

The Canadian

"Righteousness Exalteth a Nation, but Sin is a Reproach"

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Points and Pointers.

"The Third Party is dead, very dead! It died suddenly in Lambton on Monday."—*Bowmanville Statesman*.

But the corpse is exceedingly lively, as the *Statesman* will find out when the next election comes on in West Durham.

At Sarnia, just before the election, Mr. Mowat claimed that "Truth and Righteousness" was a plank of the Liberal platform. Just after the election a Lambton Liberal wrote to a friend,—"We have knocked Truth and Righteousness into a cocked hat."

Those who agree with the platform of THE NATION should help to extend its circulation. Those who do not agree should read it carefully, so that they may be able intelligently to oppose its teachings.

"Fancy the figure Mr. Meredith would cut in accepting the leadership of Dr. Sutherland and committing his friends inextricably to an impossible programme of Prohibition, No-Popery, and Truth and Righteousness!"—*Globe*.

Observe! Prohibition, truth and righteousness, and resistance to Jesuit aggression, constitute, from the *Globe's* point of view "an impossible programme." This shows what the country has to expect from the great Liberal party.

The *Empire* remarks that "those who voted for Mr. McCrae indisputably gave a vote of want of confidence in Mr. Mowat."

True; but it was equally a vote of want of confidence in the party led by Mr. Meredith. Let there be no mistake: Canada's New Party is just as thoroughly opposed to the Conservative party as it is to the Liberal, because it regards both parties as equally opposed to the new platform.

"The respectable vote polled for McCrae is a menace to both the old parties that in hunting for votes they may ultimately forfeit the confidence of the electorate at large."—*Ridgetown Plaindealer*.

This is good enough to go without comment.

"Two parties are sufficient for this country. If one party does wrong there are enough independent thinkers ready to support the other party and defeat the wrong doers. If both are wrong then the politics of the country must be rotten."—*Bothwell Times*.

It's not the politics but the politicians (some of them) that are rotten. And when a thing is rotten, what can you do but bury it?

The public debt of Canada is three times that of the United States in proportion to population. Is there not a "needs be" for economy and retrenchment?

The British Columbia W.C.T.U. has endorsed Canada's New Party by a unanimous vote. So did the Bruce County Branch; so did the Addington Branch. *Globe* please copy.

We were promised that when the Scott Act went down the price of barley would go up; but barley is lower now than ever before. Where is Mr. E. King Dods? The farmers want to see him.

"We are of the opinion that if the Convenor of our Home or Foreign Mission Boards were to become the head of a political party, and go upon the stump in the interest of his party, the General Assembly would very likely ask him to resign. If the Assembly did not, the people very soon would. Our Methodist friends are said to be able to turn anything to their advantage from the Book Room down to the taffy social. It remains to be seen whether they get gain or glory by allowing their Mission Secretary to take the stump as leader of a political party. If they gain anything in connection with politics they will be the first Church in Ontario that ever did."—*Canada Presbyterian*.

This gratuitous piece of advice to the Methodist Church to punish its Missionary Secretary for daring to lift his voice against political corruption in high places will be taken at its true value when it is known that the proprietor of the *Canada Presbyterian* is an out-and-out supporter of the Mowat Government, has enjoyed some fat contracts for Government printing, and is always ready to use his paper in defence of his employers. It is generally understood that the utterances of the *Presbyterian* are inspired from high quarters, and may be taken as outlining the party policy. As the Ontario Government captured the Methodist General Conference in regard to its university, probably it is thought the same thing can be done in regard to its Missionary operations.

THE Lambton contest has made two things undeniably clear, namely, the real whereabouts of the Dominion Alliance, and the trustworthiness of the prohibition professions of the Hon. G. W. Ross. It will be remembered that at the meeting of the Alliance last autumn, it was resolved to support Prohibitionists in electoral contests, no matter to what party they belonged, and to nominate independent candidates where the nominees of the old parties were not sound on this question. This resolution, we are told, passed with Mr. Ross's entire concurrence. In Lambton, three men were nominated,—a Liberal, who is an Anti-Prohibitionist; a Conservative, who is regarded as a trimmer; and a New Party man, who is an out-and-out Prohibitionist. What did the Alliance Executive do? Waited till a few days before polling-day, when it was too late even to circulate the news throughout the riding, and then in a timid whisper, as if afraid of being heard, resolved to support McCrae! What did Mr. Ross do? Stumped the constituency in support of the Anti-Prohibitionist! But Mr. Ross is not the only man who has climbed to position by temperance votes, and then kicked over the ladder by which he climbed.

NEXT to the vote in West Lambton, one of the most significant "signs of the times" is the nomination of Reeve Clendennan by the Conservative Convention of West York. When offered the nomination, Mr. Clendennan frankly declared that on some important issues—notably Prohibition, Equal Rights, and the Separate Schools—he was not in harmony with the leaders of his party. In defining his position he admitted that his platform was almost identical with that of Canada's New Party; and yet all this did not prevent him from receiving the unanimous vote of the Convention. This means one of two things—either that the Convention regarded these ante-election statements as something to be understood in a Dielwickian sense, or else that the party is reading the hand-writing on the wall, and is trying to swing into line with the current of public sentiment. We would like to support a man of Mr. Clendennan's character; but the fatal objection is this: whatever may be his personal convictions he is the nominee of a party whose policy is opposed to ours; he must either support the policy of his party or leave it; and if his convictions are not strong enough to lead him to break with the party now, will they be strong enough after he is elected? We doubt it.

THE nomination of an independent candidate in Algoma who, like Mr. McCrae in Lambton, plants himself upon the platform of Canada's New Party, is another sign of the times, and indicates how wide-spread is the revolt against the machine, and how imperative is the demand for equal rights. A few years ago such wholesale defections from the old party ranks would have been deemed impossible. Party discipline was so thorough, and the penalties for desertion so severe, that it was thought no one would have sufficient courage to make his way past the sentinels. But no sooner had one led the way than thousands more followed, and the "grand exodus" still continues. Party corruption, though great, has not entirely debauched the electorate. There is still a large conscience vote in the country, which has only been waiting for a chance to show itself. It may not be victorious in the first contest; but a ballot-box protest against wrong is a mighty educating power.

A FATAL hindrance to reform is the fact that the policy of the existing parties is shaped, and their course dominated, by the worse and not the better elements within those parties. Everything is measured by the standard of expediency. The consideration never seems to be what is right but what will win. In our provincial politics the policy of the Government in regard to Prohibition and Equal Rights has been dominated by the representatives of the liquor interest on the one hand, and of the Church of Rome on the other. We have no doubt this state of things has often been a sore grief to Mr. Mowat himself, but he is so fettered by party exigencies that he dare not protest. The men who really rule the parties are, for the most part, unscrupulous; upright Christian men count for nothing in the caucus, and are compelled to take a back seat. For such men there is but one right course—if they cannot reform the party they should leave it.

CANADA'S NEW PARTY.

A Message from Headquarters.

To the Members and Friends of Canada's New Party:—

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—I gladly avail myself of the first issue of THE CANADIAN NATION, the recognized exponent of the principles of our party, to address to you a few words touching some aspects of the political situation, and what I conceive to be the duty of the hour. The rapid growth of our party has given it unexpected prominence. The large vote in West Lambton shows how ready the people are for a move on new lines. The manifest alarm of the old party leaders indicates how serious and wide-spread is the political upheaval, and all the signs of the times give warning that, in the near future, we shall have opportunity to try our strength on the field of a general election. That day must not find us unprepared. Candidates should be selected, committees formed, organization perfected. But these are tasks requiring caution and wisdom, as well as diligence and self-denial.

Up to the time of the West Lambton contest, the New Party was deemed too insignificant for notice, except in the way of sarcasm and banter. But a vote of nearly 800 as the result of our first effort, has suddenly opened the eyes of the party leaders, and convinced them that there is a new factor in the political problem of sufficient value to turn the scale in any constituency, as its weight may be thrown to the one side or to the other. *Herein lies our chief danger.* Beyond doubt every effort will now be made by the leaders on both sides to capture the New Party vote; to induce us to refrain from nominating candidates, and to support those nominees of the other parties who may announce themselves as favorable to one or more planks of the New Platform. Already this has occurred. In one constituency a Conservative candidate has announced a platform almost identical with ours, and yet has received the unanimous nomination of his party. I do not, for one moment, call in question the sincerity of the candidate referred to. Frankly he has declared himself to be out of harmony with the leaders of his party on such important questions as Prohibition and Equal Rights, and the stand he has taken is worthy of all praise; but I would remind you that the principles and convictions of an individual candidate cannot change the policy of his party. If elected, he must vote with his party or leave it, and in neither case is anything gained for the New Party or its policy. If either of the old parties will join us in the new crusade, we can have no objection; but it must be upon the basis of our own platform, for the New Party makes no deals and no compromises. We have organized on the basis of great principles, and the moment we let them slip there is no longer any reason for our existence as a party. Our organization was a protest against the old parties as at present constituted and led, and the opinions of one candidate cannot change either the constitution or the leadership. The duty of all friends of the New Party is to stand by their own platform and their own candidates.

In regard to one most important question—that of Prohibition—it is clear that the attitude of the old parties is still unchanged. Let no one say that this is a Dominion question, with which the local Parliament has nothing

to do, for while legislation on this subject belongs to the Dominion, enforcement belongs to the Provincial authorities, and a prohibitory law from Ottawa would be of no avail so long as a hostile Government reigned in Toronto. The Ottawa Government is hostile to Prohibition we all know. That the Ontario Government is equally so is now beyond dispute. By a policy of non-enforcement it killed the Scott Act, and made its attitude unmistakable in choosing a pronounced Anti-Prohibitionist as its standard-bearer in West Lambton. And if further evidence were needed the trend of policy is shown by the fact that the Central Reform Association has recently elected a retired liquor-dealer as its president.

On the other hand the attitude of the Conservative party is equally unsatisfactory. There has been no utterance from the leader to show that the party is in any degree in sympathy with prohibitory legislation, and the Conservative press has spoken no word of encouragement along that line. The *Hamilton Spectator*, which, next to the *Empire*, may be regarded as voicing the sentiments of the party, expressly excepts Prohibition from the platform on which it is willing to meet the New Party men. From many quarters we are assured that the New Party would receive abundant support if it would only abandon the plank of Prohibition. Such advisers know better. The advice is not disinterested. They know that this question constitutes one of the broad lines of demarcation between the old parties and the new, and that to abandon it would immensely weaken the moral power of the New Party in the country. Let no one be deceived! The New Party stands by Prohibition! We have nailed our colors to the mast

"That flag may sink with a shot-torn wreck
But shall never float over a slave."

There are three things to which would especially call the attention of friends of the New Party, namely, local organization, the spread of literature and the selection of candidates for both the Provincial and the Dominion Legislatures. Each of these is so important that, as a duty, it scarce needs to be enforced. Without local organization the party will be but rope of sand; without a literature spread all over the country we cannot hope to bring the mass of the people into sympathy with our principles and without candidates of the right stamp we cannot make the influence of the party felt when the general election takes place. I would respectfully urge, therefore, that wherever there are two or more persons in sympathy with the principles of the New Party they meet for organization, constitute themselves a committee, seek for recruits, and to circulate THE CANADIAN NATION; and when in any constituency a moderate number of pledged members are secured call a convention to nominate a standard-bearer. A general election is not far distant. It may be sprung upon us any day. Let us organize our forces, spread our principles, avoid compromises, stand by our platform and put our whole strength into earnest effort to lift our country out of the quagmire of political corruption.

Yours for God and Our Country,
A. SUTHERLAND,
President Central Executive Council

We call special attention to an article on the second page of this issue, entitled "The Manifest Destiny of Canada," by Prof. J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University. It is beyond question the ablest article on the subject that has yet appeared, and being written by a talented Canadian, from the standpoint of Canadian nationality merits the careful attention of every patriotic citizen. At a time when a section of the party press is doing all it can to belittle our country; when some who pose as "leading politicians" are advocating a policy that, if followed, must end in our absorption by a foreign power; when both parties are pursuing a course that tends to smother all national aspirations; it is most refreshing to find a man of Prof. Schurman's ability taking so hopeful and patriotic a view of our country's future, and supporting his view by an array of facts and arguments that cannot be gainsaid. Let all who receive this number of THE NATION, "read, learn, mark, and inwardly digest," Prof. Schurman's paper.

THE *Progress* is a live eight-page newspaper, published at Qu'Appelle, N.W.T., well edited, well printed, and plants itself squarely upon the platform of Canada's New Party. We heartily welcome this new ally, who, we doubt not, will do yeoman service in the good cause. Prohibition is making headway in the North-West in spite of the Governor's championship of the liquor interest. Equal Rights is also fairly to the front and will not be put down. Machin politicians are going to have a hard time of it out there.

We have received a copy of the annual address of the President of the W. C. T. U., Mrs. Phoebe C. Brethour of Thorold. The address covers over twenty-two closely printed pages, and is a model document of its kind. The range of topics is extensive, and they are treated in a manner which shows wide reading, careful observation, and a wise adaptation of means to end. Let the address be widely circulated and, better still, let its practical suggestions be embodied in action.

THE MANIFEST DESTINY OF CANADA!

An Able and Timely Paper by Prof. J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University.

(From the Forum.)

Listening to the recent tariff debate in the Senate, I heard Senator Edmonds say: "Our best market is the market of the United States, which fifty years hence will be the continent of North America." The Democrats opposed nearly everything brought forward by the Republicans in that discussion; but this prediction passed unchallenged. Senator Sherman had already introduced a resolution looking to "political intercourse" between Canada and the United States, and Mr. Butterworth had offered a bill of similar import in the House of Representatives. In the *Forum*, Senator Morrill, though writing with great circumspection, observes that while public opinion in the United States "is in no hurry," it "has its index finger forever pointing to a union of all that lies north of us, as our manifest destiny."

That is no doubt the latent belief and expectation of all Americans. As the original United States which lay between the Mississippi and the Atlantic were in the nineteenth century expanded to Behring Strait, the Pacific, and Florida Strait, by the successive acquisitions of Louisiana and the great Northwest from France in 1803, of Florida from Spain in 1819, of Texas and the Southwest from Mexico in 1845-53, and of Alaska from Russia in 1858, so the present United States are to receive their next and culminating expansion in the twentieth century, and rather in the earlier than the later decades, by the acquisition from Great Britain of the remaining half of the continent. Thus the swiftly changing map of North America will have been definitely settled in the realization of the republic's ancient dream of a single continental empire between the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic Ocean. Such is the decree of "manifest destiny!" Yet the case of Canada is different, infinitely different, from that of all the territories ceded during the nineteenth century. There you annexed unpeopled lands, by purchase or conquest. Here, on the contrary, you have to do with five million human wills, to be followed in the next generation by twice that number. The destiny of Canada will be settled by the people of Canada. For them there is no manifest destiny but what they themselves decree. The question is, What is this likely to be?

In politics, as in other sciences, prediction rests upon observation of the past and present. And if a practical statesman, a Lincoln, say, was to approach this Canadian question, he would demand as an essential preliminary a survey of the forces now actually at work in the settlement of the destiny of Canada. Its future course, he would say, must be the resultant of these forces, and before it can be determined, you must fix their directions and measure their momenta.

TERRITORY.

The territory of a community is at once the scene and the indispensable condition of the national life, and a determining factor in its development. The location, extent, configuration, and character of a people's territory all leave their record on that people's history. The isolation of ancient Greece, with its deeply indented coast-line, its rivers, its spurs of hills and mountains, fostered at least, if it did not originate, that separatist spirit which covered the face of the country with petty sovereign states as numerous as the cities. The later Greeks dreamt of a federation. But it was not until the progress of science and invention had overcome the obstacles to human intercourse that a solid federation became possible, and with it the great political event of the modern world—the union of the thirteen Colonies into the United States. But neither has the American nation escaped the influence of its physical abode and environment. The cotton fields, the prairies, the mines, have shaped not only the industrial and financial, but equally the political and moral history of the people, inditing beyond all doubt its most terrible and pathetic chapters. And, what is especially deserving of notice, the vastness of the domain, along with the wealth and variety of its resources, has engendered a spirit of enterprise and adventure; and in the train of success have come manly independence, self confidence, and unquenchable optimism. All the world finds a home in the United States; but the American is loth to quit his country, and seldom changes his allegiance.

Now, the territorial characteristics of Canada are, broadly speaking, not unlike those of the United States. Americans miss this resemblance because they are apt to identify the Dominion with that narrow strip of land between Lake Superior and the Atlantic which formed the total area of the old British North American Provinces. But with the exception of Newfoundland and Alaska, Canada to-day comprises the half continent with the adjacent islands lying north of the United States, whose area it exceeds by 500,000 square miles. From the boundary—the 49th parallel west of the great lakes and the 45th east of them—the one country extends twenty degrees to the south, and the other, excluding the hyperborean islands, twenty degrees to the north. Look at a map and you will see that within the latitude of Canada are included, in the old world, Norway and Sweden, European and Asiatic Russia (excepting only the most southerly projection), Denmark, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, the northern section of France, and the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. From these countries came the races that succeeded Rome in bearing, as they still largely bear, the civilization of the world. And analogy suggests that under the bracing climate of Canada, in centuries yet to be, civilization may in the new world find its sturdiest supporters. It is true that in

America the heat is greater in summer and the cold in winter than in Europe at corresponding latitudes. But Canada has an advantage over the States in its lower altitude, and altitude has almost as much to do with temperature as latitude. And apart from this, the January isothermals in Canada are more favorable for the maintenance of an energetic white race than the July isothermals in the southern States. The dry, bracing atmosphere of Manitoba and Assiniboia is by many preferred to the moister though more temperate climate of the Atlantic coast. As Sir Daniel Wilson has said, "the severity of the winter, as tested by the thermometer leads to a very exaggerated impression of Canadian experiences."

The physical configuration of the country resembles that of the United States. The larger lakes and mountains they share in common, but the smaller lakes and the vast inland bay, are peculiar to Canada. The St. Lawrence and Saskatchewan rank with the Mississippi and the Colorado. On both oceans Canada has noble harbors open all the year round, with coal in immediate proximity, and offers the shortest routes to the great marts of Europe and Asia respectively.

RESOURCES.

Canadians themselves are just beginning to learn something of the inexhaustible resources of their country. Everywhere they are discovering that the soil, the mines, the forests, and the waters teem with wealth. Both in Nova Scotia and in British Columbia coal and iron abound almost side by side. Ontario has no coal, but it is rich in iron, copper, silver, and other ores. And along the base of the Rocky Mountains there is a belt 100 miles broad of the best lignite coal in the world, extending some 500 miles north from the American boundary.

Of North American fish Canada enjoys almost an exclusive monopoly. The richness of the supply in the Maritime Provinces and in British Columbia is already well-known to Americans. But they have not yet generally discovered that while their own West and Northwest are altogether without fish, there is in the corresponding sections of Canada, exclusive of the vast Athabasca, Great Slave, and Great Bear Lakes, a lacustrine district of 20,000 square miles, which has an inexhaustible stock of trout, white-fish, yellow pike, dore, sturgeon, jack-fish, tullibee, and other varieties. Lakes Manitoba, Winnipeg, and Winnipegosis, which are regular sources of supply, are within easy reach of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The rest, like the Lake of the Woods, Lake Nepigon, Rainy Lake, Lake St. Joseph, and Lake Seul, are but little more remote.

We know as yet only the outermost fringe of our magnificent forests. Though they scarcely feel the axe of the lumberman, which has already ravished Michigan and Wisconsin, our export of their products aggregate from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 annually. Senator Sherman truly says they are "far greater than any now known."

But the agricultural wealth of Canada is the largest of all. Not to speak of barley, of which, in spite of the tariff, we send you \$7,000,000 worth annually, consider only the wheat-growing capacity of the Northwest. The prairie lands, with their unusually rich vegetable mold, take the shape of a parabola, having a base of 1000 miles on the American boundary and a vertical of half that distance northward. Here the best wheat in the world is now grown, and at the least cost. But the limit of land producing wheat is considerably beyond the 60th parallel; and the limit of land producing barley, rye, and vegetables, after skirting Hudson Bay on the southwest, extends far towards the Arctic regions. This district is becoming one of the granaries of the world. And it is to the rich luxuriance of these prairies that the hope of Europe must turn when, after a succession of crops, the northwestern States of the Union, with their inferior soil, are confronted with the inevitable condition of diminishing returns and increasing outlay. These new provinces will in a very few years be the regal home of prosperous millions. Nature has said it. Canadians need not be anxious about the money spent in opening up their Northwest. Nature is their bondman. They have only to stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.

Now, of this vast country, so richly dowered with the principal sources of human wealth, by far the larger portion was unknown and inaccessible until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the autumn of 1885. Here, then, is an absolutely new and potent circumstance in the development of Canadian nationality. Once a thin line of straggling provinces, Canada has now entered upon its destiny as a semi-continental inter-oceanic empire. How much this means for national sentiment the history of the United States demonstrates. Historians recognize that their imperial destiny hung upon the acquisition of Louisiana and the Northwest. And to this period they refer the rise of American nationality. In the same way it may be inferred with the utmost certainty that the recent sudden and enormous expansion of their borders will evoke in Canadians an answering spirit—pride in their heritage, confidence and a new sense of independence in themselves, and a firm resolution to enter in and possess the land. Yet in predicting the destiny of Canada, the prophets altogether ignore the inevitable consequences of this recent vast enlargement of its area and consequent multiplication of its resources. It would be well if annexationists, and even some federationists who lack faith in the possibilities of unaided Canada, would remember the wise words of Senator Sherman:

"In one hundred years our country has been increased fifteen fold in population and twenty fold in wealth. We may expect for Canada the same proportionate growth in population and wealth."

GROWTH OF POPULATION.

Much has been said by Mr. Goldwin Smith of the heterogeneity, and by Sir Richard Cartwright of the slow growth, of the population of Canada. It is largely because the English have failed to assimilate the French that Mr. Smith is anxious for political union between Canada and the States. Now, in spite of Mr. Smith's great knowledge and experience of the new world, and his sympathy with democracy, this is surely the voice of the insular Englishman, with his prejudices against the Celt, and his inability to understand that government in modern times, or at least since the successful application of the federal principle, does not require an assimilation of provincial laws, races, religions, or languages. Of course the French-speaking population of Canada live under federal laws and institutions which are essentially English. And if the province of Quebec is governed in accordance with local laws and customs, it is no concern, as it is no disadvantage, to the rest of the Dominion. There is no conflict of races in Canada. For that in its most hopeless aspect too, you must go to the southern States, of which Mr. Smith, to deliver Canada from a healthful rivalry of kindred stock, would make her a political partner.

Considering the duration of the occupancy of Canada by the French, their numbers are not really large. According to census of 1881, Quebec had 1,359,027 souls, out of 4,324,810 souls for the whole of Canada. And judging from characteristics of the races, it seems certain that the Northwest will be filled up by an English speaking population. In this way Ontario has grown up to a population of over 2,000,000. It was not settled until after the American revolution, whereas, in 1759, when Canada passed under English rule, the French population already numbered 65,000. Including the 40,000 American loyalists, it is estimated that in all the British North American Provinces there were in 1790 about 200,000 souls. In the course of the next half century, that is, by 1840, the population had increased to 1,500,000. And on the completion of the century, in 1890, Canada will have at least 5,000,000 souls. Now, the first census of the United States was taken in the year 1790, and showed a population of 4,000,000. It had reached 17,000,000 in 1840, and for 1890 it is estimated at 65,000,000. Or, for the century from 1790 to 1890, the rate of increase of population in Canada has been one and a half times as great as in the United States. Our population at the beginning of that period was 1-20 of yours, at the middle more than 1-11, and it is now, in spite of your enormous gains by immigration since 1847, about 1-13.

I am often told good-naturedly that Canada is a hundred years behind the States. If, then, we go back to that period of American history in the last century which corresponds to Canadian history in this, the figures are equally favorable to Canada. Mr. Bancroft estimates that in 1750 there were 1,000,000 whites in the Colonies—a calculation little differing from Franklin's. In 1775 Burke placed the number at 2,000,000. The population has doubled in a quarter of a century. But in Canada from 1840 to 1885 it mounted from 1,500,000 to 3,400,000. When it is said, therefore, that the growth of population in Canada has been slow, the sufficient answer is that it has been faster than in the United States, whether compared for the same century or for the same stage of progress. Yet the American rate of increase was considered marvelous. The surprise it created is expressed not only in the noble eloquence of Burke, but in the forcible comment of a great anti-Whig critic. "They multiply," said Dr. Johnson, "with the fecundity of their own rattlesnakes."

During the last quarter of a century, however, the rate of increase in Canada has not kept pace with that of the United States. For this there are several reasons. In the first place, the tide of emigration, which could scarcely reach Canada before the opening of the Northwest in 1885, has been flowing steadily into the United States since the middle of the century. The first great influx was between 1847 and 1854, and brought more than two and a quarter million immigrants. Not to specify similar movements, it will suffice to say that of your population of 50,000,000 souls in 1880, 15,000,000 were either born abroad or were the children of foreign-born parents. As the best American lands are already taken up, and ours, which are also richer, are still unoccupied, it is manifest destiny that Canada is now to become the home of foreign settlers on this continent. A second reason for the falling off is that the Canada of the old provinces could not offer the same advantages to its more enterprising sons and daughters as the continental republic, which was then rapidly filling up and developing. Consequently large numbers went to the United States, where, according to the estimate of Sir R. Cartwright, there are to-day a million of them. And I have no doubt that the Canadian blood which thus circles so freely over the 49th parallel is an influence making for its obliteration. Without its own children, Canada is but a geographical expression. Already, however, there are clear signs of a change. The enterprise of Canadians now seeks scope in the great country opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway. If Canada, as a thin line of provinces, or what I shall call "provincial" Canada, could not hold her own against the United States, nature has decreed that "imperial" Canada, with its semi-continental, inter-oceanic possessions, shall henceforth exercise a victorious and a growing attraction upon population, native and foreign alike.

THE CONSTITUTION.

A nation is an organized community within a certain territory. We have already surveyed the Canadian people

and their abode, and it now falls to consider their political organization, as the third determining factor in their destiny.

The union of the Provinces under one government had been recommended as early as 1889 by Lord Durham in his famous report on Canadian affairs. And the two principal reasons he gave steadily predisposed the British government to favor the scheme. These were that it would (1) enable the Provinces to co-operate for defence, and (2) build up a British power to "counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent." The scheme was not realized till 1867, when it went into effect under the British North America Act. This act, the Constitution of Canada, was passed by the imperial parliament at the instance of the provincial governments. Adopting the British system of parliamentary government, the framers had constantly before them the Constitution of the United States. The executive is vested in the Queen, senators are appointed for life by the executive, and the legislative is not divorced from the executive, since the sovereign's representative is merely the voice of his cabinet, as the sovereign has become in Britain since the American Constitution was drafted. In the distribution of powers between the federal and local governments the spirit of centralization prevailed. The instrument was made at the close of the American civil war, which foreigners, ignoring the irrepressible conflict with slavery, attributed to the excessive residual rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the individual States. Like Alexander Hamilton, the statesman of Canada wanted a strong central government. And it is their boast that they have "avoided the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution." In the first place, the federal government takes, in relation to the provinces, the position formerly occupied by the British government. Certain functions, very local and limited, are then assigned exclusively to the provincial legislatures. But by a reversal of the tenor of the tenth amendment to the American Constitution, the powers not thus expressly granted are reserved to the Federal Parliament. And as though the disruptive tendencies of the local legislatures could not be too carefully guarded against, the Canadians adopted, in substance, the plan which Randolph proposed in the convention of 1787, but urged in vain, though warmly supported by Madison and Pinckney. They gave the federal executive (not the parliament) the prerogative right of vetoing any provincial act. And since confederation, out of 8000 acts, 46 have been thus disallowed absolutely, while a much larger number have been modified.

The Canadian Constitution is something of a manufactured article. It was not a growth, but as Mr. Gladstone falsely described its American model, a "work struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of its authors." All the important features, on the contrary, of the American Constitution, including the federal idea, were with the exception of the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, the strict result of the antecedent history and practice of the thirteen governments, either as Colonies or as States. What had been tried and tested has worked well; what the convention, for want of a precedent, was obliged to devise for itself, has worked ill, and has in part been evaded. The Canadian Constitution, lacking the prior sanction of history and experience, will in the future probably require alterations and amendments. But the machinery for this purpose is easily set in motion. Canada may be trusted to make the instrument as good as possible. And it admits, in theory at least, of a perfection not attainable by any other. For though a written constitution, it is not, like the American, rigid, but retains, in proper degree, the flexibility of their common English original. It blends happily the essential features of both. It combines with the federal principle the system of parliamentary and responsible government, the lack of which in the legislature of the United States, eminent critics, American and British, have deplored as a calamity. It is with good reason, therefore, that Canadians prefer their own political institutions to those of their neighbors.

FINANCES.

It has been said, however, that the condition of their finances will ultimately annul their choice. Let us, therefore, consider the pecuniary constituent of their destiny. The net debt of Canada in 1887 was \$227,000,000. The larger part has been incurred in opening up the country, the remainder by the assumption of the debts of the various provinces of the confederacy. But the period of government initiative is now coming to a close, and the debt which has trebled in twenty years, is not likely to increase much, if at all, in the future. Here the history of the United States presents an instructive analogy. The revolutionary war cost, according to Jefferson, 140 millions of dollars, from which the new government in 1790 had a debt of 75 millions. The next war with England carried the debt up to 127 millions in 1816. This is more than half the Canadian debt, without any of those material equivalents in the way of public works to which the latter is so largely due. After the introduction of the railway, in 1880-82, the revenue from the sale of the United States lands, which had been under \$2,000,000 in the earlier years, rose to \$5,000,000 in 1834, to \$15,000,000 in 1835, and to \$25,000,000 in 1836. By 1835 the public debt was extinguished, and for the first time in the history of the world a government was embarrassed by a surplus. Nature, man, and time had done their work. And in the same way the sale of Canadian lands will in future years provide for the payment of the public debt of Canada without cost to any of its citizens. And if the few professional pessimists of Canada would consider the natural resources of their own country, and study the history of the United States, they would discover that their vocation is at best a temporary one, and their attitude

much like that of those early Americans whose horror of a national debt kept their country in time of war without a navy. It is not denied that just at present the public debt of Canada is a matter for grave and watchful concern. And a few individuals, who do not look before and after, may be conscious of a new impulse toward the Washington treasury. But to be despairing, or even downcast, is to forget that the Canadian debt is largely an investment. If the Northwest has been our oppressor, it cannot fail to be our redeemer.

Even in the meanwhile, however, the cost of government in Canada, inclusive of interest on the debt, is considerably lower than in the United States. The comparison to be of any value, mustowing to the different distribution of powers and responsibilities in the two countries, be of the total cost of government for all purposes, general, and local. And it should be made for places under similar circumstances. Take two agricultural and fruit-growing counties with no large city population, like Tompkins County, New York, on Lake Cayuga, and Kings County, Nova Scotia, on the Basin of Minas. In products and resources, as in the prosperity of the people, Kings, I am convinced from personal observation, has greatly the advantage. Yet, after careful calculation, I find that the cost of government for all purposes whatever—federal, state or provincial, county, district—aggregates in Tompkins County \$12.86 per capita, and in Kings County \$9.45. For the Province of Nova Scotia as a whole, the figures, which are not available would be found lower than for one of its best counties. On the other hand, the total cost of government averages for New York State \$17.10 per capita; and for Massachusetts it is \$19.64, for California \$20.60, for New Hampshire \$18.77, and for Vermont \$11.25. It is true that the public debt, the last bonds of which fall due in 1907, is being anticipated by means of surplus revenues at a rate which, according to the last report of Secretary Fairchild, will effect its extinction before 1900. This would make a reduction in federal taxation possible after that date. But long before it comes there will have been an enormous addition to the pension list and a vast expenditure for internal improvements and coast defences, which will more than counterbalance the extinction of the national debt. Canada, meantime, with her public works nearly complete, can and must practice the close economy of the earlier days of the republic.

ATTITUDE OF THE PARTIES.

I have now described the territory, resources, financial condition, population, and political organization of the Dominion of Canada. The picture, though faithful, may be somewhat new to Americans, whose view of Canada might be summed up in the words: "We have a little sister, and she hath no breasts." It remains to inquire what political destiny the Canadians under the influence of the agencies and circumstances just described, are likely to achieve. The future I take it will resemble the past. Men cannot order a new system of government like a new suit of clothes. Nor have Anglo-Saxons the inclination. Canadians, therefore, will walk in the old paths, with only such deviations as circumstances may suggest. But the drift of Canadian policy since 1840, and especially since 1867, may be described, in a single phrase, as "growing sovereignty." The fiscal independence of Canada was officially recognized and proclaimed in the British House of Commons in 1879. In reply to a question of Mr. John Bright's on the Canadian protective tariff, the Secretary for the Colonies announced for the government that it deemed that "the fiscal policy of Canada rested, subject to treaty obligations, with the Dominion Parliament." The internal sovereignty of Canada has therefore been attained, both in substance and in form. And Sir John Macdonald has declared:

"I am, as far as this question goes, up to the handle a home-ruler. We will govern our own country. We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to misgovern ourselves, we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland, or Scotland to tell us we are fools."

But, furthermore, even in foreign affairs Great Britain figures less as the suzerain of Canada than as a motherly helper and support. If she negotiates Canadian treaties, she does it in the way Canada desires. And of late, as in the Washington treaty and the recent fisheries convention, negotiations affecting Canada are conducted by the aid of a Canadian envoy. So that in reality, if not in name, Canada has external sovereignty also. But her status of even nominal pupilage cannot in the nature of things endure. A free people must realize the condition and end of freedom, which is their own autonomy. And, without breach or jar, Canada will continue in the line of her present development till she touches the goal of national destiny as a full-grown sovereign commonwealth.

That Canada is following this course of evolution, a glance at the political parties abundantly confirms. "Great men are the guide-posts and landmarks in the state." Sir John Macdonald has been the real ruler of the Dominion since its formation, excepting only the few years of Mr. Mackenzie's administration. His was the organizing spirit that framed the confederation. His enemies describe him as an astute politician, a skillful party leader, an adroit parliamentarian. History will record him a great statesman and rank him with the foremost. But these qualities alone could not have secured him for a score of years the government of Canada and the confidence and affection of the people. He has felt and responded to their aspirations for nationality. He has given them a national policy. And with their support he has accomplished a work of constructive statesmanship which is destined to leave the impress of his genius on the map of North America with a vividness inferior only to that of Washington, of Jefferson, and of Lincoln.

In spite of the undoubted ability and high character of its leaders, the Liberal

or "Grit" party of Canada, on the other hand, has failed, because it has not been responsive to the national aspirations of the people. It has been too much of a party of mere negations. It opposed the national tariff. It opposed the building of a national railway. It resisted the exercise by the federal government of its constitutional powers. It raised in Nova Scotia the banner of secession, till a vote of the people buried it forever. The curious political student will find a striking analogy in the conduct of the Federalists, of whom the historian of American politics writes:

"They dropped to the level of a mere party of opposition; they went further, until the only article of their political creed was State sovereignty; some of them went one step further, and dabbled in the hopeless projects for secession."

The Liberals, like the Federalists, helped to frame the Constitution. Their subsequent career has been so far identical. But they are now endeavoring to escape the nemesis which overtook the Federalists by a policy of freer trade between Canada and the United States. They began with commercial union—assimilation of tariffs, abolition of customs on the boundary, and pooling of revenues. But the Canadian people, jealous of their fiscal independence, protested against its surrender. Then the scheme was changed to a removal of duties by means of reciprocal legislation by the legislatures of the two countries. But this had always been the policy of the Conservative party, so far as natural products were concerned or so far as was consistent with protection to home industries. To mark the difference, the Grits, with fateful genius for negation, christened their policy "unrestricted reciprocity." But while in Canada commercial union has thus declined into a harmless flank attack upon the tariff, at Washington it has developed into a scheme of political union, which, undoubtedly, was its original recommendation to American politicians. The "continental" policy proves so checkered and contradictory that its supporters seem to agree in nothing save in finding themselves, like the famous cabinet of Lord Chatham, "they know not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed." The Liberals, however, are opposed to annexation. Whether they have discovered a positive national policy is a question time only can decide.

RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES.

Both parties in Canada desire an extension of trade relations with the States. But neither party wants it at the cost of political independence. Our social intercourse is of the freest; our commercial relations may be, and I hope will be, enlarged; but we do not desire a political partnership, either in your glory, or in your herculean task of settling the problems growing out of slavery, immigration, unrestricted suffrage, monopolies, and conflicts between social classes. You cannot, of course, cancel the *connubium*. But if you refuse the *commercium*, as Senator Blair and others advise, while we shall not criticise your consistent protectionism, we can, however, assure you that this will not force Canada into the Union. The vaulting ambition of politicians overleaps itself and falls on the other side. A policy of cunning is the parent of confusion only. The healing and cementing principle of nations is justice and kindness. Force, whether commercial or military, is as weak an instrument for uniting nations to-day as when Burke showed the folly of applying it to the thirteen Colonies.

At any rate, the only possible ground of ill feeling between us, the fisheries dispute, ought to admit of speedy settlement. It is a great injustice to suppose, as has been asserted, that under the aegis of Great Britain Canada is disposed to annoy her great southern neighbor. It is more likely that the latter, mindful of the boundaries dispute, expects to gain something by delaying the settlement of the fisheries question. Both charges are probably untrue. At any rate, Canada is animated by the most neighborly spirit, and she has everything to lose by unfriendliness. Her forbearance is officially recognized in the last report of the Maine Commissioners of Fisheries and Game. But Canada deems she has certain rights, and Americans certain disqualifications, under the treaty of 1818, which gave her an advantage in the fishing industry. That instrument stipulated that American fishing vessels might enter our harbors for wood, water, shelter, and repairs, but for no other purpose whatsoever. Consequently, they are not allowed to buy provisions, bait, and supplies, or to tranship their fish. If this has been abrogated by subsequent reciprocal legislation or by the treaty of Washington, it should be easy to cite the canceling clauses. That they do not exist, and that Canada is only insisting on her rights, more than half of the citizens of the United States have acknowledged in giving to Mr. Cleveland a popular majority for the presidency. When the Republicans, under the responsibility of office, survey the whole situation, they will, I believe, follow the Democrats in recognizing the equity of the Canadian claims. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations solemnly assured the Senate, on the 7th of August last, that in the event of General Harrison's election, they "need not fear any war or any dangerous controversy out of the fisheries."

With the United States we earnestly desire friendship, intercourse, and unalloyed peace. It is a double anachronism for you to visit upon Canada the ancient sin of England. Americans are jealous of European influence on this continent. Yet their recent treatment of Canada has obliged her to lean strongly upon her European support. The sentiment of imperial federation has struck deep roots during the discussion of the fisheries question. Canada is the arbiter of her own destiny, and if she seeks it in federation, the Monroe Doctrine (which in any case is not the law of nations) could not be adapted to the coercion of a free people in the final settlement of their own government.

POLITICAL DESTINY.

Is Canada likely to choose imperial federation? That term covers two mean-

ings. It may stand for a federated state (*Bundesstaat*), or for a federation of states (*Staatenbund*). The American union, whatever the original intention (and it was very different according to Jefferson), has become, as everybody recognizes since the Civil War, a republic of the former character, though the equality of State representation in the Senate survives as an element of the other system. When imperial federation is talked about in Canada, it naturally suggests the American pattern. But to that neither Canadians nor Englishmen could agree. Not Canadians; for it would deprive them of their fiscal independence, and without conceivable advantage to countervail, it would entail partnership in European, African, and Asiatic wars for interests not directly or even remotely related to their own. And not Englishmen; for proportionate representation in parliament (to say nothing of equal representation in the upper House) would mean the ultimate absorption of England by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the rest. England is now the stable centre of her empire. Nay, it is *her* empire. But this scheme of imperial federation would change all that. It would loosen England from her moorings, and send her, the prey of constant diminution, to drift in an aimless circuit of the globe she now girdles with her flag.

There remains the scheme of a league or federation of states. But Canada could enter this only as an equal sovereign commonwealth. The object of the federation might be defence, or any other specified purpose. Examples are found in the Germanic Confederation before 1866, the Hanseatic League in medieval Germany, and the Swiss Confederation up to the present century. imperial federation, for the British Empire, might mean merely an advisory council of sovereign states. But whatever form it took, it would imply nationality in severalty. It can, therefore, scarcely be of this scheme that Sir John Macdonald says, "Imperial federation is utterly impracticable." Such a union would be almost as practicable as the present alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. It might even be extended to include all the English-speaking nations of the globe. It would gradually lead up to that court of envoys which, according to some writers, is the great desideratum for the sovereign states of Christendom. Thus, imperial federation, in its only feasible sense, would, in readjusting the relations of Great Britain to her colonies, prepare the way for "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

But however these things be, and whether the ultimate destiny of Canada is to be an isolated or an allied state, the first preliminary qualifying for either is that she shall move on without jar in her present career of growing sovereignty. It is necessary that she shall know the value and feel the responsibility of complete autonomy, as she now enjoys its privileges. Both individuals and communities grow to the burdens they bear. And Canada is no exception to the rule. But there must be no break with the past. And the process has already gone so far that there will be little difference from the present. Her position toward Great Britain will be scarcely changed from what it is to-day. But between the English-speaking family of nations in the Old World and in the New, Canada will be no longer a dubious promise, but an outspoken pledge of peace, amity, and fraternity.

A Personal Investigation

Of the Results of Prohibition in Kansas by a New York Observer Man.

That stalwart Conservative journal, the *New York Observer*, a few weeks ago sent a member of its editorial staff through Kansas on a tour of investigation concerning the efficacy and the results of Prohibition. On his way homeward he held a conference in Pittsburgh with the officers in charge of the amendment campaign, giving a full statement of the results of his observations. His statements are reported in the *Pittsburgh Times* as follows:

"All the statements I have to make on the subject of Prohibition in Kansas are based on facts and figures which are within my own personal knowledge. It is not hearsay evidence I have to offer or baseless rumor. I am ready to prove every statement that I shall make. I went out to Kansas to make a personal investigation of the working of the prohibitory law. I was commissioned to find out the truth in regard to the matter, the bottom facts, no matter on which side the balance might fall. In pursuance of my object I visited eleven of the larger cities of Kansas, including Wyandotte, Fort Scott, Wichita, Topeka, Leavenworth and Atchison and a number of smaller towns. I had personal interviews with between 300 and 400 persons, including people of all ranks and conditions, from the Governor of the State down to the bootblacks on the streets. I purposely sought out the leading opponents of the law, that I might learn all the arguments on that side. I visited the jails, the poor-houses, the police courts and every other place where I thought I could obtain any facts or figures having a bearing on Prohibition. I made particular inquiries as to the effect of the law upon crime and pauperism, upon business and upon public morals, and I was able to collect a volume of evidence on all the points. And now I am prepared to state and prove that Prohibition has been a success in Kansas, as much as any other law against crime."

Governor Humphrey, the succeeding Governor of Kansas, in his first annual message, says:

"The growth of public sentiment in support of constitutional Prohibition in Kansas is steady, healthy and unmistakable. In the last campaign no political party had the temerity to demand a re-submission of the question to the people, in the face of a popular verdict that has been repeated and emphasized every time the popular sense has been taken. As an issue in Kansas politics, re-submission is as dead as slavery."

ran of a political faction, to heap un-
 nted abuse upon any Methodist who
 erts his independence of the party
 chine. It is true that ministers and
 mbers of other communions have
 metimes asserted a similiar indepen-
 nce, but these have been but mildly
 proved, while invective has been
 etty well exhausted in dealing with
 calcitrant Methodist ministers. This
 t is all the more curious when one
 members that when our Roman
 tholic fellow-citizens—priests and
 ople—who had unaniously supported
 Mowat, went over in a body
 Sir John in the Dominion elections,
 Globe had no word of protest, or
 en of remonstrance. Time was when
 would have thundered in righteous
 gnation at such wholesale deser-
 n of Liberal principles; but times
 ange and so, it would seem, do prin-
 ciples, and the *Globe* nowadays reserves
 its wrath and all its abuse for Pro-
 tants, and especially for Methodist
 nisters.

t is a curious coincidence that all
 s has taken place contemporaneously
 th the persistent attempt of the
 ders of the Liberal party to obtain
 support of the Roman Catholic
 rarchy. Previous to the last general
 ctions the attitude of the *Globe* was
 marked and its utterances so unmis-
 cable, that many people were in
 habit of speaking of it as the organ
 the late Archbishop, and it was an
 en secret that at that time one of its
 incipal editorial writers—who virtu-
 ly dominated its policy—was a most
 dent and devoted Roman Catholic.
 ow, to all this we have not the slight-
 t objection to offer. The *Globe* has a
 rfect right to constitute itself—or to
 constituted—the organ of the Roman
 atholic hierarchy in the province or
 e Dominion; but we think it right
 at the public should know the fact,
 hich will be regarded as a sufficient
 plation of the *Globe's* animus
 ward Methodism and Methodist
 nisters.

The Conservative Leadership.

Of late there has been some kicking
 the Conservative ranks, and some of
 e party papers have gone so far as to
 y that there is no use in a leader who
 esn't lead. The *Hamilton Spectator*
 mes out boldly, and calls for another
 ader in place of Mr. Meredith. It should
 noted, however, that of those who
 ake the demand not one has ventured
 accuse the present leader of any lack
 ability, of honesty, of industry, or of
 ny of those qualities which go to make
 p a successful statesman. They
 mply complain that he has not suc-
 eeded, that he has not led his party
 to power; and consequently the
 oils of office are still in the dim and
 stant future. This, from a strictly
 arty point of view, in a grievous
 fence, which can be atoned for only
 y the decapitation of the offender.
 he gist of the *Spectator's* article is that
 r. Meredith is a good man, but not a
 ood leader. Read between the lines
 nd the cause of this seems to be that
 e is too good. In other words a leader
 wanted who is neither so honest nor
 scrupulous. Whether this demand
 likely to become general, or suffi-
 ciently so to result in Mr. Meredith's
 signation, we cannot say; but at
 resent the probabilities do not point
 at way.

So far the only other name mentioned
 that of Mr. McCarthy; but the bulk
 the opposition members at present
 the Local House are too strongly
 tached to Mr. Meredith on personal
 ounds to be willing to submit quietly
 his deposition. There can be little
 ublic that such men as Creighton,
 arter, and H. E. Clark, would kick
 iciously against such a proposal,
 nd the party, which is lamentably
 eak at the best, cannot afford to be
 rther weakened by internal divis-
 ns. Evidently there are Conserva-
 ves not a few who doubt Mr. McCar-
 y's ability to unite the party and lead
 to victory. He is an able lawyer,
 ut is lacking in that personal magnet-
 sm and plodding industry which, in
 e political sphere, are essential to a
 eader. Moreover his attitude on the
 esult question would cause many in
 he party to regard him with suspicion
 nd would prevent that *entente cordial*
 etween him and the Dominion leaders
 hich some politicians regard as a
 sine qua non.

There has been a good deal of specu-
 ation in the press as to the causes of
 fr. Meredith's want of success. Some
 tribute it to his lack of a policy;
 ome to his over-scrupulousness;
 ome to his embarrassing relations
 ith the leaders at Ottawa; some to
 he weakness of the men whom he has
 o lead in the House. The latter
 eason is the least probable. The Con-
 servative members in the Ontario
 arliament may not be men of super-
 rior ability, but they measure up
 ery well with those on the opposite
 ide. There is another reason which
 es not seem to have occurred to any
 f our contemporaries, namely, that
 hile vast numbers of electors are dis-
 atisfied with the record of the Mowat
 overnment respecting some of the
 most important questions of the day,

the history of the Conservative party
 gives them no reason to believe that
 the situation would be bettered by
 putting Mr. Meredith and his friends
 into power. Nor would the prospects
 of the party be bettered by deposing
 Mr. Meredith. It is the party, not the
 leader, that needs changing, and the
 same is true of the party led by Mr.
 Mowat. Both parties, at present, are
 dominated by their worse instead of
 their better elements, and a wholesale
 exodus of the latter will be the only
 efficient remedy. The disintegrating
 process is going rapidly on, and all
 signs point to the building up of a new
 and clean party whose motto shall be
 "God and Our Country."

The Toronto Mayoralty.

Recent developments in regard to
 the Mayoralty contest must have
 caused a good deal of surprise among
 those who are not familiar with the
 workings of the "machine." It has
 been known for some time that Mayor
 Clarke desired a third term, and some
 effort was made to get up a requisition
 with a sufficient number of signa-
 tures to justify his candidature; but
 it would appear that signatures were
 not easily obtained, or else that it was
 deemed prudent not to press the
 matter on that line. Nevertheless it
 was confidently expected by the know-
 ing ones that Mr. Clarke would again
 appeal to the citizens for their support,
 and recent events have proved that the
 knowing ones were right. The only
 other candidate in the field, at this writ-
 ing, is Mr. Alderman McMillan, a gentle-
 man whose record, both public and pri-
 vate, is above reproach. There seems to
 have been, among the citizens gener-
 ally, a sort of tacit understanding that
 a mayor who performed his duties sat-
 isfactorily should have a second term,
 but no more, and hence it was ex-
 pected that, unless some entirely new
 candidate came forth—say Ald. Gilles-
 pie or Ald. Boustead—Mr. McMillan
 would be unopposed.

But all this is now changed by the
 definite announcement that Mayor
 Clarke will seek re-election. The
 simple fact would have caused no
 great surprise, but the circumstances
 are peculiar, and citizens are anxiously
 enquiring into the "true inward-
 ness" of the movement. It has been
 for some time an open secret that, as
 soon as Mr. Small, the mem-
 ber for East Toronto, was safely shelved
 in the collectorship, Mayor Clarke
 would succeed to the vacant seat; but
 the agitation growing out of the
 Equal Rights movement has proved so
 serious that the Dominion Government
 are afraid to open East Toronto, and
 even if they did open it, there is no
 certainty that Mayor Clarke would
 have sufficient courage to face the
 music. Prudence counsels delay; and,
 as a bird in the hand is worth two in
 the bush, it is deemed better to hold on,
 for the present, to the Mayoralty, with
 its \$4,000 salary, than to run the risk
 involved in waiting for Mr. Small's
 parliamentary shoes.

But the most curious thing in this
 curious transaction is the curious sum-
 mersault of the *Globe*. Mayor Clarke is
 an out-and-out Conservative; Alder-
 man McMillan is a Liberal, and as such
 might be supposed to count safely on the
 support of the party organ. But, lo and
 behold! the *Globe* comes out flat-footed in
 support of Mr. Clarke, the very man
 whom it opposed with characteristic bit-
 terness two years ago. "Why this
 thushness?" Some reasons—perhaps
 the chief one—are not hard to find.
 Everybody knows that for some time
 past there has been extreme restive-
 ness among many members of the
 Liberal Party. Honest and upright
 men have been disgusted with the
 course of their leaders, and have be-
 come seriously alarmed by the fact
 that the control of the party was evi-
 dently passing into unscrupulous
 hands. They have kicked and pro-
 tested. Some have left the party, and
 others threaten to follow. Unless this
 rising spirit of independence could be
 checked, the machine would be en-
 dangered, if not destroyed. Among
 the independent spirits of the Liberal
 Party is Alderman McMillan. He has
 remonstrated strongly against the
 course of his party on certain questions.
 But as the policy of the party at
 present is to crush out all inde-
 pendent thought and action, especially
 anything that would alienate Roman
 Catholic or liquor votes, it became
 necessary to give kicking members of
 the party an impressive object lesson,
 by showing that the machine would
 rather help to elect a political foe than
 an unruly friend. Therefore Mr.
 Jaffray, the present boss of the Liberal
 machine in Toronto, who is understood
 to have a large, if not a controlling, in-
 terest in the *Globe*,—reaches an under-
 standing with the friends of Mayor
 Clarke, and at once the organ of the
 "Great Liberal Party" comes out in
 support of the Tory candidate for the
 Mayoralty, against a life-long Lib-
 eral, who only crime is that he has con-
 science enough to protest against the
 wrong doing of his party. Whether
 the rank and file of the Liberals will
 consent to be bartered and sold in this
 fashion by their "bosses" remains to
 be seen.

It is well the citizens of Toronto
 should understand the issue. Alder-
 man McMillan is a staunch Prohibi-
 tionist, and a firm supporter of Equal
 Rights. Mayor Clarke is neither the
 one nor the other, and in supporting
 the latter the *Globe* makes it clear that
 the Liberal leaders are not only resolv-
 ed to crush independence in their own
 party, but also to oppose with all the
 power of the machine anyone whose
 political creed includes those prin-
 ciples which Prohibitionists and Pro-
 testants hold most dear. Still we are
 by no means sorry that the issue has
 been raised. It all helps to make the new
 political cleavage more decisive. It is
 now clear that the Liberal Party—like
 the Conservative—is dominated by its
 worst elements, and when honest men
 realize this the growth of the New
 Party will be phenomenally rapid.

The Outcast Poor.

Much has been said in late years of
 the deplorable condition of what has
 been called outcast and neglected Lon-
 don, but there is probably no commu-
 nity in the world which has engaged so
 much of the earnest attention of phil-
 anthropists, or upon which so much
 labor and money has been expended.
 The missions of various kinds looking
 to the improvement of the festering
 masses of the East End, physically and
 morally, are multitudinous. Everything
 that human ingenuity could do to bring
 good influence to bear upon them would
 seem to have been done, and doubtless
 very much has been accomplished. The
 difficulty which lies in the way of over-
 taking the work, lies in the fact that it
 is always beginning. The influx of
 strangers to the great metropolis is
 constant and enormous, and the de-
 graded element constantly gravitates
 to the East End, while those who have
 come under good influences are apt to
 find a home elsewhere as soon as they
 can.

The wretched manner in which these
 people are housed—if such a term can
 be properly applied to the manner in
 which they are huddled together in
 miserable tumble-down dwellings in
 dark courts and alleys—opposes an al-
 most insuperable bar to their moral
 and religious improvement. A large
 family, including grown-up sons and
 daughters, is found in a single room,
 and when it is remembered that some
 of these seldom lie down at night en-
 tirely sober, one can easily see how
 utterly demoralizing such a state of
 things must be. Where the observance
 of the commonest decencies of life is
 impossible, moral purity must be next
 to impossible. It is the perception of
 this fact which led those who have pon-
 dered the problem most profoundly to
 the conclusion that one of the essential
 conditions of the moral and religious
 reformation of these people is that this
 fundamental difficulty be overcome.
 They must be better housed. And the
 movement which was set on foot a
 quarter of a century ago, or so, for the
 improvement of the dwellings of the
 artisan population is to be extended.
 Sir Edward Guinness has placed in the
 hands of trustees £250,000 sterling, to
 be expended in providing dwellings
 for the laboring poor. £200,000 is to
 be expended in London, and the remain-
 ing £50,000 in Dublin.

At the same time that so much is
 being done for the East End of London,
 a movement has been set on foot for
 the religious reformation of the West
 End. This is, in some respects, a more
 heroic undertaking than the work
 in the opposite extremity of the
 modern Babylon. It is more difficult
 to approach educated unbelief, and
 aristocratic irreligion, the genteel
 forms of sin which are prevalent in a
 wealthy and fashionable community,
 steeped to the lips in worldliness and
 forgetfulness of God, than to carry the
 gospel lamp down into the most de-
 graded strata of the population. And
 yet if the gospel is really what St. Paul
 believes it to be, "the power of God,"
 it must be able to make its way, if it
 has but a fair chance, among the
 highest as among the lowest. And the
 new movement will be watched with
 the deepest interest in every part of
 the world. The plan which has been
 adopted by the Society, which has
 taken this work in hand, is to make a
 personal visit to every one, not even
 leaving out Marlborough House, and
 to seek to interest each one as far as
 possible in the matter of personal re-
 ligious by direct personal intercourse.
 If the plan is carried out with prudence
 and skill by men and women properly
 suited for the work, and, above all, filled
 with the Holy Ghost, great results may
 be expected.

—At twenty you know everything,
 at thirty you have your doubts, at forty
 there are some things you don't know,
 at fifty you are sure of your ignorance,
 and after that you read Mr. Beecher's
 sermon on everlasting punishment and
 hope he is right.—*Boston Courier*.

—A gentleman who had just return-
 ed from Germany says that there is a
 good point and a bad point about
 German coffee. The good point is that
 it contains no chicory; the bad point is
 that it contains no coffee.