 3 for Victoria, 21 for Tacoma, and 37 for Seattle. The Canada Gazette, by the way, will find on referring again to the BYSTANDER of former years that it was of the Intercolonial, not the C. P. R., that we spoke when we said that it would probably be ruined by the short cut through Maine. It is the C. P. R. itself that makes the short cut. In subsidizing the short cut the Dominion Parliament has in fact declared that the BYSTANDER'S prophecy with regard to the ultimate abandonment of the Intercolonial has proved true. He predicted that commercially the section north of Lake Superior would be a failure, and to that prediction he adheres. Nothing at least can falsify it, as he thinks and as is thought by much better authorities than he is, except an extraordinary development of mining in the region, which again is impossible without a market.

-The gourd-like growth of Toronto is due, we apprehend, not so much to manufactures as to the passion for city life which all over the world is leading the people to throng into the great cities and has swelled London into a huge tumour on the social frame. In the production of this tendency popular education, by creating a distaste for manual labour, has probably played a part, but a greater part has been played by the railways, of which Toronto has recently become a centre, and which bring in the people first to make purchases or see sights and ultimately to settle. If those who have money come in those who have not money must follow to get employment, while a good many moths are lured by the brightness of the candle. Speaking generally, the tendency has its evils. people cannot afford to be so well housed in the city as they are in a village; they breathe less pure air, their children grow up in surroundings less healthy for body and mind, and though they have more of crowd and excitement they have really less of social life; for while in the village they all know each other, in the city they do not know their next-door neighbour.

The alarm has been raised that manufactures are beginning to fly from city taxes. This seems as yet to be only in a single case. Yet city taxes must be a heavy deduction from profits made here. In Toronto we all pay for our own roads, sidewalks, drains and water. We shovel our own snow and care for our own boulevards. The relief of the poor is left to private charity and there is not even a city officer for its superintendence. A city government could hardly do less for the inhabitants. What then, people ask, becomes of the great sums raised in taxes? Peculation, nobody we believe, suspects. Jobbery can hardly be altogether avoided when a corps of contractors is brought into contact with a body elected as the Council is

But the chief leakage, we take it, arises from the waste which is inseparable from an unskilled administration, and one which being elected every year is too short-lived to exercise foresight and act on system. The heaviest charge, apart from the interest on the debt, is the school tax, on which we suspect, in spite of all our sentiment, it will some day be found necessary to put a curb. The only justification for making one man pay for the education of another man's children, which he is no more by nature bound to do than he is to feed and clothe them, is that in a democracy ignorance is a political danger. It seems however from what Mrs. Ashley says and from what the Minister of Education said some time ago that the dangerous class, or a large portion of it, is allowed to escape attendance at the schools. If the truancy law is not enforced the school tax becomes simply a heavy impost levied by one section of the community for its own behoof and without warrant on the others. In order to make the system consistent either with social justice or with the soundness of city finance, the teaching must be kept strictly elementary, and the truancy law must be enforced. To enforce the truancy law in a community such as ours is difficult, no doubt, but to shrink from enforcing it is to condemn the system.

At the very successful Jubilee of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto the key-note of the speeches generally was comprehensiveness. Comprehensiveness, which is dear to cultivated and liberal minds, combined with hierarchical and historical dignity, has been a strong point in the Church of England. But how far can it be carried? The tendency of Ritualism, it is hardly possible to doubt, is to the restoration of the Mass, the very phraseology of which, and all the ritual, saving the bells and incense, have been introduced. Now a man who does not like Ritualism will, if he is liberal and sensible, put up with a great deal of it, because he feels that Ritual in itself is not doctrine, and that what is unedifying to him may be edifying to others. But the Mass is either a miracle or an im-

posture; and how can a man assist at what he believes to be a false miracle? To a certain extent the difficulty arising from the vital difference between High Church and Low Church settles itself for the present by a division of congregations, but this also must have its limit.

The subject of preaching came up. People know, of course, yet they do not make practical allowance for the fact that preaching is a gift, and that you can no more expect your pastor to preach like the Bishop of Huron, the Bishop of Algoma, or the Bishop of Nova Scotia than you can expect him to write like Mr. Farrer or to paint like Mr. O'Brien. The wonder is not that ordinary sermons are no better but that they are as good as they are; for we take it there are few literary men who if they were called upon for two essays a week on the same class of subjects would not soon throw down their pens in despair. A clergyman, instead of having leisure for composition, has his time filled with visiting, and, in addition to this, by the ever-increasing throng of religious side-shows of every kind. Our people must remember, too, that pulpit oratory, like other rare articles, must be paid for, and that Canadian stipends are not as high as those of New York. When preaching the Word meant nothing but imparting saving truth to people who were ignorant of it, no oratorical power was required. But now congregations demand pulpit oratory, and grow restless if the preaching is dull or unvaried, whence arise no little trouble and scandal. A corps of itinerant preachers naturally suggests itself; but to this, besides the expense, which would be considerable, is opposed the deep division of opinion, to which reference has already been made. It would almost be necessary to have two sets, one for High Church the other for Low Church congregations. A few there are, perhaps, who care a great deal more for the service than for the preaching, and who will be satisfied if their pastor cultivates the brevity which is the one kind of excellence within the reach of the humblest composer. But the vast majority crave for fine preaching, and how their craving is to be satisfied it is

hard to say, unless they will let their pastor read published sermons, a plan to which we see no objection, and which would give us all a corps of select preachers indeed.

Among the names to be commemorated first and foremost, of course, was that of Bishop Strachan, a martial eulogy on whom drew from the Bishop of Western New York the goodhumoured reply that he should go home and tell his fellowcountrymen that the man who had really driven them off the hillside at Queenston Heights was Bishop Strachan. The robust and strenuous representative of the Apostles on one occasion allowed himself to be driven off his own position when he had much better have held it. His Church had lost her exclusive possession of Toronto University; still she had possession, she had prestige, she had the support of the most influential, the best educated, the most academical class. Secession is of all policies the weakest. The best is to stick to the ship. Bishop Strachan ought to have stuck to the ship instead of giving it up to his opponents and getting off into a boat, of which, lavish what able effort, what munificence, what affection you will upon it, a ship can never be made. An Anglican College in the free University, at all events, would have given him all the security that he could reasonably desire without the impotence and the mental evils of seclusion.

—One day comes Mr. George and proposes to regenerate society by turning over all our real estate to the politicians; the next comes Miss Susan B. Anthony and proposes to regenerate society by turning over the government to the ladies. Miss Anthony says that the want of the ballot entails not only political but moral and social degradation. The answer seems to be that in the country from which she comes the women, though they have not the ballot, instead of being morally and socially degraded, are in the enjoyment of privileges some of which are rather oppressive to the men. Miss Anthony assumes that women are an unenfranchised class.

They are not a class but a sex, with the interest of which those of the other sex are by their conjugal and family ties completely bound up, so that in legislating for their wives, daughters and sisters the men are legislating for themselves. The reason why the men have made and must make the law is that they alone can enforce it: laws made by women could have no force behind them and would therefore fail. The liberties of which restitution is claimed, as though the men had robbed the women of them, have really been wrought out by the men, and the number of men who have perished in extorting them from despots bears a considerable proportion to the number of those by whom they have as yet been enjoyed. Miss Anthony mentions no legislative grievance which male legislators are unable to redress, or of which they have refused redress to their wives, daughters and sisters. She complains generally that women are half-paid. They are not half-paid in their own callings, such as those of the singer or the modiste: and if they make less money in other callings it is generally because they have less muscle and less brain power than the man, or because they are not so devoted to the vocations, few of them absolutely renouncing marriage. Those who agitate for female suffrage seldom say much about the interests of the family which has hitherto been a unit before the State. and the harmony of which could hardly fail to be imperilled by the introduction of political division; for whatever fine pictures may be drawn few can really believe that conjugal love would not be affected by the appearance of man and wife on opposite sides in a bitter party conflict. Of want of facility of divorce American women can now hardly complain, nor can they say with Mill that a woman is worse off than a slave since she cannot change her master. Miss Anthony seems to admit that the movement is not general among her sex, and the fact seems to be that it is largely kept on foot by the craving of a few ladies for the excitement of public life. In England, the other day, one hundred and four women of the highest distinction, seeing that the real interests of the whole

sex were in danger of being sacrificed to the fancy of a few, appealed to "the common-sense and educated thought of the men and women of England against the proposed extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women." The movement has now been going on in the United States for forty years during which time almost all the States have dealt either in the way of construction or revision with their civil codes, and not one of them has given the political franchise to women. In the Territory of Wyoming the experiment has been made, the object being probably to attract women where they were scarce, and in face of the results of that experiment four new States the other day in drafting their Constitutions deliberately confined the political franchise to males. In Washington the question was put to the people and the result was a great majority against the innovation. The Americans have a great safeguard in the submission of constitutional amendments to the people, who cannot be wheedled or frightened like individual legislators. Here the ladies have only to wheedle or frighten a party leader in order to bring about a sexual revolution

[—]That President Harrison should not have mentioned Commercial Union in his message is no proof that Commercial Union is dead. It was not likely that a new President the first time he opened his mouth to a Congress hardly settled in its place would propose Commercial Union, especially as a committee on relations with Canada was still sitting. When Congress gets fairly upon the tariff question, and not till then, we shall know the policy of the Republican party and the President. So say our own informants. Revenue must be reduced, and in view of that necessity no policy apparently ought to be more welcome to the Republican party than one which reduces revenue and extends trade at the same time without touching the principle of Protection. That there is in the Republican party a section disposed to unfriendly

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courses towards Great Britain, and towards Canada as her dependency, cannot be denied, and it is very likely that Mr. Hoar is a member of it: he has at least given strong indications of anti-British feeling. But we know not why his word should be invested with so much authority or why it should be assumed that his section would prevail. Meantime there can be little doubt that Free Trade is gaining ground. People begin to say that Mr. Cleveland stands a fair chance of re-election. If we are satisfied that we are right in desiring for Canada the markets of her own continent, we must be patient and hopeful, not despair of the cause because by some turn in the battle of political parties its progress is checked for a time or because opponents shout that it is dead.

Truly does the Sherbrooke Gazette say that the chief sufferer by protection is the farmer. If a decline of twenty-two and a-half millions in the value of farm property in Ontario since 1883 does not condemn the system, so far as the owners of that kind of property are concerned, we should like to know what would. The same cry comes from all parts of the rural districts and from the towns which depend on them for their trade. The wages of agricultural labourers have also fallen. The farmers of Ontario, at any rate, and all whom their depression affects, are rife for a change of system. They would heartily respond if the Opposition would move a resolution declaring that the fiscal policy of the Government, so far as they were concerned, had failed. Not less hearty would be the response from Manitoba and the North-West. The Opposition will throw away its chances if it does not, either by way of amendment to the Address, which is the best and most effective course, or in some form during the course of the session, move vigorously in this direction.

[—]Jefferson Davis was not a great man but his death closes an era. He was called a monument of American elemency. It is true the Americans showed infinitely more humanity

and wisdom after their second civil war than they did after their first, when they hanged or despoiled and drove into exile by Acts of Attainder Loyalists guilty of nothing but defending a cause which they had a perfect right to defend, the Revolutionists themselves being witnesses; for even Samuel Adams and the Boston agitators disclaimed, though insincerely. any intention of severing the connection with the mother country. But it would have been murder to hang Jefferson Davis or any other Confederate as a rebel. Champions of an evil cause the men who fought for slavery were. Rebels, in any rational sense of that term, they were not. Secession was not rebellion. Two groups of States, radically differing from each other in social structure and therefore in political tendencies and requirements, had been held together in an uneasy union, which Northern morality denounced as a compact with At last, naturally and inevitably, they fell asunder The Southern group became de facto a nation. It had a regular government, with executive, legislative and judiciary, perfectly recognized and obeyed throughout the whole of a large and well-defined territory. It commanded not only the allegiance, but the devotion of its free citizens, who poured out their blood for it like water through a long war of independence. Even among the slaves there was no revolt and hardly a symptom of disaffection, though as the war went on many of them were swept into the Federal lines. If affirmations of the principle that people have a right to change their government were needed they might have been found by cartloads in the speeches of Northern orators and the writings of Northern publicists. The North, being far the larger and more powerful nation, proceeded to conquer and re-annex the smaller and weaker nation. In doing this it did only what the strong have always been doing from the days of Sennacherib downwards; but conquest for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, however familiar, can claim no sympathy. The only ground which the North had for claiming sympathy and complaining of its absence, was that the South was a slave power,

founded for the propagation of an accursed institution and that in taking arms against it the Federals were executing the ban of humanity. But that ground the North through its legislature positively disclaimed, offering the South if it would return to the Union not only the retention of slavery but further guarantees. John Corwin's Resolution in favour of a Constitutional Amendment, declaring the institution of slavery inviolable and unalterable, had received the requisite two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress when parley was ended by the opening of the cannon on Fort Sumter. After this with what face could the people of the United States upbraid England with not regarding the war as a crusade against slavery? The great mass of the English people, discerning the practical issue, notwithstanding the ignominious disclaimer, and being true to the noble traditions of their own nation, did after all sympathize with the North; and Great Britain steadfastly rejected the proposal of joint intervention which was pressed on her by the French Emperor though acceptance would not only have brought her the cotton, for want of which her countless looms were standing still and her myriads of artisans were on the brink of famine, but would have given her a perpetual claim to the gratitude and support of a powerful community on this side of the Atlantic. It may be doubted whether any nation ever paid a higher tribute to morality than did England in withstanding that temptation. The more candid of the American historians now admit that one motive of their countrymen for making war on Great Britain in 1812 was the hope of sharing with Napoleon the victory which they believed that tyrant was sure to gain over European independence. The Americans had nursed a slave-owning aristocracy, and with that aristocracy European aristocracy sympathized in the struggle. What else in reason could be expected? Could the Americans demand of a foreign nation a unanimity of feeling in favour of the war which was as far as possible from existing among themselves? Among the friends of the slave-owner in the North were the great mass of the Irish, in deference to whose

passions honour was the other day denied to the ashes of John Bright, the grand European champion of the North in the struggle. An Englishman need not fear that when his country stands before the tribunal of history sentence in this cause will go against her. As to the violations of British neutrality by the South, in the case of the Alabama and her consorts, what were they in comparison with the violations of American neutrality which had been permitted to the French at the opening of the war between France and England? Americans of the better class are ready to hear reason on these points, but in the Press and among the masses the Anglophobic version still prevails, and a common audience receives with incredulous surprise the assurance that the Alabama was not armed in a British port with the cognizance of the British Government and manned out of the British naval reserve. democracy, when its self-love and self-will have been flattered by generations of demagogues, is as incapable of doing justice to those who have affronted its majesty as the most besotted of despots.

—Nothing in the commercial world is more striking than the immense flow of British capital into the United States. It shows in the first place that England has not been ruined by Free Trade, and in the second place that the English do not regard the United States as "a hostile nation" or give the colonies a commercial preference over it. Whatever may be said as to trade, investment does not closely follow the flag. Possibly the investors may also be feeling, in some degree, decreased confidence in the stability of British as compared with American institutions. The New York Times states that a hundred millions of British capital are about to be invested in a single enterprise. From another source we learn that since July of last year eighteen American brewery companies have been bought out in the London market. Canadian experience shows that the British investor is apt to be at once singularly

rash and singularly timid, and both in the wrong place: he will refuse the soundest stock and rush into the most speculative enterprise. Let him remember that American sharp-practice, though it has been much exaggerated, is not altogether fabulous, that the United States are a foreign though not a hostile country, and that Anglophobia does sometimes affect the strictness both of commercial dealing and of legal justice.

—The escape of the Cronin murderers from the halter, which, if they were guilty at all, was manifestly their due, is a partial failure of justice. The Americans, however, have seen what the Clan-na-Gael is like, and what it is they have been flattering and fostering all these years. No man deserves to stand in the dock of public opinion better than he who, when President Elect, to pander to Irish passion, signed an address excusing Irish outrage, or the highly moral Senator from New England, who, with the same noble object, palliated the Pheenix Park murderers.

The Brazilian Revolution was more of a revolution than at first appeared. As to the cause we were not misled. The Emancipation of the Slaves may have disgusted the great landowners and deprived the Crown of their support at the critical moment: but it was not the emancipation of the slaves that caused the revolution. The main cause of the revolution, as the advices indicate, and as the London Times thinks, was one of which we heard long ago. It was fear of the reactionary tendencies of the heiress to the Crown who was in the hands of the Jesuits. The first thing this lady does on setting foot in Europe is to make a pilgrimage to Lourdes, and the friends of the dynasty, aware of her weakness, propose to pass her over in their choice of a pretender and adopt the Emperor's grandson, a boy of fourteen. Jesuitism has

scored another James II. This is Sir John Thompson's harmless "company of Christian teachers and preachers." If a civil war breaks out, the public money of a Canadian Province may be used to shed Brazilian blood in the interest of Ultramontane reaction. Amidst all our speculations about the political bearings of the Jesuit case we think too little of the plain question of duty. What right has Canada to aid a deadly conspiracy against liberty, progress, and truth?

We are told that we need not trouble ourselves about the Jesuit: he always fails. So he does. He failed in Germany after destroying by the Thirty Years' War more than half the population. He failed in France after kindling the War of the League and nearly handing over the country to Philip II. failed in France again after extirpating the Protestants and sowing the seeds of the Revolution. He failed in the Netherlands after the religious murder of multitudes and half-a-century of bloodshed. He failed in England after nearly wrecking the liberties of the people by the hand of James II. and bringing on civil war in Scotland and Ireland. He failed in Spain after helping Ferdinand VII. to overturn the Constitution and inaugurate a reign of terror. He failed in Switzerland after arraying the Catholic cantons against the Protestant in the field of civil war. He failed once more in France after drawing her into a ruinous war with Germany. In Brazil he fails after leading a dynasty to ruin and filling the country with strife, which may possibly result in serious bloodshed.

[—]It seems as if the junction of the Liberal Unionists with the Conservatives in England, long delayed by Lord Hartington and his friends, in the vain hope that when Home Rule was out of the way they might again lead a Liberal party of the old stamp, is at last about to take place. Home Rule is out of the way, at least for the present; but in its place appears socialistic revolution, to save the country from which and from dismemberment at the same time all the anti-revolutionary

forces must be combined. Hoodwinked to a strange extent by the survival of monarchical and aristocratic forms which had lost all their force and ceased to afford any real safeguards, British statesmen have gone on extending the franchise without providing any checks or strengthening the upper works of the Constitution till they have slipped, without being aware of it, into the most unbridled democracy. Universal suffrage is more perilous in England than it is in France, where the masses are small landowners and Conservative in their way, while in England they are mere wage-earners with a very large proportion of factory hands, the least stable and the most dangerous of all political elements. Power having, it may be said, finally departed from the House of Lords, the only practical safeguards left are the seven years' term for Parliament and non-payment of members. The first preserves to the Legislature a certain degree of independence; the second keeps the representation generally in the hands of men of property. But both these are marked for abolition in the Radical programme drawn up the other day at Manchester under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone, and, should the Radicals win the next election, will certainly fall, together with any remnants of restriction or qualification which limit the sway of universal suffrage. The country will then be launched on the current of revolution, made still more impetuous, if this strife between employer and employed goes on, by the prevalence of industrial war; and where it will bring up, who can say? Feeble leaders, like Lord Rosebery and Mr. Morley, will be utterly incapable of controlling the more violent section of their party even if they were conscientious enough to risk their popularity by the attempt. The disturbance would probably extend to the dependencies. It would hardly be possible that the Indian Empire should survive a reign of revolutionary demagogism in the Imperial country. Its rulers have already begun, we believe, to feel an increase of their perils from that quarter.

That which is worshipped as the British Constitution in reality never was much more than a balance of power between

the Crown, the aristocracy, and the Commons. The balance has oscillated from time to time, inclining under the Tudors to the Crown, under the early Hanoverians to the aristocracy, who then nominated a large portion of the popular House, and of late to the Commons. Power has now completely and finally centred in the House of Commons, which has thus become the government of the country, the executive being a committee of its dominant party. But the House of Commons never was intended to be a government: it was intended only to be the representation of the people for the purpose of granting taxes and conferring with the Crown in which the Government was supposed to reside. Nor is it in any way fitted for its new function. It is a mob elected by a larger mob, which is fast reducing members of Parliament to mere agents by the Caucus. Anyone by attending a few evenings in the gallery may satisfy himself that all power of deliberation and almost the power of preserving order is lost. Unless something can be done, and done speedily, to make the House of Commons fit for the functions of government, there will cease to be a government or any real authority in the country. Lord Salisbury, unhappily, with all his ability, is not the man to grapple with organic problems. He has never given his mind to them. His dominant idea is the preservation of the hereditary House of Lords, to the irretrievable decadence of which he is blind. His only other idea, so far as appears, is female suffrage, by which he imagines that he can cool the revolutionary cauldron. If female suffrage did cool the revolutionary cauldron it would be only for a moment, and at the expense, too probably, of interests more precious if possible than those of the State itself.

The danger of dismemberment for the time is over. Mr. Gladstone refuses to disclose his plan of Home Rule. He has no plan to disclose. The dilemma in which he is placed between the exclusion and retention of the Irish members is fatal. He is also in a dilemma with regard to the order of precedence between Irish and Scottish Home Rule, the Home Rulers of each country demanding that their measure shall be carried

first, because when the Irish depart from Westminster the Scotch, when the Scotch depart the Irish, will be left in a hopeless minority. Precedence is also claimed for Welsh disestablishment by the friends of that measure whose vote is indispensable. Mr. Gladstone, pressed by the different sections of his followers, takes refuge in ambiguous utterance, which begins to lose its effect.

-The Radicals are choosing a leader to succeed Mr. Gladstone. They are embarrassed, but not by their riches. Their choice lies between Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley and Lord Rosebery, the weakness of Lord Spencer being now apparently confessed. But Lord Rosebery is in the Upper House; the real leader of the Radical party must be in the Commons. The natural heir is Sir William Harcourt, but of him one of the journals which is booming Mr. Morley, under cover of putting forward Lord Rosebery, says, that it "trusts England will never sink so low as to be governed by him." We can understand the remark, though we doubt whether the cynicism of the coarse opportunist is really more ignoble than the demagogism of the philosophic man of letters who after taking the highest ground as a preacher of morality and of government by intelligence stoops to play the low game of faction, to become the organ of party falsehood, to flatter mob passions, and to delude the ignorant masses with promises which he must know cannot be fulfilled. If the revolution which Mr. Morley invokes really began he and all the other literary and philosophic Jacobins would be crushed like egg shells. About the strongest of the Radicals and the least unfit to govern, strange as it may seem, in reality is Mr. Bradlaugh, who is disqualified by his social heterodoxy. Lord Rosebery is a showy man of talent, whose ambition exceeds his ability, without settled opinions or much force of character. Launched on the revolutionary current, he would drift or sink. Meantime Sir Andrew Clark says that for aught he can see Mr. Gladstone may live to two hundred. If he does, and continues to advance in his revolutionary line at his present rate he will come to a great pass at last.

The choice of a leader is a serious matter, for the masses to whom the franchise has now been extended, ignorant of all questions and careless of all principles, have nothing to follow but a name. Gladstonian is the proper title of the party; a member of Parliament is elected to vote with Mr. Gladstone, which he must do on all occasions, at the peril of his political life. If he gives a conscientious vote he immediately receives a notice of dismissal from the Caucus. Thus government by the people has, for the time at least, resulted in autocracy.

—The Imperial Federation movement has ended in the proposal by Lord Rosebery of an annual Conference. Not only is a Conference not a Federation, but the proposal seems to imply that the idea of federation is laid aside. However, if the Conference is not to be a mere palaver, it must be invested with some sort of authority, and to be invested with any sort of authority it must be chosen in a regular way, with the consent of the several Colonies, and with an accredited representative from the Mother Country. Of mere oratory and fraternization we have surely had enough.

—Canada may well keep her eyes anxiously fixed on the European war-cloud for two reasons: because a maritime war would suspend her trade with Europe and because a war between Great Britain and France would set the British and French Provinces of the Dominion by the ears. But to attempt to register the daily shiftings of the cloud and the changes in its hue is vain. Lord Salisbury tells us there will be peace; and this is sufficient assurance that there are no immediate signs of war. Lord Salisbury's skill in diplomacy

is beyond question; but if the remark were not presumptuous, we should say that he was too great a diplomatist: he believes too much in diplomacy as an occult science and overrates its power of controlling violent passions and brute forces. How can he or any man tell what gust of emotion may to-morrow sweep over France, what thoughts may be harboured in the breast of the Czar, or what complications may any day be brought on by some outbreak in Eastern Europe, in Crete, or in Afghanistan? Assurances of peace may be trusted when armaments are reduced: while they are augmented we must infer that those who augment them look for war. finances of France appear to be in a bad state. Supposing a crisis comes, will it lead the French to curtail their military expenditure, or will it lead them at once to hurl themselves desperately on Germany? Who can tell? In such a case passion would reign and diplomatic science would have little power.

-The contagion of the Dock Strike has spread and British industry seems to be falling into disorganization at the moment when reviving commerce had made the outlook bright. What will be the ultimate consequence, we all know; it will be the withdrawal of trade from the disturbed centres; perhaps its departure from England to the continent; for the men have not yet succeeded in persuading their foreign competitors to forbear taking advantage of their mistakes. The community, let us say again, is the real employer and will give no more for goods or labour than it can afford, so that if the producers or labourers insist on a price higher than the community can afford the trade must cease. There is no help for it, however; combination is lawful, though it seems hard that those who turn a single wheel in a great machine of industry should be able by striking to make the whole machine stand still, and that a great city should be plunged in darkness whenever the men in the gas works have a quarrel with their employers. Nor are there any means of preventing men from

preferring the calling of a social incendiary to other ways of making their bread. All that the community can do is to protect the rights of non-union men. This it is not only concerned in interest but in duty bound to do. It is not right that any man should be able to say to another unless you will join my combination and submit to the rules which it chooses to make, you shall not work for your bread. There has evidently been a good deal not only of intimidation but of violence in connection with the London strikes. To let club law prevail would be a relapse into barbarism as well as monopoly. This apparently the country begins to feel and two strikes have been resisted and beaten, as it seems, with the general assent of the community.

There can be no shadow of doubt that the material condition of the labouring class in England and other great commercial countries has immensely improved during the last half century, and this without the exercise on their part of the self-denial in regard to marriage which has been exercised by other classes. It is equally certain that the feelings and conduct of the wealthier class towards the labouring class have improved fully as much. Benevolence is multiplying its efforts on all sides, and at this very moment Mr. Guiness is giving a million of dollars for homes for the poor in London and a quarter of a million in Dublin. Yet there never was a time when the feeling of the labouring class, at least of a large portion of it, towards the wealthier class was worse than it is at present or when the industrial air was more full of conspiracy and strife. Raised to a higher level, the mechanics see greater luxuries apparently within their reach. Half educated, they are in that twilight of the mind in which chimeras and charlatanry have power. They have generally ceased to look to a future life for compensation if they get less than their share here, or to believe in the constitution of society as the ordinance of God. There has arisen a set of labour agitators and writers of labour journals who make it their trade to instil venom into the heart of the artisan and to possess him with

the belief that he alone is the "toiler," while all other men are "spoilers" who ought to be made to disgorge, and may deem themselves lucky if they are allowed to escape with their lives. When this industrial embitterment is everywhere going on simultaneously with a political revolution, by which political power is being transferred into the hands of the masses and independent authority is ceasing to exist, who can feel sure that we have not stormy times before us? Fortunately the chiefs of industry and commerce, on whom in this case the brunt of the conflict falls, are not like political demagogues: they are men raised to their leadership by genuine qualities, and they have hitherto met their difficulties and perils with sagacity as well as firmness. As to the possessors of wealth generally, let them instead of roving in search of pleasure stay at their social posts and do their duty. If they do not, trouble will come on them as it has come on every class in history which has been false to its mission. If they do, even supposing they fail to allay the ill-feeling among the working class and to conjure the impending storm, they will get something better than wealth can give and something which the loss of wealth cannot take away. It is a bad part of dependence that wealthy colonists are apt hardly to look upon the colony as their home or their post of duty. They spend half their time in England and look on that as their social spheres.

If anything can be more revolting than the details of the vice which haunts great and luxurious cities it surely is the appetite which causes those details to be telegraphed all over the world and eagerly devoured. Worse still is the use of them for a political purpose, to which the Radicals in England seem to be joyfully looking forward. To carry on political warfare with ordure is congenial enough to a Parnellite agitator or a member of the Clan-na-Gael; but this filthy savagery has not hitherto polluted British public life. Unfortunately public opinion seems to be debauched enough to license anything so long

as excitement is provided. A Radical journalist is praised by his brethren of the Press for his skill in so collocating two paragraphs as, without risking a direct charge, to convey a deadly imputation against the character of the son of the Prince of Wales. The victim of this cowardly brutality is a stripling whom a manly savage would spare, and who, as he cannot bring a libel suit, is absolutely defenceless. There are crimes which law cannot reach and which public sentiment seems no longer to chastise. Those who have been shocked by foul reports may, we believe, rest assured that the young members of the Royal Family are so closely watched over that their resort to haunts of infamy, even were they so inclined, would be impossible. The Prince of Wales when he was at the university was the subject of slanderous reports which could not possibly have been true, since sight was never lost of him by those who had him under their care

-Our warmest sympathies are due to those who try to make Toronto a centre of art. But we must not forget the difficulties against which we have to contend. You may count on your fingers, perhaps on the fingers of one hand, the centres of art in the world. They can exist only where there are fine collections to furnish a standard as well as good schools of technical skill, together with great wealth and high culture. It is doubtful whether there is vet one on this continent, though sheer force of money may presently create one at New York. In our case the area is wholly insufficient. talk of Canada, but the real area is only Ontario and the British quarter of Montreal. We are completely cut off from the Maritime Provinces and from the scanty population of the North-West. For the same reason all efforts to establish a literary periodical have hitherto failed. It is difficult even for a first-class newspaper to maintain itself and meet the high requirements of the present day on so limited a constituency. Yet the local newspaper has not to compete with the products of the world: the local artist has, for the few who buy works of art are always going to Europe and they buy by preference there. First-rate artists will not stay at any but a great centre. The President of the Canadian Academy himself is drawn away to London: there was nothing of his in the Exhibition at the Canadian Institute. It is even false kindness to encourage a good painter or sculptor to set up his studio where there will be few to appreciate and fewer still to buy. Toronto is not, as some homilies which have been read us on this subject seem to imply, behind other commercial cities of the same size in love of beauty. The marked improvement of her house architecture and the increasing display of objects of taste in her stores acquit her of the charge. But really good painting or sculpture is a tremendously expensive article: it is beyond the means of any but our richest men; and there can be no use in constraining people to buy anything which is not really good. A great deal not only of vulgar embellishment but of genuine beauty in the shape of decoration may be had for the cost of even a tolerable picture or statue. Besides very few even of those who have passed their lives in refined society are sufficiently good judges of art to buy it with confidence, whereas any man may feel sure of getting from a good furniture or decoration store something which is worth his money, and which even if it does not do the highest credit to his taste will not make him a laughing-stock to connoisseurs. The Canadian millionaire when he goes to Europe can buy under good advice as well as with an infinitely greater choice. In portrait painting the local man has an advantage, but even for portraits those who are willing to give a high price will go to Europe, while those who are not will take the photograph touched by Nobody can pretend that the last Exhibithe artist's hand. tion at the Canadian Institute was successful: it seemed to owe its escape from failure in drawing the public to the bastard attraction of a lottery. Music enjoys a happy exemption from the necessities which chain to certain centres her sister arts, and her progress in Toronto is enough to prove that we are not barbarians.

The counsel will be thought unworthy, we know, by the votaries of high art, but we cannot help thinking that an improvement of the art department of the Industrial Exhibition might be useful as a humble instrument both for the cultivation of popular taste and for the sale, at all events, of such works as please the many. What is exhibited there will be seen by the whole Province, not by Toronto alone, and though the majority will come only to stare some may come to admire and a few to buy. We commend to Mr. Withrow and the other managers the provision of a separate building suitable for the quiet enjoyment of art and a special committee to supervise the admissions. If obtainable, a Loan Collection should always be got together to add to the attractions of native artists and furnish a standard of excellence. Meantime our thanks are due to the organizers of the Exhibition at the Toronto Art Gallery for bringing before our artists and our people such pictures as Dawant's "Embarkment of Emigrants," and Hoeber's "The Daily Bread," and we may add, with special pride in the achievements of an old Toronto artist. G. R. Bridgman's "Boy Overboard."

—Industry is always respectable and no one can deny the praise of industry to Dr. Poole's portly volume on "Anglosrael." Every particle of evidence or of anything that looks like evidence in favour of the whimsical hypothesis that the Saxon race is the Lost Tribes of Israel has been collected with the most diligent research by Dr. Poole, whose ethnology in its vigorous sweep draws no distinction between Celt and Teuton, while his philology is subtle enough to deduce "Saxon" from "Isaac." It is impossible to speak of "Anglo-Israel" with disrespect, since it is the creed of the most popular preacher in Toronto, and in England has arrived at the political dignity of being a "vote," and of putting test questions to Parliamentary candidates. It seems to be, in effect, Jingoism with a Biblical sanction. As descendants of the Chosen Race the

Anglo-Saxons inherit the earth. But the doctrine that the Deity bound Himself to advance the interests of a particular race at the expense of the rest if it would pray and sacrifice to Him is a tribal belief and belongs to the theological past. That the Father-of-All has made all nations of one blood to dwell together is the Gospel view, in accordance with which the Apostles went forth to convert the world. Dr. Peole would not like to make religious theory the procuress to unscrupulous ambition. Mazzini had faults and made great mistakes. but he shines among vulgar Chauvinists and Jingoes like a star in virtue of his teaching, amidst all his fervent patriotism, that each nation should regard itself as an organ of humanity. Dr. Poole quotes Dr. Abbadie, of Amsterdam, as saying in 1723, that unless the Ten Tribes have flown into the air or have plunged into the centre of the earth they must be sought for in the North and West and in the British Isles. ence to the learned shade of Dr. Abbadie, we cannot help thinking that the amalgamation of the Ten Tribes into the other Semites by whom they were surrounded in the land of their captivity is as easy a way out of the difficulty which presented itself to his mind as the transformation of a set of dark, long-nosed and crafty Orientals, into a people of fairhaired, blue-eyed and frank-faced rovers on the Northern Sea.

There is a preface by Dr. Withrow in which is renewed the old indictment against Christendom for the religious persecution of the Jews. We believe that we should have no difficulty in proving to the Doctor that the charge is greatly overstated and Christendom, which has plenty of other grounds for self-reproach, may be comparatively at ease on this. The main cause of the risings of the people against the Jews in the Middle Ages was not difference of religion, though that no doubt embittered the quarrel, but the exactions practised on the people by the Jew. The chief case of a distinctly religious persecution was in Spain, and even there it is difficult to distinguish the religious conflict from that struggle of races, Occidental and Oriental, for the possession of the Pen-

insula, in which the Jew was on the Oriental side. It is the same in modern times; the so-called religious movements against the Jews in Russia, Germany, Austria and the Danubian Principalities are not religious, but are the risings of the people against insufferable usury practised on them by an alien, intruding, and exclusive race. We promise to give Dr. Withrow proof of this whenever he will do us the honour to call for it. Perhaps he will in the meantime consider whether if Christians have been too often intolerant, Jews who will not eat, drink or intermarry with their fellow-citizens are models of toleration.

-British Canada has at all events reason to be proud of her endges and grateful to those who have appointed them for having in the exercise of their momentous trust usually kept the fell demands of party at least within decent limits. Amidst the general decadence of authority and reverence consequent on political strife the people have never ceased to look up with respect and confidence to the Bench; and when a tyrant of the Press, who had trampled with impunity on the characters and feelings of all other people, ventured to assail a judge he was at once made sensible of his error and slunk away in silence. Mr. Read's Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada comprises more than thirty sketches of the occupants of the Provincial Bench, the series commencing with Chief Justice Osgoode, who was appointed on the passing of the Constitutional Act in 1791 and ending very worthily with Sir M. C. Cameron, who died in 1887. The work is rendered interesting by personal reminiscence, is enlivened by anecdote, and, as not a few of these men played important parts in public life, is welcome to the historical and general as well as to the professional reader.

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"CANADA: FROM SEA TO SEA," is a beautiful book from the press of William Bryce, the enterprising Toronto publisher. It forms within itself a history and a guide book, within the compass of sixty finely printed pages giving the reader a capital survey of the Dominion, historically and geographically. When it is said that the descriptive matter is from the pen of G, Mercer Adam, readers may be sure that the subject is treated crisply, interestingly and completely. Canada to him is certainly "a well-kenn'd land." The publisher has determined to second the efforts of the author, and he has succeeded beyond praise. Almost every place mentioned—certainly every district is finely illustrated—there are altogether sixty-one illustrations. The method of treatment is very pleasing. Beginning on the Atlantic coast at Halifax the author takes his reader numerous excursions, steadily pursuing his course westward until he lands them by the Fraser Canyons on the Pacific Slope. If any part of the book is better done than another, perhaps it is the sections dealing with Manitoba and its chief city, and the trip over the Rockies. The views in this latter section are noteworthy—The Second Mountain, Beaverfoot and Fraser Canyon, are two pictures specially deserving attention. Altogether this is a book that will commend itself to every candid judgment, and certainly deserves the attention of all who think well of this "Canada of ours." —The Eastern Chronicle, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.

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