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A MONTHLY
REVIEW**THE BYSTANDER**OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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THE BYSTANDER.

MAY, 1880.

AT Ottawa three weeks were wasted in an altercation, mis-called a debate, about the Budget. Utterly wasted they were, for not one of the speakers attempted to give a fair account of the results of the N. P. in his own district. It was a mere series of party tirades on both sides. As the first word was uttered, Truth waved her wing to alight in that Hall no more. In a little Working Man's paper published at Toronto, which lies before us, there is a dialogue of three working men on the N. P., which from the working-man's point of view contains more sense in a few lines than was uttered in three weeks in the House of Commons. "I'm willing to give it time, though I must say I thought wages would have gone up"—is about all that there is really to be said at present. The deficit is partly filled. What the effects of the new system on industry will be, setting aside such casual advantages as the harvest of last year, remains yet to be seen. That the good done must be very limited, we know. A tariff which is framed with a view of doing justice to our own industries is an improvement on one which was not, and the government which framed it will, in that respect, be commended by all who hold that in commercial matters, as well as in others, it is the special duty of a government to protect the interests of its own citizens. But no man of sense imagines that prosperity can be created by an increase of taxation.

On both sides the Tariff is treated as a measure of Protection. The addition to the coal duty is Protectionist, being imposed avowedly with the object of compelling Ontario to use Nova Scotian coal. But there is nothing to take the Tariff, as a whole, out of the category of revenue tariffs. An addition to the revenue was imperatively required to fill the deficit produced by an extremely expensive form of government, and by making political railways. An increase of duties, consequently, was inevitable, and recourse must have been had to it whichever party had been in power. The only subject for discussion, therefore, is the scheme of adjustment, and as to this we shall scarcely be in a position to form a satisfactory opinion, until some counter scheme has been propounded on the other side. The weak point of the whole policy, in our own eyes, is the general basis of Isolation on which it rests. It is constructed on the principle of cutting us off, for political purposes, from the continent of which our country is economically a part, instead of obeying the dictates of nature, and embracing the advantages which she has set before us. It condemns Canada anew to the commercial atrophy which such severance inevitably produces, and which is the main cause of her commercial ills, and of the present exodus of her citizens. But the leaders and the organs of both parties are Separatists, and denounce Commercial Union as treason. In that respect they all stand on the same platform, which, if ever the commercial interest of our people should prevail over Anti-American sentiment, will give way alike under them all.

—At last the N. P. wrangle was over, and Mr. Blake, by his notice of resolution to postpone the construction of the railway in British Columbia, gave the signal for the really important debate of the Session. He gave the signal for something else at the same time. The *Globe* had watched in eloquent silence his return to Parliament and his progress towards the leadership of the Opposition. It now came down upon him, with an editorial of impressive length, defending the great national en-

terprise, and branding as an Annexationist the presumptuous politician who dared at once to propose an interference with its prosecution and himself to come forward as an independent leader of the Opposition. This time, however, Mr. Blake stood firm; and the effect of his firmness soon appeared. The next editorial betrayed, what one of our contemporaries called in language graphic, though perhaps not classical, "a decided weakening towards Mr. Blake." The Grit journal made haste to put away the reproach which had evidently been addressed to it behind the scenes, of playing into the hands of the Tory Government, and its party chastity was vindicated in an amusing way, at the expense of poor Sir Charles Tupper. Sir Charles, finding himself under the mistletoe of patriotism with the *Globe*, ventured to steal a kiss. He must have been rather taken aback by the gentle dame's response:

"We admit that we have not done justice to Sir Charles Pecksniff, but who could? It is as impossible to truly set him forth as to traduce him. He used his position as Minister of his own Province to feather his nest at the public expense in other cases besides that of the Springhill coal mine. He is certainly the most corrupt administrator that ever held office in Canada. He jobbed with the Carillon contractors as soon as he had succeeded to Mr. Mackenzie's department; he handed over sections A. and B. of the Thunder Bay Branch to his friends at a loss to the country of \$634,958; his intimates are the contract-brokers and "sharks" of the Capital. Select at random six men of his own party, and at least four of them will say in private that, 'it is impossible to stand Tupper.' Under such circumstances Tupper may forgive the *Globe*, but the *Globe* cannot forgive Tupper. He is a nuisance to be abated."

This, it must be owned, is very pleasant reading for the members of a community, which, for the purposes of a great national enterprise, has entrusted the expenditure of a hundred millions to "Sir Charles Pecksniff's" hands.

The debate, especially the speech of Mr. Blake, brought again to the mind of the country the history of an enterprise, utterly out of proportion, as every sane man will in private say, to the resources of the nation undertaken without surveys, without

estimates, without proper exploration of the country ; and which, instead of consolidating Confederation, is likely, if prosecuted according to the present scheme, to place its integrity in the utmost peril by bringing it to financial disaster. A proviso was inserted in the contract that the burden of taxation should not be increased : but money could not be borrowed for a colossal undertaking without raising the interest in taxes, and the proviso has, of course, been given to the winds. It remains on paper only to condemn out of their own mouths those who, shrinking, as they signed the fatal bond, from the danger into which they were rushing, tried by the insertion of this illusory safeguard to hide the character of their act from themselves and from the country.

Mr. Blake's Resolution was defeated, as we had been warned it would be, by "a strict party vote," the *Globe* drawing away one man, and only one, from the Liberal side. Everybody knows what a strict party vote means, and what relation it bears to sincere conviction. The Ministerialists had been made safe in caucus, to which here, as in the United States' national affairs are being transferred from the open Parliament where they are transacted under the inconvenient inspection of the people. The Government was desperately committed, and powerful interests of various kinds have by this time been formed in connection with the Road. But it may be surmised that, in the caucus, to keep the Eastern Province men in line, something was promised in the shape of caution and delay. Whether anything more was promised will presently appear. The country has been awakened ; but a far greater effect would have been produced, had the leaders of the Opposition been at liberty to deal freely with the whole question. Their own policy hung round their necks. Mr. Mackenzie must wish that he had followed his own convictions, instead of yielding to conventional opinion and Lord Dufferin. But what is so rare as political courage ?

An important—we may say all-important—point was brought out, though rather in the way of omission than expression,

by the debate, and notably by the very able and exhaustive speech of the Minister of Railways. The construction of the road along the North Shore of Lake Superior has been abandoned. The railway connection with Manitoba, and consequently with everything beyond, is to be by a road running through American territory. This is a virtual renunciation of the Imperial, political, and military character of the whole enterprise. Lake Superior could not be commanded in case of war: it is therefore no more to be relied on as a military connection than, with its waters frozen more than half the year and the disadvantage of a double trans-shipment, it is likely to form a commercial connection, when there is an all-rail route. As to political relations, they follow, as Sir Charles Tupper truly says, the great lines of commerce. Manitoba and all that lies beyond will remain severed from Canada, in a political and military point of view, not only by distance, and in the case of British Columbia by mountain barriers, but by foreign territory through which our only access practically will lie. Patriotism, therefore, whether Imperial or Canadian, has henceforth little to say to the matter, and we have no occasion to bandy words upon that topic. There is the engagement, of course, with British Columbia, the penalty of cancelling which may, possibly, be the loss of that member of the Confederation. But otherwise the question is now one of a purely commercial kind. Is it worth while for Canada to incur the expense of constructing a railroad over the Rocky Mountains, and of running it when it is constructed, in order to open up British Columbia, a Province with a population, at the outside, of fifteen thousand, and, according to one authority, who at all events would not speak wildly, containing no more arable land than there is in a good Ontario county? Are there no more pressing objects—no safer investments, nearer home? The expense, when the road is constructed, of running it through a desert, is left out of sight by Ministerial speakers, whose fancy peoples the route with teeming millions as soon as the road is opened: but the experience of the Intercolonial is a warning on this

point, though the route of the Intercolonial is neither so complete a wilderness, nor anything like so full of difficulty in winter as the Rocky Mountains. As to the railway within British Columbia, it may or may not be a good investment in itself: according to the *Globe* it is; according to Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie it is not. But till we have opened a communication, what business, commercially speaking, have we there? Are we to build a road on the other side of the Rocky Mountains and take our chance of getting access to it through the mountains when it is built?

—As to the North-Western Territory, the die is cast. The road is actually under construction. Those territories, commercially speaking, as Sir Alexander Galt truly says, do not belong to us any more than to the people of Yorkshire or Tipperary; he might add, than to the people of the United States, or of any other country in the world, all mankind being alike at liberty to take up land. It is not, therefore, for ourselves specially that we are opening up the North-West: perhaps, in some respects, it may be against ourselves. In the same number of the *Globe* with the editorial in favour of the National Enterprise, we find the following paragraph:—

“A Lobo correspondent of the London *Advertiser* says:—During the last twelve months farm property has depreciated fully 25 per cent. As for farm stock, implements, etc., such are the operations of the N. P. that they are fairly given away. A good plough, \$3.25; another plough, \$1.25; a reaping machine, combined, for \$85; a double waggon, \$12; a set of double harness, \$1.25; and other goods and wares in proportion. The people are looking westward.”

No unprejudiced man needs to be told that the cause is the “looking westward” rather than the “N. P.”

Still we may avoid loss, perhaps we may gain, if the money raised by the sale of land in the North-West proves sufficient to pay for the construction of the road, and for running it when

it is constructed. This again will depend upon the rate of immigration. A table has been put into the hands of Sir John Macdonald, showing that there will be 550,000 immigrants in the course of the next ten years. The *Globe* thinks it not extravagant to expect a million within a shorter period. Lord Beaconsfield overshoots them both. We speak advisedly in saying that persons thoroughly well-qualified to judge are far less sanguine. There can be no certainty at present, the most recent reports showing that the country has as yet been very imperfectly explored, while much depends on the price of wheat, which is now pouring into the English market from several quarters, including India. Ten years hence, perhaps, experience will have struck the balance between the advantages and the disadvantages of the North-West—its fruitfulness on the one side; its remoteness, its grasshoppers, and the rigour of its climate on the other. It must be borne in mind that the golden estimates are those of optimists, who were just as sanguine before they even knew that the country contained coal.

That fancy and temper can play their part in these calculations as well as arithmetic, may be seen by a comparison of the language of the *Globe* one day with its language on the next:—

“The Thunder Bay branch, 404 miles long, will be completed, without objection from any one, in 1863, and all admit that the 900 miles from Selkirk to the Rocky Mountains should be pushed on as rapidly as may be necessary to induce settlement. It would not indicate extravagant hope to say that 1,000,000 people will be in the North-West Territories by the time that the 1,300 miles already considered have been constructed. But let us say that only 500,000 people are then in the North-West. If they contribute to the Dominion treasury in the same proportion as the people of the other Provinces, they will increase the revenue by \$3,000,000 a year. The 1,300 miles of railway we treat of will certainly not cost

“Sir John’s calculation to show that \$71,305,000 will have accrued to the treasury from the next ten years’ sales of North-West lands reminds one of the fabled milkmaid who proposed to sell her pailful of milk for so much and buy eggs the chickens of which would sell for enough to pay for a hog, which would breed enough little pigs to sell for the price of a cow, which in a very short time would breed calves, which would soon grow up to cowhood, and by breeding in their turn enable her to buy a farm and establish a very extensive dairy. We are not going to deny that 750,000 people may settle in the North-West during the next ten years, but if so many go there under the present regulations, it is safe to say that

more than \$30,000,000 when completed and equipped. That sum represents an annual payment of interest of \$1,200,000, so that no less than \$1,800,000 would remain to the good. Part of it would, of course, go in expenses of government and protection for the 500,000 people contributing the whole, but it is easy to see that the Dominion has nothing to lose by carrying the Pacific Railway to the Rocky Mountains at an early date."—*Globe, April 6th.*

one-half more would go in if the regulations were changed as we wish.'—*Globe, April 7th.*

In the first article the *Globe* is attacking Mr. Blake, under the usual pseudonym; in the second it is attacking Sir John Macdonald. In the first a certain principle of calculation is adopted; in the second it is covered with ridicule.

As to the vast addition to the revenue which the Government expects from the consumption of dutiable articles in Manitoba, we must repeat what we said before. When Manitoba is big enough to consume a vast amount of dutiable articles, she will be too big to let her tariff be regulated by Canada: she will trade with whom she pleases, and as the border antipathy does not exist in her case, she will probably choose to resort to her natural markets, which are those of the United States. Besides, how can we hope to keep to ourselves for fiscal purposes a traffic which will not be within a ring-fence, but will have to go in bond over foreign territory?

Our people would see the facts of the case and the nature of the enterprise better if they could have before them an economical as well as a political map of the Dominion. In the political map the Dominion appears as a compact half-continent. In an economical map, marking off the cultivable land from the irreclaimable desert, it would appear as four distinct regions of different sizes, with uncultivable tracts, and in one case, a vast mountain chain, between. Speaking roughly, we might call them four great irregular projections of the temperate and fertile parts of the continent into its inhospitable Northern zone. A glance would tell any one that to clamp these four regions together with railroads is a desperate undertaking for a country of such moderate resources as ours. Those who counselled the

undertaking and push it on, though patriots, are Imperial patriots, politicians whose aims and sentiments, like their knight-hoods, are distinctively Imperial. Let them get the Imperial country to grant the money for railroads through the Rocky Mountains, and round the north of Lake Superior. All will then be well. The money it ought to be, not a guarantee, which is little better than an illusion and a snare.

Our statesmen find themselves compelled to put up with the natural railway route to Manitoba through the territory of the United States. This ought to make them conscious that the time has come for choosing definitely between two commercial policies. Are we to regard the inhabitants of the rest of the continent commercially as enemies, and to fight them; or are we to regard them as partners in the continent and to share with them, and when circumstances render it desirable, construct in concert with them, the highways of trade? In a war, we should contend against a far longer purse; and the object would all the time be slipping away from us, for whether we look to banks, telegraphs, railways, or any other department, we see that whatever may be the theory of the politicians, commercial union is practically going on. But the man who takes either course, and pursues it, consistently, may be a statesman. He who halts between the two, incurring enormous expense, yet swerving from his mark, constructing a gigantic railway at a distance, on the principle of hostility, yet content to leave his only access to it dependent on good-will, is surely undeserving of the name.

—Is the condition of Canada such that she can be launched without fear into boundless expenditure for a remote or sentimental object? The *Journal of Commerce*, in an article on the Financial Position, tells us that the country is “annually piling up a gigantic debt;” that it is “drifting into bankruptcy;” that “the day of reckoning is assuredly near;” and these, if the world is not mistaken, are the words of a man who is personally responsible for the situation. The limits of indirect taxation have been reached, yet the deficit is not filled; and the Finance

Minister is compelled to have recourse to inflation. An exodus to the United States is going on from all the Provinces. As many as 300 persons went from St. John in one week, and 400 from Montreal. An inquiry made by the London *Advertiser* shows that numbers are leaving Ontario, and most of them for the States. You may call those who have a regard for their material interests "political hogs," and taunt them with "caring for nothing but a full trough," but this will not keep starving men from seeking bread. From Quebec we hear that merchants still complain of the lack of business; that masses of money are lying idle in the banks for want of investments; that the poorer classes are on the verge of destitution; that families have subsisted through the winter on potatoes; that 3000 French Canadians have been in the receipt of organized relief; that every one seems compelled to retrench; that the value of real property has frightfully shrunk; and that the number of houses and stores to let is alarming. Yet these people are contributing out of their penury to the construction of a railway through the Rocky Mountains for an Imperial object of the most visionary kind. Their present representatives, it is true, vote for that object. But they were not elected on this issue. They were elected on the issue of N. P. It is safe to say that if the Government were to go to the country now, on the issue of economy and retrenchment, with regard to railways aid generally, it would certainly lose many seats and most likely be defeated.

Our humble plea for oblivion of party on this question had the misfortune to appear to one of our contemporaries a Ministerial trick "learned in Stadacona Hall." Our own impression is that there is not much to be learned in Stadacona Hall beyond the lessons taught by the example of a statesman who knows how to lay politics aside in his social hour, and is large minded enough to bear with opinions different from his own. Our grounds for making the appeal were, first, that the leaders of both parties are pretty much in the same boat, all of them having taken upon themselves more or less the responsibility of

the Pacific Railway, and, secondly, that the financial position of their common country, in the opinion of the most competent judges, is now perilous in the extreme.

—Sir Charles Tupper boldly predicts a new era of prosperity for the Intercolonial Railway. He leaves out of sight the fact that the natural route from the Maritime Provinces to Quebec will soon be open through the State of Maine. Is he so sanguine as to believe that Commerce will avoid the natural route, and go a long way round in deference to political considerations?

—Prince Edward Island petitions against the N. P. The N. P. is merely an adjustment of the Tariff, which, at all events, cannot have done much harm. It is the increase of the taxes, not their apportionment among the different kind of goods, that really pinches, and this was rendered necessary by the expenditure. Let Prince Edward Island petition for a reduction of the cost of government and against the construction of railways in British Columbia.

—The Printing Contract revelations are scandalous, and they are not without their bearing on the subject last discussed. Nobody can suppose that these practices are confined to printing. They extend, beyond doubt, to public contracts generally, and we have now in connection with the Pacific Railway a vast contractors' interest, tugging, we may be sure, with all its force at the strings of government, and supporting with all the influence at its command a policy of expenditure. Whatever may be the financial consequences of the enterprise to the nation, private fortunes will be made, and perhaps carried off, to be enjoyed in the Imperial country. This is not the least serious part of a large outlay on public works in such a community as ours.

—The Militia has had its annual talk. Nobody, in face of a deficit and the British Columbian Railway, proposes an increased vote. The only question is how the small sum at present voted

shall be spent? Shall we have a very diminutive army, or an annual camping-out in uniform on a larger scale? Volunteers it is always said, are first-rate material: so they are, if the enemy would only have the kindness to give you time at the beginning of a war to work the material up; even so, it would hardly be possible to provide good non-commissioned officers, the joints and sinews of a regiment. Only that perfectly mechanical obedience to the word of command which thorough drill imparts will enable a corps to move without becoming disorganized on a field of battle, where, as soon as the firing begins, nine men out of ten lose their presence of mind: so say the soldiers, and any one who has even witnessed a sham fight can easily believe them. Behind lines, undisciplined marksmen may be of use, but a country cannot be defended behind lines. On the other hand, the annual drill probably produces good effects moral and social, on the men called out. The choice between the two objects depends on our belief in the possibility of a Yankee war, which, as it is an article of political orthodoxy, we shall not presume to discuss. It is only to be hoped that the million of native-born Canadians now on the south of the line will not be compelled to fight upon the Yankee side.

—The measure in relation to the currency has taken a singular, and, we should think, entirely novel form. The issue of paper is to be increased from twelve millions to twenty, and the Finance Minister is to hold, for the redemption of the notes, an amount equal to twenty-five per cent. in gold and *Dominion securities guaranteed by the Government of the United Kingdom*. In other words he is to hold his own indebtedness for the redemption of his debt. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer would see with interest this unexpected use of a Railway guarantee. The measure, as we have said before, though relating to the currency, is not, in its main object, a currency measure: it is a forced loan, of which the banks are compelled to be the instruments as the price of renewal of their charters. This is its real character, and, as we venture to think, its sufficient con-

demnation, little as Sir Leonard Tilley himself meditates any departure from the paths of sound and honest finance. But it is not surprising that it should also have been hailed as a step towards irredeemable paper, the devotees of which have broken forth into singing :

“ Then hurrah for Sir Leonard, his 8,000,000 of scrip,
Forecasts a big feast of which eight 's but a nip.”

There are those who refuse to believe in the story of Jonah ; but they are forced to believe in the existence of highly educated and intelligent men who are persuaded that they can make a nation rich by printing the word ‘dollar on so many millions of slips of paper. It is said that the reason why the people of the United States are so rich is, that they have more paper money *per capita* than any other nation. We rather doubt the fact. We suspect that the first place in the enviable list belongs to Turkey. But what has *per capita* to do with it ? How much paper money would it take to carry on the business of forty millions of paupers ? The people of the United States require a large amount of paper because they are very wealthy, and their transactions are numerous and large. This, not the converse, is the fact. Those who do more business, require more notes, as they require more checks : multiplying checks would not increase our fortunes.

That there is too little money in the country nobody can imagine who knows anything about the state of the money market and the Banks. The Banks are overloaded, and people are on their knees for investments. A reduction of the rate of interest on mortgage is evidently taking place, and is likely to go on with increased rapidity. It is compelling all the Building Societies to reduce the interest on deposits. If Commerce is allowed to regulate her own concerns, the volume of paper currency will expand and contract with the needs of the country : if politicians meddle there will be gain of votes to them and commercial disaster to their constituents.

—In Quebec the Government seems disposed to take the full length of its tether and not to meet Parliament before the 30th of June, when the estimates will expire. It has trouble not only with the Opposition, but with a section of its own supporters, who are uncompromising Conservatives and want no coalition. In the meantime the Treasury is empty, the Dominion Government has not yet bought the North Shore Railway; the old claim against the Dominion has come to nothing. In the hope, it would appear, that any change will bring relief, it is proposed to revive dual representation. The abolition of government by faction, if it were possible, would be much more to the purpose. In this lies the only hope of economy, as well as the only hope of integrity.

—The Building Societies have furnished matter for a lively debate, in which they were well represented. Laws limiting the rate of interest are absurd. The effect of them would be to prohibit any one who had not the best security to offer from borrowing at all, even in his utmost need. Practically, such persons would pay a most exorbitant rate, because the lender would have to protect himself against the risk of illegality as well as against that of bad security; so that, instead of relief being afforded to the objects of Dr. Orton's philanthropy, their burden would be immeasurably increased. The point to which legislation should be directed is the deceptive character of the table rates, by which ignorant borrowers, it is to be feared, are sometimes led to saddle themselves with interest at the rate of nine per cent. when they fancy they are only to pay six. In a case of positive misrepresentation, we presume, there might, as it is, be a remedy in a court of law.

Another matter for serious consideration is the character of the business now done by these Societies, or some of them, as receivers of deposits. It is in fact a banking business carried on without those safeguards which, in the interest of the depositor, the law requires in the case of Banks. The money

deposited is, of course, all locked up in mortgages, and a Building Society holding a large amount on call or on short notice, would, in case of a run, be compelled either to sell mortgages, which, at a time of panic, might be difficult, or to fly for succour to the Banks, which might themselves be caught in the same storm. That a part of their legitimate business is filched from the Banks, is not the worst part of the system: the worst part of it is the danger to which depositors are inevitably exposed. That the deposits are all invested in real securities is perfectly true, but it is true at the same time, that they are locked up, and would not be forthcoming on demand. A law prohibiting Building Societies for the future from receiving deposits for a shorter period than six months, would deprive the Societies of no business that properly belongs to them, while it might avert a serious danger from the public.

—It will soon be decided whether General Grant is to be the nominee of the Republican party. The question lies in the first instance between him and Blaine. Against both, and the machine by which they are thrust upon the party as candidates, there is a noble and hopeful revolt among the more independent Republicans. In the progress of this revolt lies, at present, the great interest of American politics. It testifies to the existence outside the party organizations and everything that they control, of a strong element of good citizenship which cares only for honest government. The Americans are a reading people: and their reading is not confined to the daily papers. The daily papers are better than the politicians; they saved the currency, when the politicians would have debased it and ruined commerce to catch votes; but as a rule, they are necessarily under the control of party. The weeklies and the magazines are not under the control of party: the most successful of them are thoroughly independent; their circulation is immense, their influence is great, and it has been generally exercised for good. Another important source of independent thought and action

are the colleges, which send forth a constant stream of young men highly educated, trained in a generous patriotism and in healthy hatred of roguery, able to use both their tongues and pens with good effect, and most of them possessed of social advantages which multiply their personal powers. The political-machine-breakers are nick-named the Young Scratchers. They include men of all ages, as the Pennsylvanian manifesto, headed by Mr. Lea and Mr. Rosengarten, shows. Yet there are truth and significance in the word young: a revolt against corruption is sure to number in its ranks a large proportion of educated youths. Moreover, the rising generation, as its political memory hardly goes back to the Civil war, cares less than its seniors about the regular party issue of the Bloody Shirt, and more about evils and dangers which have not been buried in the grave of Secession. Party ties are still tremendously strong; but the Scratchers have shown such a front as to make it doubtful whether the machinists will venture on the nomination of Grant or even of Blaine. There may yet be a chance for Edmunds, if he does not persist in his refusal: we wish we could think there might be a chance for Garfield. If the choice should fall on Sherman, the successful financier, or even on Grant's friend Washburne, there would not be much reason for complaint as far as the man himself was concerned. The Democrats are at a loss for a candidate, Bayard having been unfortunately killed by the pestilent revival of his forgotten speech against the coercion of the South; Thurman has flirted with Greenbackism; Horatio Seymour, who is generally respected and would probably win, is understood to be prevented from running by his health; Tilden retires, in consequence, as the brilliant humourist of the *New York Times* says, of the result of a post mortem examination: and beyond these, all is darkness.

The members of the National Republican League, in a manifesto against the Third Term, dwell on Grant's failure as a statesman; his apparent fancy that the government was his personal property; and the fatal pregnancy of his saying that "he would never abandon a friend under fire," in other words, that he would

feel it his duty to uphold a partisan convicted of the grossest corruption against the interest of the commonwealth. They proceed to point out the growing danger of the "Boss" system under which all political power is being gradually drawn into the hands of managers such as Cameron and Conkling; and they show how easily, without any formal change of institutions, the free Republic might in this way be gradually transmuted into a "Boss" Empire. They say with truth, that the farce of a plebiscite may continue to be enacted, as it was under the French Empire, when popular liberty has really ceased to exist, adding that "whether a Monarch is called a President, an Emperor, or a Boss, is simply a question of terms and taste." They dwell on the military character of General Grant's candidature and the sinister import of the suggestion whispered by his partisans that he has half a million of veterans behind him. On this point perhaps they might speak even more strongly than they do: to foreign observers at least, it appears that the mere violation of the traditional rule against a Third Term is the least serious part of the matter: the most serious being the violation of the rule for the special purpose of installing a "man on horseback," whose recommendation is his personal command of force, who is to begin by counting himself in, and to whose reign no limit is assigned. We have already said that we entirely acquit General Grant himself of criminal ambition: it is not in his character; but he covets the Presidency, and his desire makes him an instrument in the hands of "Boss" intrigue.

—"The Great Republic," is the subject of a chapter in the Duke of Somerset's "Monarchy and Democracy." The Duke used to be a member of Whig Governments; he dropped out when the leadership passed into the hands of Gladstone, his dislike of whom ruffles, in one part of his treatise, his philosophic calm. His view of the political world is doleful; in aristocracy he apparently sees some good; in other institutions little or none. His mode of reasoning, however, is hardly fair. He inquires

whether representation or popular education is a panacea, and having easily proved that it is not, he flings it aside as a total failure. Nothing is a panacea: if the Duke will examine the political, social and moral state of England during the last century, when aristocracy reigned supreme, he will find that some evils still remained. The corruption with which he too justly taxes American politicians, is purity compared with that which reigned in the English Parliament under Newcastle and Bute. Nor was the "trade of politics" plied by the borough-mongers one whit less vile than that plied by American wire-pullers. On the other hand, if he will spend a few months in a rural district of any one of the more settled States of the Union, and compare the general condition of the people with their condition in Europe, he will see that an institution which is not a panacea may nevertheless be an improvement. He will find that society in the main is sound; that life and property, even the extreme rights of property, are secure; that trade is honest; that intelligence, as well as opulence and comfort, is widely diffused; that regard for the public good and for public objects of all kinds is strong and active; that the heart and hand of charity are open; that life is in a reasonable degree pure, civilized and happy: and he will note that all this rests upon a secure foundation, with no volcano slumbering beneath. Moralizing on these facts, he will admit that some progress has been made: nobody but a dreamer or a doctrinaire expects more. The political abuses are undeniable; but their main causes are manifest and are not incapable of being removed; the better element of the nation, as we have seen, is in arms against them: and there can be no kind of doubt that it has a great body of opinion on its side. Even, of the political abuses, the Duke may be assured that he has heard the worst. The two parties, especially on the eve of a Presidential election, watch each other with lynx eyes, and any act of corruption, though it be merely personal, is joyfully pounced upon by ten thousand hostile journals, and inflated to the dimensions of a vast party

crime. Let us at least see what the Young Scratchers can do before we decide that there is no hope for the Republic.

"The Americans," says the Duke, "are in their hearts an aristocratic people living under democratic institutions. This sentiment frequently peeps out from under the domino which the Republic forces them to wear." These words betray the sources of the Duke's information. It is too true that wealthy Americans of the baser sort, when they creep into the society of European rank, do comport themselves in the most servile manner; and they naturally produce, in minds eager to credit the tale, the belief that their countrymen are a nation of flunkies only restrained from manifesting their happy tendencies by a nominal deference to republican institutions. But if the Duke hopes that the domino will ever fall off, he is doomed to another political disappointment. Great disasters may occur: in the struggle which is going on the evil may prevail: it is even conceivable, though by no means likely, that Cæsarism may find its way to the New World; but the domain of aristocracy is bounded by the Atlantic. Toryism has been gloating over Mr. Sala's description of the fast men and women of New York. Those men and women, no doubt, in snobbishness as in all other kinds of vileness, justify Mr. Sala's picture: but they are not the people of the United States.

—In speaking of the English Elections we renounced prediction, but had we prophesied we should have been wrong. At the time of our writing a reduction of the Government majority was the utmost which we thought probable. It was the utmost which the Liberal leaders in England themselves thought probable. The London correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner*, who is thoroughly well-informed, evidently considered that if the Government majority could be reduced to a single figure it would be a great triumph. The *London Times* had been for some time written in the confident belief that the Tories would win, and win on the special issue of Foreign

Policy, where the *Times* was sure that they had the country with them. So much do the Clubs know about the real sentiments of the people! Just at the last, however, the omens grew brighter for the Liberals. It was pretty clear that they had patched up the differences which were their chief weakness: patching up it was with a vengeance when they accepted as their candidate at Newcastle Mr. Cowen, whose Jingo speeches were being joyfully circulated by the Tories. How much their adversaries counted on these divisions in the Liberal camp and how sedulously they endeavoured to improve them was seen at Leicester, where the Tory agent was detected in offering an advanced Radical a large bribe to come forward as an independent candidate, on a platform of Temperance, Trade Unions, and Anti-Compulsory Vaccination. It was evident, also, that Lord Beaconsfield's manifesto had missed its mark, and that his leading partisans were ashamed to endorse it, while the declaration of Lord Derby that the rash enterprises of the Government threatened the stability of the Empire was a shot between wind and water and was sure to tell.

—The fortunes of the battle, however, followed pretty much the lines which we had traced. The Tories were strongest in the English counties and in London. The Liberal victory was most decisive in Scotland. The great interests, including beer, went as we had anticipated. The Liberals gained considerably in the small boroughs, where we said that the scale might be turned by a slight weight, such as the dread of an increased income tax among the poorer payers of the tax, or even that weariness of the existing Government, and willingness to try something new, which is manifestly becoming a momentous influence in politics under the elective system, and seems likely to limit the duration of party governments to a single Parliament. The Stock Exchange voted for Lord Beaconsfield as its best patron: the Jews voted for upholding their "persecuted" brethren in Roumania, whose usury is despoiling the Roumanian peasant of his freehold: the Anglo-Israelites voted for a

foreign policy in harmony with the principle that the British, as the descendants of the Lost Tribes, are destined to inherit the earth.

The excitement brought out an immense vote on both sides. Some have ascribed the vast Liberal gain to the appearance upon the scene of the populace enfranchised by the Tory Reform Bill of 1867, who it is assumed, had not exercised the suffrage before. Were this the truth, the engineer would have been hoist with his own petard. But he knew his game too well. The "residuum" voted in 1874 and voted Tory. Nobody who witnessed that election can doubt the fact. Dislike and fear of the foreign policy of the late Government, stimulated by the powerful appeals of Mr. Gladstone, called out multitudes who are usually indifferent and who probably belong in the main to the Middle Class. It would seem that in some counties there had been a slight Liberal movement among the farmers, who have reason enough just now for dissatisfaction; but this is not very clear.

We said that the literary and intellectual element was in great measure on the Liberal side. The election of Tories by acclamation at both the great English universities may seem to cast doubt upon this statement. But the residents who are the really academical element would, both at Oxford and Cambridge, have elected Liberals by an overwhelming majority; the Tory strength lies among the non-residents, Masters of Arts who have votes in Parliamentary elections, and who include a great mass of country clergymen and country squires. The history of Oxford and Cambridge in a political point of view is curious as an example of the influence of mere accident. In the Middle Ages, they belonged, like the Universities of Europe generally, to the Liberal and progressive party; they were in fact the workshops of political as well as intellectual liberty, and played an important part on the side of freedom in the struggle between the Crown and the nation, which gave birth to the Great Charter and the House of Commons. But the Fellows of Colleges were bound, as a body, by their statutes to

take Orders at a certain standing. In the Middle Ages this rule was comparatively of little significance because the clergy then was not so much a profession as an estate, embracing all who were devoted to intellectual pursuits of any kind, even to architecture, or the higher mechanics; so that "clerkly" was a synonym for learned, and the possession of literary acquirements was the legal evidence of a title to be a member of the order. But after the Reformation intellectual pursuits generally passed into the hands of laymen: the clergy were confined to the pastoral office, and became a clearly defined profession: and as the Fellows of Colleges constituted almost the entire governing and teaching body at the Universities and the mediæval statutes requiring them to take Orders remained unrepealed, Oxford and Cambridge assumed a strictly clerical character, became entirely identified with clerical studies, sympathies and antipathies, confined instruction to the ancient languages, excluded science, and attached themselves to the political fortunes of the Tory party, because the Tory party upheld the Established Church. Whenever there has been a contest, it has been found that the great majority of the class men, and the men distinguished in literature or science, was on the Liberal side.

In enumerating the forces we ought perhaps to have specially noticed Wales, where the Liberal success in agricultural counties is usually greater than it is in England. Wales is still in some measure a separate nation, with a language and a religion of its own. The language, as well as the general isolation of the district, is giving way before railways and extension of intercourse: its decline is in fact hastened by the very means which Welsh patriotism takes to keep it alive; for the cultivation of Welsh literature excites a thirst for literature generally which the Welsh rivulet is too scanty to allay. But in the meantime there is a sharp division between the farmers and shopkeepers, who are Welsh, and the gentry who are English, which gives an opening for popular candidates, especially if they can speak the language of the people.

The national religion is Calvinistic Methodism of the fervent kind congenial to the Celt, who in Wales and the Scotch Highlands is a Protestant, in France and Ireland a Roman Catholic, everywhere an enthusiast and a devotee. But the clergy of the Establishment are Anglicans who sometimes preach to congregations as small as those to which the rectors of the Protestant Establishment used to preach in Ireland; so that a difference of religion is added to the difference of race. The result is a double antagonism of the Welsh peasantry and their religious leaders to the alien squirearchy and to the alien Church. It is not impossible that Wales, from its religious peculiarities, may form the second stage in the gradual process of Disestablishment, as Ireland has formed the first.

When victory began to declare for the Liberals it was an anxious question whether their majority would be large enough to enable them to govern without the Home Rulers. It seems certain that it is. Finding that such was likely to be the case, Mr. Parnell,* in the middle of the battle, wheeled round and turned his influence and his vocabulary against the winning side. But in this abrupt right-about-face, he broke off several joints of his tail, and he was too late to save the strong Irish vote in the North of England, which had already been given for the Liberals. His fantastic dictatorship is probably near its end. He has evidently aroused the jealousy and offended the better sense of a number of his own party. Both as a Protestant and as a political revolutionist he is viewed with an evil eye by the priests: in the House of Commons he will find himself confronted by a victorious party commanding a clear and sure majority; he will no longer be able to reckon on the strength which he secretly derived, during the last two sessions, from the fear of the Irish vote at the impending election. Above all, he will have lost Lord Beaconsfield, who, though he deemed it expedient, as a matter of tactics,

* In speaking of Mr. Parnell's mistake with regard to the pedigree of the Duchess of Marlborough, we inadvertently used an expression implying that Sarah Jennings had no descendants. She has descendants in the female line.

to make opposition to Home Rule his election cry, would no more have scrupled to intrigue with the Home Rulers for the subversion of Liberal government, than he had in intriguing, when it suited him, with the group of Ultramontane members called the Pope's Brass Band; with the "Tea-roomers" of the extreme Liberal Left; with the "Adullamites" of the extreme Liberal Right; with the Ritualists, out of whom he subsequently tried to make capital by legislating for their suppression; or with the Radical opponents of Lord Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill, whom he at other times denounced as revolutionists and harbourers of assassins. The whole course of Vivian Grey has been a series of these strokes of strategy; and that he would not have shrunk from a temporary alliance with Home Rule may be surmised from the letter of congratulation which he addressed to Lord Castlereagh, on the election of that nobleman as a Home Ruler for the County of Down. Conservative leaders of the more steady-going kind, especially if they hold estates in Ireland, are not likely to league themselves with Obstruction, merely for the purpose of bringing on a crisis, of which, after all, their party would be too weak to take advantage. Even their hatred of Mr. Gladstone would hardly carry them so far as that.

Some of our Irish friends rebuked us for "throwing cold water on Mr. Parnell." We have no desire to join in a cry against him or anybody else: if truth would permit we would rather speak for a man against the cry than join it. But Mr. Parnell seems to us the last of a line of violent and feeble agitators, who by their futile tamperings with insurrection have both injured and degraded the Irish cause. To strike for independence, if you think it necessary and practicable, is an intelligible course, though you will never enter it hopefully with a termagant rhetorician at your head. Otherwise, there is nothing for it but to act with that party in the Parliament of the United Kingdom which has shown itself most willing to do justice to Ireland. Obstruction, carried on by Parnell and Biggar, will effect nothing, as will soon be seen.

A French Liberal has said that the result of the English elections may be succinctly described as the triumph of political morality. It better becomes an English Liberal, or one who has ever been connected with the party, to record this judgment than to pronounce it himself. Certain it is, however, that Jingoism has fallen, and it is equally certain that, in its utterances as in its acts, Jingoism was a repudiation of moral restraints, and a defiance of human rights. The language of the *Pall Mall Gazette* would have seemed revolting to Pitt as well as to Wilberforce or Burke. The writers were Atheists, or, if the term is more polite, Agnostics, though for a political purpose they upheld the Established Church; and they were drawing England into courses which could only have been wise on the supposition that, provided you had might on your side, you would have to reckon with no higher power. In the broadest terms, the *Pall Mall Gazette* proclaimed that the most revolting cruelties perpetrated by the Turks formed no reason for ceasing to support their rule, if the interest of England required that it should continue. A kindred organ, the *Standard*, avowed with equal frankness that, so long as a certain course of action was "politics," it would not stop to inquire whether it was "morality." This philosophy has unquestionably bitten the dust: so far the French Liberal is right. To say the same thing in other words, England has been called upon to choose between Industrialism, or the path of honest labour, in which she has hitherto prospered, and Militarism, or the path of aggrandizement into which the Jingo government, with the aid of a rising class of military adventurers, would have lured her; and by a decisive vote, Industrialism has prevailed. Nor can there be much doubt that the classes in which the sound morality of a country generally resides were arrayed on this occasion against an alliance of Privilege with political Lazzaroni.

Evident it is, too, that a fatal blow has fallen on the policy of depressing the authority of Parliament and of reverting to personal government, or rather to government by a Vizier,

which had marked the administration of Lord Beaconsfield, and for which all his writings had prepared us. An Oriental in character as in blood, Lord Beaconsfield has never had any sympathy with English liberty; what he loves is the power, pomp and parade of absolute Monarchy: the subject of all his dreams has been the autocracy at which the Stuarts aimed, tricked out in the finery of the Moguls. An extraordinary outburst of flunkeyism in England, following upon the marvellous development of wealth, made his aim less chimerical than it would have seemed half a century ago. A Female reign lent itself kindly to his project, and gave full scope for the exercise of that power of flattery in which also he is more than Oriental. By the extension of the franchise to masses easily debauched, and beneath regard for Parliamentary freedom, he brought a new, though most unhallowed, force to his aid. The title of Empress was another move in the game; and a move still more important was the artful identification of India and its servile masses with the islands which had theretofore been the privileged home of freedom. An aggressive and warlike foreign policy served the same end in two ways, both as it gave a military turn to the character of the nation, and as it assigned the first place among the functions of government to one which could be withdrawn, and for some years has been sedulously withdrawn, from the cognizance and control of Parliament. That this attempt could have gone very far, that the solid work of centuries could have been undone by the tricks and phrases of a master of political legerdemain, even with social circumstances in his favour, it would be treason against English greatness to believe: but at all events it has now ended in total and shameful ruin. The aristocracy, which, as a body, made itself an accomplice in the attempt, will probably, some day, have the pleasure of paying Lord Beaconsfield's bill.

—It is a motley host that has marched to victory under the banner of the Liberal Party. Whig aristocrats such as Lord Granville, and High Churchmen such as Lord Selborne, are

divided from the Socialistic Securalist Mr. Bradlaugh, who has at last got himself elected by the revolutionary shoemakers of Northampton, by a space far wider than that which divides them from any moderate Conservative. Equally great is the distance between the ultra-pacific Mr. Bright and the ultra-Jingo Mr. Cowan. In time there is likely to be trouble from these sectional differences. There is likely to be trouble also, in time, from individual ambition. The Tory leaders have, in this respect, a much easier part to play. Few of their followers aspire to office : the mass of them are content with having their interests, as members of a territorial aristocracy, secured ; being the great men in their own neighbourhood, and the dispensers of the local patronage ; receiving the Minister, if he comes into their county ; and getting their wives and daughters provided with invitations to Court balls. But on the Liberal side the number of aspirants is always much greater, and the list of the new Parliament portends an abundant crop of personal difficulties for the Liberal chief. A split between the sections and a coalition government of Whigs combined with Liberal Conservatives are highly probable events of the future.

For the present, however, the Liberals will be held together by recent partnership in a great struggle, and their irresistible ascendancy will give a new complexion to the policy of the country. A foreign policy cannot be abruptly changed : national consistency must be preserved, national engagements must be kept. In this point of view it might have been better for the Liberals, as a party, if their accession to power had been somewhat delayed, and their enemy had been left to deal with the consequences of his own acts. The greatness of their majority diminishes their difficulty, because it assures them of the hearty support of their own people ; yet it does not render their task easy. The defensive alliance with Turkey cannot be repudiated ; at least till Turkey has definitely failed to fulfil the promises of reform. At the instance of England, Austria has closed the gate of emancipation against the Christian communities of Eastern Europe, and a British Government cannot

betray her. The withdrawal from Afghanistan, on which the Liberal chiefs have no doubt resolved, cannot be allowed to wear the appearance of a flight. But a new spirit will prevail; the policy of Canning will supplant that of Castlereagh and Lord Beaconsfield; sympathy with the oppressed will take the place of sympathy with the oppressor: alliance with the living that of alliance with the dead. Greece and the young Balkan nationalities instead of the Ottoman Empire will become the clients of England, and British interests will no longer be cursed as the obstacle to their liberation by the rising communities of the Mediterranean. No isolation, no self-effacement, no loss of anything that deserves the name of honour, is implied in such a change. Swagger, of course, will cease; but it is as alien to the character of the English nation as it is to that of the English gentleman, and it is no more a source of real strength than it is of genuine dignity. The Councils of Europe, so called, are at present a conclave of great and ambitious powers each of them armed to the teeth: ascendancy in that conclave can be secured only by outvying the other powers in military expenditure; and to this, however much the national pride may be excited, and however loud may be the chanting of the music halls, the English people will not consent; for when a great increase of taxation is threatened, the mercantile spirit is strong enough to keep the war spirit within bounds. At this moment England, while she is being goaded on by the Anti-Russian party in Western Europe to a desperate struggle with Russia in the East, has virtually lost her control over questions touching her far more nearly than that of Herat or Erzeroum. If the military dead-lock in Europe should become intolerable, and the great Powers should agree to terminate it by mutual concessions at the expense of their weaker neighbours, England, entangled in the conflict with Russia, would be compelled tamely to acquiesce in the annexation of Belgium and Holland, though her maritime empire then, instead of being threatened from the Dardanelles, would be threatened from Antwerp and Amsterdam. It may even be surmised that Gambetta, when,

in the late elections, he directed the fire of his organ against the English Liberals, had Belgium in his eye, and feared that England might, by the termination of her quarrel with Russia, be less at liberty to put a veto on his design. This is more likely at all events than that so sagacious a politician should have allowed himself to be swayed by resentful recollections of the refusal of the Liberals to come to the aid of France in her last war. Such a position may be brilliant, but it can hardly be called strong. Russia has been exasperated by insult and menace as well as by opposition. This gratuitous addition to the danger will be now removed, and full play will be given to the disposition of the Czar who, beyond doubt, is personally inclined to peace. Already symptoms of softened feeling appear on the Russian side. Apart from the difficulty of restoring to tranquillity such a swarm of hornets as the Afghans themselves, when once it has been stirred, there seems no reason why the embroglio in Central Asia should not now be terminated by the permanent re-establishment of the neutral zone. The imbroglio in Asia Minor and the Balkan region can never be terminated if the English people are desperately bent on preventing a growing and expanding nation of eighty millions from ever finding access to an open sea.

—Home questions under the late government were neglected, while the mind of the voter was turned to aggrandizement abroad. They will now be restored to the first place. This in fact will be the principal change. The island kingdom cannot control the nations by arms, but it can lead them, and under Liberal guidance has led them, in political progress. The shores of few of them have been trodden by its conquering legions, but almost all now have constitutions, if not actually on the British plan, bearing distinct traces of their British origin. This leadership England may resume. If, as is far from improbable, her Liberal government can by friendly counsels help to confirm the hesitating Czar in his resolution to crown the good work of

his earlier days by inaugurating a Constitution, more would be done towards curing Russia of dangerous tendencies to military aggrandizement than can be done either by hostile menaces or diplomatic combinations. First in the list of improvements to be undertaken stands perhaps the extension of the County Franchise, to which the Liberal party is pledged, and on which apparently it will now be a unit, Mr. Lowe's former experience of the Cave of Adullam not disposing him to retire into it again. The difficulty of the question lies in the redistribution of seats which a large increase of the county constituencies would involve, and which would entail the suppression of a number of small boroughs as distinct centres of representation. In 1832 the practical evils for which a remedy was sought in the reform of the representation were so great that national feeling burst through all ties of local interest, and even proprietors of rotten boroughs voted for Reform. This is not the case at present, and Liberal statesmen are now likely to find the suppression of small boroughs perilous work, more especially as no small proportion of their recent gains has been drawn from that very source. It is to be wished, rather than hoped, that this opportunity may be taken of placing the franchise altogether on some more rational basis than that of a property qualification, which is merely an obsolete relic of the feudal age, when everything was territorial, not personal, and has been so pared away by successive reductions as to be now practically almost worthless. If to a personal qualification, such as the education test, could be added a qualification of public duty, such as liability to service on the jury lists, or in defence of the country, the elective polity would rest on a sounder and more stable, as well as a more rational foundation. Nor do we believe that the better portion of the working class is by any means hostile to a policy which would give value and dignity to the vote. As to the Suffrage Bill of 1867, it was the embodiment of an infamous intrigue, and ought to be treated as morally null.

The extension to the counties of the system of elective government already enjoyed by the boroughs, in place of the pre

sent government by the County Magistrates in Quarter Sessions assembled, is another part of the Liberal programme which is sure to be soon taken in hand. It will, probably, be accompanied by a measure of decentralization, transferring to the municipalities portions of the mass of legislation, really local in its character, by which the wheels of the central legislature are at present fatally clogged, so that, though each Session is longer than the last, and even the sacred season of grouse shooting has ceased to command religious respect, Parliament always rises with its work half done. This will be in part a return to the County Courts of early English history, if that antiquarian consideration can sweeten the loss of power to the Justices of the Peace. The House of Commons is tenacious, ridiculously tenacious, of its authority ; but, of course, whatever powers are conferred on Local Councils will be subordinate to the supreme control of Westminster.

A measure of this kind was proposed long ago by writers who urged that while it would relieve Parliament of a needless burden, and give fresh life to local institutions generally, it would be of special value with regard to Ireland, and would, in fact, furnish the best solution of the Irish problem so far as the political question was concerned. The firmest adherents of the Union will hardly deny that Ireland suffers from having everything carried to Westminster, and that she would be the better for more special legislation. The Provinces present a very convenient basis for local legislatures, especially as the Protestants, who might fall out with the Catholics, are mainly congregated in Ulster. Among other Irish questions, those relating to education, with which it is difficult to deal freely at Westminster, might perhaps be advantageously left to the Irish people, who would solve them at first, no doubt, in a strongly Catholic sense, but in the end would yield to the same liberalizing influences as the rest of Europe ; for Irish Ultramontanism is quite as much antagonism to England as religious bigotry. This policy, carried into effect on a liberal scale, would apparently satisfy the more moderate Home Rulers ; and, though the

Parnellites would, no doubt, oppose any solution whatever, their opposition would only commend the measure to the House of Commons and the British people. It is on this line, at all events, that, in dealing with Home Rule, the Liberal party may be expected to move.

So far we may look to see the different sections of the Liberals to go together, particularly as they have had bitter experience of the fruits of jibbing on the question of Parliamentary Reform. Their union will be more severely tried by the questions of Land Law Reform and Church Disestablishment, both of which must come in course of time. With regard to Disestablishment we before remarked that the besieging army without seemed to be making less progress than the disruptive forces within. This, and the fact that so large a proportion of the English people are within the State Church, may possibly suggest a solution of the problem different from that adopted in Ireland, where the Anglican Establishment was the intrusive Church of a small minority, and its abolition was demanded by the vast majority of the people. Instead of abolition the policy finally embraced may be Comprehension. Comprehension of all Protestant denominations, with a legal provision for the clergy, was the system of the Protectorate, and during its brief period of existence, it was, even in the estimation of anti-Cromwellians like Baxter, remarkably successful. An end was put to it under the Restoration, by the Act of Uniformity and the expulsion of all the Non-conforming ministers on St. Bartholomew's Day. One mode, at all events, of dealing with the question now would be to repeal the Act of Uniformity in its turn, and revive the principle of Comprehension. The tendency to union among Protestants, on the broad basis of the Gospel, which has here recently shown itself in the interchange of pulpits, is manifested in England also, and there extends to the more liberal section of the clergy of the Establishment. The enthusiasm with which the great body of Non-conformists, including their leading ministers, have followed Mr. Gladstone, in spite of his Anglicanism, is another

proof of the disposition of religious men to draw together without reference to formal differences of creed. A change in the organization of the Church would, at the same time, be necessary; the power of the Bishop would have to be reduced, at least, to the extent proposed long ago in the liberal scheme of Bishop Usher; private patronage in the appointment of ministers would have to be abolished, and a voice, at least, would have to be given to the congregation. Those only who imagine that a merchant or a peasant thinks much of theological formularies can fear that, by such a reform, any great shock would be given to the practical religion of the people. Ritualists would no doubt be repelled, and there would probably be a secession to Rome. But a secession to Rome there must be in the end, if the Ritualists are logical and sincere. In truth, their relation to the Establishment is already that of a chronic insurrection, headed by the indomitable Mr. Mackonochie, which the Ecclesiastical Courts vainly struggle to put down. Sacerdotal Sacramentalism stands apart, incapable of any fusion. But such differences of creed as those which divide the Protestant churches are being rapidly lost in the sense of common danger arising from the rapid spread of total unbelief.

It is singular, that amidst the most extreme proposals on all other subjects, hardly a word is ever said about the Reform of the House of Lords. There are Liberals who persuade themselves that the House of Lords is an institution practically favourable to democracy, because it removes the greatest landowners from the House of Commons, where they would exercise more real power. But there can be no doubt as to the general effect of the existence of an hereditary aristocracy with a branch of the legislature in its hands. The part played by the Order in the Jingo movement shows plainly enough what it is capable of doing, and what, whenever it has an opportunity, it will do. The Liberals, if they mean business, will have some day to take the House of Lords in hand; but the day is probably yet distant, and the battle about the Land Laws will come first.

How the Liberals will deal with the Land Laws is a question of the greatest interest in a political as well as in a social point of view. In an article in the *Edinburgh*, entitled "Plain Whig Principles," we are told exactly how far that section is willing to go. The limit of its concessions is "a modification of the law of entail, with greater facilities for the liberation of encumbered estates, and for the transfer of land, under the control of a Court or Board of competent jurisdiction—a measure equally beneficial to the owners of land, to their families, and to the agricultural interest." The Radicals are probably ready to go the length, not only of modifying, but of totally abolishing, entail and reducing all ownership of land as much as possible to fee simple. We have not yet noticed any distinct movement in favour of the compulsory subdivision which keeps up a peasant proprietary in France. The Socialism which would treat all land as the property, not of individual owners, but of the State, may find one spokesman in Mr. Bradlaugh, but will hardly find more than one. Irish land presents a separate problem. Home Rulers deem themselves moderate in demanding the extension to all Ireland of the Ulster Tenant-right, which would reduce the landlord to the recipient of a rent charge. It may be doubted whether even that rent charge would not soon become the object of popular attack, for the peasant farmers seem bent upon getting rid of their landlords altogether. The consequences of Absenteeism are falling upon the first generation of Irish landlords that has made any attempt to do its duty; though the absentees are too numerous, even now. The great absentee of all has been the Sovereign, whose residence in Ireland for a part of the year during the last century, would have made a vast difference in the present temper of the people.

—Towards the Colonies the policy of the Liberals has always been the extension of self-government, the practical consummation of which, whether designed or not, must be nationality. But we shall certainly see no step taken towards any change of political relations, much less any diminution of kindly feel-

ing or of interest. Jingoism, of course, in all forms will cease : there will be no more attempts to flunkeyize us, to inflame us with military ambition, or to use us for the purpose of aristocratic propagandism. Probably nothing more will be heard of an Imperial Zollverein ; still less of Imperial Confederation, which would be a reversal of the Liberal Policy of extending self-government ; though, for our part, we regret that the plan was not brought under the practical consideration of a Tory government for the final satisfaction of its advocates. There will be an end, too, so far as the Home Government is concerned, of all action, political or commercial, founded on the belief that the people of the United States are "a hostile, or at least an unfriendly, nation." It is the tradition of the Liberal party to regard and treat the Americans as a mighty branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, to view with sympathy, not with jealous hatred, the course of their great experiment in popular government, and to efface, if possible, the recollection of the Tory error which caused a parting, in itself inevitable, to assume the unhappy form of a revolution. We do not believe that the chance of obtaining substantial aid for the Pacific Railway will be diminished, because we do not believe that it was capable of diminution : nothing beyond a guarantee, which, we repeat, is a mere illusion, would have been granted, even if Lord Beaconsfield had remained in power. As to sympathy, instead of being stinted, it is likely to be poured forth in more abundant measure for the purpose of confuting the allegations of the Tories. In one respect the change of government has actually relieved the existing connection from danger. A Russian war would have made converts to Independence in a way that nobody desires, though the *Globe* the other day, for the purpose of contradicting somebody it disliked, undertook to prove that swift war steamers could not possibly do any mischief to fleets of merchantmen under sail.

Just as we go to press arrives the announcement that Mr. Gladstone is once more Prime Minister of England. He is the elect of the nation, and the people would have accepted no

other head. That his retirement from official life was unfeigned, and that he had no desire to be Premier again, is the belief of all who know him well. His feeling that he was free forever from the responsibilities of office, and perfectly at liberty to act and speak like any other citizen, accounts for certain undiplomatic utterances, the effect of which it will take the tact and suavity of Lord Granville to remove. The bitterest enemy will not refuse to acknowledge, as creditable to the human physique, the energy which Mr. Gladstone has shown at seventy. Only the bitterest enemy will refuse to acknowledge that the nation has done honour to itself and to elective institutions by choosing a man in whom it undoubtedly believed that it saw the best representative of political morality, purity of aim, and sincere devotion to the public good. If the Court, by betraying its unwillingness to accept Mr. Gladstone, has brought upon itself something like humiliation, it may thank Lord Beaconsfield, who for many years has been instilling into it autocratic fancies, intoxicating it with slavish flattery, and encouraging it to display personal prepossessions and antipathies, the manifestation of which his English predecessors would have thought themselves bound by chivalrous sentiment as well as by their public duty as Ministers to repress.

—For Europe, as for England, the great event is the result of the English Elections. It is everywhere received with dismay by those who, whether in the interest of Reaction or in that of a Chauvinist Liberalism, desire war, or those combinations of great military powers, which, equally with war, give the ascendancy to force over right. It is as universally welcomed by those whose Liberalism means the progress of moral civilization. The military and naval forces of England will not be reduced; nor will she be less ready to defend herself or the rights of nations against real aggression, whether from the side of Russia or from any other side. But Lord Beaconsfield's taste for conspiracy will cease to govern her foreign as well as her domestic

policy. Lord Beaconsfield has been praised for having "restored to us a Europe." But what sort of a Europe did he restore? It was a Europe of five great military powers, from whose councils all the smaller nations were excluded, and who made their own interest the law of the world. Austria will mourn; Turkey will mourn: but all nations struggling for emancipation will rejoice. Power has passed from the hands of the man who was the bitter enemy of Italian, and is now the bitter enemy of Greek and Bulgarian, independence to the ardent friend of all.

—The French Government, having failed to carry through the Senate the Anti-Jesuit clause of its Education measure, seems resolved to put in force the dormant law against the Order. There is, of course, a cry of persecution. Persecution it would be, and a criminal inconsistency on the part of Liberals, if the object of the Jesuits were the inculcation of a religious faith, no matter how unpopular or superstitious. But the object of the Jesuits is, and always has been, not the inculcation of a religious faith, but intrigue. This is, and has always been, their object in education, as well as in other spheres. Because this was their object, and because their machinations were dangerous to civil society, they were suppressed in the last century at the instance, not of Protestants, but of the great Catholic powers. They aim at the subversion of all institutions founded on the principles of liberty and opposed to the despotism of the Pope. They, through their tool, the Empress, led France into the German war. Thirty-five years ago, they, by setting the Catholic cantons against the Protestant in Switzerland, brought on civil war there, and were sent over the frontier for their pains. The attempt to crush the liberties of Germany, which led to the Thirty Years' War, the attempt of James II. to crush the liberties of England, are historical monuments of a character and of designs which have never changed. Members of a cosmopolitan conspiracy against freedom, the Jesuits know no country, and banishment with them means merely a new field of

operations. Even by the national clergy of the Roman Catholic countries in which their operations have been carried on, they have always been viewed with jealousy and mistrust. The rule of Loyola is essentially immoral, since it demands of the neophyte the absolute surrender of his free-will and his conscience—that is, of his moral being—into the hands of his superior. Fortunately for the world, against which this spiritual militia was to be arrayed, you cannot deprive a man of his personality and make him “a living corpse” in the hands of any Old Man of the Mountain without, at the same time, depriving him of a good deal of his force. The work of the Jesuits, though artfully contrived and most patiently elaborated, has endured but for a night: discomforture has come with the morning. The age is now against them. The conclaves of despotism, the chief seats of their ascendancy, have given way to parliaments: king’s confessors like king’s mistresses are almost powers of the past. There remain, as objects and instruments of Jesuit influence, the suffrage in the hands of ignorance, women, and the School. Under the last Pope, who was a fanatic, the Jesuits were everything; they called the Vatican Council, they framed the Dogma of Infallibility. But the present Pope is more of an Italian statesman; he has managed to find a way of living practically at peace with Bismarck. Perhaps he will not be willing to put his Church in serious jeopardy for the sake of supporting the Jesuits in France.

That French Liberals and Liberals everywhere need a warning against dealing in a spirit of revolutionary violence with the beliefs and habits of the past may be readily admitted. They ought to lay to heart the lesson taught them by the reaction which followed the attempt suddenly to transform humanity made by the visionary leaders of their first Revolution. A change of institutions must fail unless the way is prepared for it by a change of opinion. It has been the error and the crime of the priests, when they had power in their hands, to do violence to conscience; and neither the error nor the crime would be the less if violence were done.

to conscience by Liberal politicians. But the case of the Jesuits is exceptional, in the judgment of the more moderate among the Catholics themselves ; and if the measure does not go beyond taking out of their hands the training of the future citizens of the Republic, the plea of political self-preservation will not have been greatly overstrained. Could the Jesuits, no matter by what means, kill the Republic, it would not live another hour.

—France has at last become the scene of a Female Suffrage movement, which appears, however, to make no progress. To the French the consequences of Female Government present themselves in too palpable a form. They would be, without doubt, the restoration of the Empire, or of the Bourbon Monarchy, priestly ascendancy, and a crusade against German Protestantism or Italian Independence in the interest of the Pope. But would the men obey ? Would they, in compliance with a vote of the women, pull down the political edifice cemented with so much blood, and shoulder their muskets for a war against their own convictions ? Assuredly they would not : and where would be the use of setting up a government obedience to which would be immediately refused ?

—The erudition and diligence of Mr. Alpheus Todd are well known ; and his new work on “ Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies ” appears to be a valuable repertory of the lore of which he is probably the greatest master. He is always a constitutional optimist. If it were not disrespectful, we should be disposed to say that in him, as in other esteemed writers of the same class, there was a good deal of constitutional buckram. “ Elevated above the blinding influences of party, and intent only upon promoting the public good, the sovereign never ceases to influence, by opinion or suggestion, the direction of the State. And to this end he is free to avail himself of all the opportunities afforded by his exalted station and eminent ad-

vantages. By suggestion or remonstrance, by impartial advice, and by enlightened criticism, proceeding from a mind that should be richly stored with knowledge and experience upon all affairs of State, or questions of public policy, that might at any time demand consideration or settlement, the influence of the monarch may be legitimately exercised and expressed." This is the ideal as presented to our reverence by a constitutional master of the ceremonies : what is the reality ? " I try and take him to pieces," says Thackeray of George IV, "and find silk stockings, padding, stays, a coat with frogs and a fur collar, a star and blue ribbon, a pocket handkerchief prodigiously scented, one of Truefit's best nutty-brown wigs reeking with oil, a set of teeth, and a huge black stock, under-waistcoats, more under-waistcoats and then nothing."

It is not seldom the fate of the Constitutional hierophant while he is in accordance with law to be at variance with history. We are enjoined to discard, as a fundamental error, the belief that in England the power of the Crown to reject laws has ceased to exist. Fundamental the error may be, but at all events it is pardonable, seeing that the prerogative has not been really exercised since the time of William III.

A careful and perfectly judicial review of the Letellier case brings Mr. Todd to the conclusion "that the action taken for the removal of Lieut.-Governor Letellier was at variance with constitutional law and precedent as well as contrary to the spirit and intent of the British North America Act ; inasmuch as it was initiated by Parliament and not by the executive government, and did not set forth the particular acts of misconduct for which his removal was deemed to be necessary." Here again we cannot help thinking that the learned writer is, in some measure, the victim of constitutional buckram. The executive government, according to the formal theory, is, no doubt, a body of servants of the Crown, appointed by Her Majesty or her representative, and perfectly separate from the legislature : but in fact it is a committee of the party which has the majority in Parliament ; and the distinction, which to Mr. Todd seems so

essential, practically comes almost to nothing. Party, under our present system, is the real force; it will practically decide all questions of government, let the forms be what they may. Mr. Todd also, we venture to think, in this and other places assumes that there are settled rules and precedents when in fact there are none. The Federal portion of our constitution is new and peculiar; nothing in the British Constitution corresponds to it, nor can questions arising out of it be determined by British principles or precedents. According to Mr. Todd himself, the British authorities on this occasion went entirely wrong: it is possible that they may have been but half satisfied with their own decision; but they knew that the dominant party in the colony must have its way.

In the affair of the Pacific Scandal, Mr. Todd pronounces that Lord Dufferin, to whom his book is dedicated, displayed an almost adorable knowledge of constitutional principles by following throughout the advice of his ministers. That on all questions of policy the Crown should be so guided, is, as we know, the principle of Constitutional Government. But this was not a question of policy: it was a personal charge of corruption; in England it would have assumed the form of a motion of impeachment, and, supposing that motion to be carried, a trial before the House of Lords. To contend that it was right that the persons accused should be allowed to advise the Crown as to the conduct of the investigation; to use the prerogative for the purpose of proroguing Parliament when it had entered on the case, and thus gaining time for the exertion of party interest in their own favour; to transfer the inquiry to another tribunal of their own appointment; and when Parliament had reassembled, to bring down despatches of the Governor-General with a view to influencing the decision; seems to us, with all deference to Mr. Todd's authority, to be at variance with due common sense. The controversy has become absolutely nauseous; the people at the last general election, without changing their minds about it, wisely refused to allow it any more to interfere with present interests, and we refer to it with the greatest re-

luctance. But confident we are that, by uncourtly history, while allowance will be made for ministers struggling for their political lives, the conduct of the Governor-General, in this matter, instead of being glorified, will be condemned. That after a party struggle, carried on in the most unjudicial manner, and with the most objectionable weapons on both sides, the ministry fell, is a fact which does not seem to us to alter the case. Mr. Todd talks rather mysteriously of some "reserved powers" which Lord Dufferin was prepared, in the last resort, to use. Does he mean that, if Parliament had sustained the ministers, Lord Dufferin would, by his personal authority, have turned them out and dissolved Parliament? If he does, how would such a course have squared with his theories of the Constitution? If he does not mean this, what does he mean? What other "reserved power" could there be?

Mr. Todd does not tell us whether, under our Constitution, we have any mode of bringing political offenders to justice by a judicial process analogous to the British process of impeachment. It is high time that there should be a tribunal of some kind; and that, in such cases, the interest and honour of the nation should no longer be left to the chances of a party fray, which is as likely to be decided by bribery as by anything else. Corruption is our greatest political danger; amidst this vast expenditure on public works it is growing, as it could not fail to do; it is an offence at once most heinous, and perfectly capable of judicial treatment, if a proper court and mode of procedure were provided. Once more we commend the subject to the consideration of the guardians of our public morality, and especially to that of Mr. Blake.

When Mr. Todd speaks of the office of the Governor-General, his tone is one of almost religious awe. He gravely rebukes those persons who, not having thought profoundly on the subject, are under the heretical impression that the chief duties of the Governor-General are to perform ceremonies, make speeches, and give dinners "to whoever may be a suitable recipient of viceregal favour"—that phrase being, we presume, a delicate allusion

to certain grounds of unsuitableness which formed matter for profane mirth. But, says Mr. Todd, "without underrating for a moment the incalculable advantages which society and the State derive from the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated, by men in exalted positions—assisted by the ladies of their household—such ceremonial observances and festivities might, without much loss of dignity or efficiency, be assigned to cabinet ministers and other prominent officers of government, of adequate rank and fortune." It follows that to justify the continuance of an expensive office, the Governor-General must have some political functions of an important kind. What those functions are—why the Government of Canada cannot walk alone—we leave the curious to learn from Mr. Todd's own pages, the meaning of which, we fear, might evaporate if we ventured on condensation.

The writer evidently feels that he is suspended by the Governor-Generalship over the abyss of democracy, into which, if that golden cord cracked, he would at once fall. We will tell him a story which has always seemed to us full of comfort. There was in the Isle of Wight an exciseman who had been laudably active in the performance of his duty. One night smugglers seized him, blindfolded him, carried him to what they told him was the edge of a cliff, suspended him over it with a rope in his hands, and told him to hold on as long as he could. He held on till his sinews cracked, then committing his soul to Heaven, he let go, and found that he had been hanging six inches from the ground.

"It is true," says Mr. Todd, "that the governor of a colony is not a viceroy." It is to be presumed, therefore, that he does not possess the delegated power of touching for the King's Evil. Of late, however, a tendency to turn him into a viceroy has been visible in this colony. Lord Lisgar was simply a governor; he was content with performing the regular duties of his office, and making himself useful in an unostentatious manner, by giving his ministers the benefit of his long experience, and smoothing matters a little behind the scenes. He never

went on the stump, or put himself personally forward in any way. His household and his entertainments were those of an English gentleman, and were useful as an example of hospitality combined with simplicity and good taste. But with his successor came a change. Lord Dufferin wished personally to make his mark, and to set forward his own fortunes, as well as to put into practice the policy which the rise of Jingoism was then bringing into vogue. "No sooner had their Excellencies landed in Quebec, than a series of receptions, levées, dinner parties, balls, and visits to public institutions, educational, religious, and charitable, were inaugurated, which revived in the glorious old city the departed grandeur of the ancient régime." Such are the rapturous words of a historiographer whose work we believe has no parallel in literature except the "Lord Mayor's Visit to Oxford," which the eccentric Lord Dudley had bound in ass's skin with an appropriate inscription, and in which the horses of the Lord Mayor's carriage are represented as proudly pawing in the consciousness of their august burden. Under this system of profuse hospitality, we are particularly told, lay a profound policy: in other words, it was not hospitality, but a polite way of purchasing the adhesion of those who are to be influenced by such means. It was carried to such an extent that, at last, in the midst of a commercial depression, people were selling their furniture to buy dresses for a fancy ball; and this in a country where the thing specially wanted was an example of hospitality and sociability without ostentation or extravagance. At the same time, the character of the office underwent a corresponding change: it was turned into a sort of democratic monarchy, the monarch being raised on high, while all his lieges were placed on the same level below, an arrangement which did not entirely please some of those who were "levelled down." Receptions became "drawing-rooms" and "levées"; the terms "vicerealty" and "viceregal" were perpetually used; and the ministers were desired to don the Windsor uniform, though some we believe rebelled. The expenses

of the place were greatly increased—at a time of financial embarrassment \$17,000 were spent on a single vice-regal excursion—and the fashion was introduced of organizing receptions on a lavish scale, which bore heavily on the less wealthy Provinces. The Tower of Siloam is always falling on the wrong heads; a motion is now brought forward in Parliament about the Governor-General's expenditure; but the present holder of the office, though he found his bed made for him, has personally been inclined to simplicity and moderation.

The attempt to introduce etiquette emanated, we may be sure, from the head-quarters of Jingoism. Mr. Todd would probably admit that it has failed, after furnishing materials for a chapter in our social history. The last order of the Lord Chamberlain in England, is that every lady shall appear at Court with three ostrich feathers stuck upright in her hair—positively in her hair, and not in any other structure—the consequence of which, we are told, is an increased demand for false hair. The order will probably not extend to Canada. Wherever there is vulgarity there is flunkeyism, and whatever there is of these elements in Canada has been stirred up from the very dregs; but the London *Times* does us injustice in supposing that these absurdities were welcomed with delight by the majority of a sensible and self-respecting people.

—Mr. Davin, the other day, gave us a book on “The Irishman in Canada,” which received and deserved applause. Mr. Rattray now gives us a book on “The Scot in British North America,” which deserves applause, and will no doubt receive it; since it appeals not merely to the patriotism of the Scot, but to the taste of all lovers of good writing. The historic muse of Canada, at all events, can produce something better than “hog's-wash;” and Mr. Rattray, if not a Canadian by birth, is the distinguished son of a Canadian *Alma Mater*. The Irishman in Canada, the Scot in Canada, the Frenchman in Canada, the United Empire Loyalist in Canada, all these have or are to

have their histories. The German in Canada, the Welshman in Canada, perhaps the Orangeman, the Free Mason, the Odd Fellow in Canada, will be added to the list in time. But the Canadian, when will he find an annalist? Who can fail to be struck by the feebleness of the assimilating forces here, compared with those on the other side of the line: there everything goes into the hopper and is speedily ground down into Yankee; here not only does the French mass set all solvents at defiance and rather harden itself in its isolation, but even a fragment of Germany retains its separate character and language. Mr. Sullivan has given us a National Anthem, in length at all events worthy of the greatness that is to be: but where, Mr. Sullivan, is the nation?

In the volume of his work at present published, Mr. Rattray is concerned with the history of Scotland itself, and the influences that have formed the Scotch character. The second topic is one upon which Mr. Buckle went far astray. He confounded the Highlands with the Lowlands, and traced the religious peculiarities of the Lowland Presbyterians to the effects produced upon the minds of the people by the awful scenery and terrific storms of the Highlands. It was a blunder as gross as that of George IV., who, to please the people of Edinburgh, arrayed himself in what he took for the Highland dress, and gave as a toast "The Scottish Chieftains with their clans, and the Land of Cakes." Equally erroneous was the parallel which Mr. Buckle drew between Scotland as a land of bigotry, and Spain: the main source of Spanish bigotry was the long conflict with the Moors, as Russian bigotry is in some measure the offspring of the long conflict with the Tartars. It was Mr. Buckle's fancy to explain all moral phenomena by physical causes, and his ascription of Spanish peculiarities to volcanoes and earthquakes is as devoid of foundation as his ascription of Scotch peculiarities to the meteorology of the Highlands. The basis of the Scotch character is precisely the same as that of the English: the Lowlands are Saxon settlements accidentally cut off from the rest, and subsequently feudalized by Norman im-

migrants. Of what is peculiar to the Scotch the main factors are the niggard soil, which, as Mr. Rattray sees, compelled labour, enforced frugality, and in the end stimulated emigration; and, still more, the peculiar form taken by the Scottish Reformation. Where the Kings were the Reformers, Episcopacy was retained as the form of Church government most congenial to monarchy in the State: it was retained by Gustavus Vasa, in the Lutheran Church of Sweden, as well as by the Tudors in the Semi-Catholic Church of England. But in Scotland at the critical moment the monarchy was practically in abeyance: the people made the Reformation; and the National Church took a popular form. Its struggles thenceforth constitute the main interest of Scottish history, and it long furnished the people with a school of self-government more effective than any supplied by their political institutions. During the Middle Ages the development of a real parliament was prevented by feudal anarchy and by the absence of an opulent middle class; while at a later period Scotland, through the untoward state of the suffrage, became one vast rotten borough, and obtained a free representation only in 1832. The leaders of the nation were preachers such as Knox, Melville, and Henderson; the politics were Church politics; the rising against Charles I. and the revolutionary government which conducted it took an ecclesiastical form. That for which the Scotch drew the sword was not political reform but the Covenant, which they strove to force as the price of their alliance on the English, whose leaders, as political Liberals, used all their diplomatic skill to obtain Presbyterian aid in the war yet keep their free necks out of the Presbyterian yoke.

The same circumstances explain the curious union in the Scotch character of mental freedom and enlightenment, up to a certain point, with extreme and even persecuting intolerance beyond. On the one hand Scotland was swept clear of priesthood and priestly authority; the creed and worship were thoroughly purged of mediæval superstitions; the Bible was really opened; and that all might be able to read it education was provided, as a religious duty, for the people. On the other hand, the people

themselves became a sort of clergy, as passionately devoted as any priests to the maintenance of the doctrinal system and the Church government which they had themselves set up, and for which they had fought so hard and endured so many trials. The circumstances of their history made them a race of dogmatic theologians; while the antagonism of the laity to the clergy, which, in priestly countries, was a powerful element in the process of emancipation, in Scotland had no existence. The dogma of Predestination no doubt added something of rigidity to the Presbyterian character as well as a sombre hue. Hence the execution of a youth for heterodoxy at Edinburgh in the ages of Tillotson, Locke, and Newton: the backwardness, till quite recently, of Science in Scotland; the ejection from the Scotch ministry of such men as Mr. Macleod Campbell, the author of the best work that Pietism has ever produced on the Atonement; the scandalous prosecutions of good and learned men for their opinions, which are still going on in Scotland; the tyrannical narrowness which Scotchmen are apt to carry into politics, and the noxious effects of which in Canada Mr. Rattray will have to point out, if, as we hope, he means his work to be not a panegyric but a history. Every national character has its bad as well as its good side. Scotch intolerance is as much a fact as Scotch worth: just as Scotch enterprise of the nobler kind has its evil shadow in the "booming Scot" who never stood upright in the presence of a great man.'

—Mr. Ingersoll has lectured, and probably all persons of sense will now agree that to prevent him, or try to prevent him, would have been a great mistake. Even the refusal of his advertisements by some of our contemporaries did mischief, and exposed them, as usual, to the telling charge of excluding from their advertising columns heterodoxy while they admitted worse things. Mr. Ingersoll draws as a declaimer in favour of mental liberty: let mental liberty be entire and his declamation will lose its point. He will then be compelled

to take up the subject of morality, which he at present neglects, and to present to his audiences a rule of life higher and purer than that of the Gospel. We should see how he would fare in that attempt, and what meed of applause he would receive from those who now cheer him for thus tickling their irreverence with a delight more nearly akin to that which is produced by tickling indecency than they would care to acknowledge. The efficacy of a new moral creed is first shown in elevating the character of its apostles. The characters of Voltaire and Rousseau, setting religion aside, were not satisfactory: Voltaire was untruthful and unclean, while the vices of Rousseau are frankly recorded in his "Confessions." Even in the demeanour of the preacher, and in his mode of propagating his faith, the value of the faith itself is seen. The Christian Apostles taught with simplicity and earnestness, and without a price, the doctrines which, as no one but the most fanatical of atheists would deny, made a revolution not less beneficent than immense in the moral world. The trade of a sensational lecturer is as adverse as anything that can be imagined to the single-minded and conscientious pursuit of truth. As carried on by Mr. Ingersoll, it is equally adverse to the dissemination of truth when attained. Instead of winning disciples, as the Christian teachers have done, by gentleness and sympathy, he repels those whose convictions he outrages. He repels all decent men, whatever their convictions; for no decent man likes blasphemy any more than he likes obscenity. The tastes, we repeat, are nearly akin. We say this with as thorough-going a respect for free inquiry, and as hearty a conviction that it is the only possible road out of our perplexities as it is possible for any Agnostic to entertain. Mr. Ingersoll himself, if he has swept his mind clear of all belief, cannot be guilty of blasphemy; but he ought to recollect that many of his audience can, and that in them it is degrading, and destructive of a genuine love of truth.

In his lecture on "The Gods," Mr. Ingersoll appears to have used an argument which is much in vogue, and has produced a good deal of effect. Man's idea of God rises with his progress

in civilization. Hence it is inferred that God is merely a human idea. But a child's notion of its parents grows higher with the growth of its mind, and it does not hence follow that its parents are merely the creatures of its imagination. We do not wish to press the analogy too far, but it proves, at all events, that a conception need not be stationary to be founded in reality. Progress, and progress by effort, or at least by activity, appears to be the general law of our being; it is the law of affection among the rest; the feeling grows higher as those who feel grow worthier, and their intercourse is increased: it may be so with our religious affection as well as with our affection for each other. Assuming that there is a God, this revelation of Himself to man may be through human nature, and if it is through human nature, it must be gradual and progressive. Moreover, when advance in civilization is spoken of, the question arises whether religion is not itself the basis of civilization and the mainspring of advancement in it. In the past, at all events, the great systems of civilization, or what is much the same thing, of morality, have appeared in a religious form. So far, instead of saying that man has made the conception of God, it would be more correct to say that the conception of God has made man. If this conception flows from no reality, from what does it flow? It is a phenomenon of which, as of other phenomena, there must be some explanation; and we have not yet chanced to see in the writings of any Agnostic an explanation which seemed at all satisfactory. Religion cannot have been the invention of priests, for the obvious reason that there could have been no priests without religion. There is ground at least for hesitation, and insolence as yet is out of place.

On the other hand let the guardians of religion note the popularity of Mr. Ingersoll, who had large audiences on both his nights. It is a warning to set the Church in order. Religion is carrying a weight which it cannot bear. The tribal, primæval, and oriental morality of the Old Testament is not fit now to be presented as a revelation of the Divine character and a rule of life to congregations too unlearned to under-

stand the stages through which the education of humanity has necessarily passed. Things which in the light of Science and Criticism can no longer be taken as literally true, ought no longer to be tendered for belief. Alexandrian or Mediæval dogma, such as the startling paradoxes of the creed mis-called Athanasian, ought not to be confounded with the truth that made the world free. The work of expurgation is very difficult, but unless the credible can be separated from the incredible, the reasonable from that which shocks reason, there will be a total eclipse of faith. Mr. Ingersoll is in the right only when he attacks dogmatic orthodoxy; but when he attacks dogmatic orthodoxy he is in the right, and the people cannot be prevented from seeing it, exclude him from your advertising columns and your lecture halls as you may.

On one dogma especially his hits tell with fatal force—that of Eternal Torture,—for doubting which, or hinting that doubt was possible, an eminent preacher of Toronto was not long ago in danger of being cast out of the ministry. Into the exegetical controversy we of course do not pretend to enter: we will only remark that verbal criticism in the interpretation of Christ's sayings is generally of little value, since the words which are recorded in Greek, and only after a considerable interval of time, were originally uttered in Aramaic. But belief in the dogma of Eternal Torture (we speak with all possible deference for the feelings of those who suppose themselves bound to uphold it) is incompatible with a moral conception of the nature of the Deity; and when it is combined with Predestination, its reception can be explained only by the facility with which people will go on repeating a traditional creed, and even arguing metaphysically in support of it, without realizing its moral import. Edwards, who is the great metaphysical reasoner in support of this doctrine, manifestly recoils from his own moral conclusions. He may well do so; and the stone which his unbeneficent genius has helped to tie round the neck of Christianity must be cast off, or it will sink the religion.

In these times, the position of the clergy is a most trying one. Turned as their thoughts constantly are to these questions, and with the knowledge which they professionally possess, it is impossible that their minds should be free from the general disquietude. Ever and anon, indeed, a secession betrays the conflict which has been going on and which, we may be sure, is not confined to the breasts of the seceders. Some of these men, perhaps, have gone into the ministry as men have gone into other professions, for a piece of bread, but most of them may fairly be supposed to have chosen their calling as the most spiritual, and thus to be peculiarly sensitive to the prick of conscience. The taunt of hypocrisy, flung against them by writers and declaimers of an extreme school, is uncharitable as well as discourteous. If, in despite of growing doubt, they cling to the formularies to which they have subscribed—which many of them subscribed before serious doubt had arisen—it may fairly be assumed that they are moved as much by the fear of a general catastrophe as by that of losing their own subsistence. Their best justification and comfort in adhering to an equivocal position will perhaps be found in the fact illustrated in our last number, that scepticism is unable to devise any code of Ethics better than a rationalized Christianity. But those who have any misgivings ought at least to promote, to the utmost of their power, the extension of mental freedom. Perhaps the day may be not far distant when we shall see how alien it is to the spirit of the Gospel, as well as to reason, to impose tests on any one, above all on those who are specially dedicated to the service of Truth.

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