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A MONTHLY  
REVIEW

**THE BYSTANDER**

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# THE BYSTANDER.

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APRIL, 1890.

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**B**ETWEEN Ironclad Protection and Tariff Reform a battle has for some time been raging behind the doors of Committee Rooms and Caucus Rooms at Washington. As we were going to press the *Mail* published a Report of the Sub-Committee of Ways and Means which, if it is adopted, will prove that Ironclad Protection is winning the day with a vengeance. Wheat, barley, hay, hops, potatoes, horses, cattle, hides, dairy produce, and everything that the Canadian farmer exports and by the exportation of which he keeps his head above water, are threatened with increased duties. That on barley is trebled. Even eggs do not escape. It is not likely, however, that the proposal is pointed politically against Canada, with the object of coercing her into Annexation, as Canadian alarmists at once assume. People here have Annexation on the brain and fancy that the eyes of the Americans are always fixed on them with predatory intentions, when, in point of fact, the eyes of the Americans are very seldom turned this way. The struggle at the next Presidential election will be for the farmer's vote. The Republicans, who are also the Protectionists, held it last time by the tie of party allegiance which the farmer is very slow to break, as he is very slow to change in any way. But they know that the farmer was voting for his party against his interest and that even he cannot be trusted to do this for ever. They seek therefore to bind him by his interest as well as his loyalty to their system. Hitherto he has been paying the cost of the system as a consumer without receiving Pro-

tection himself and has been exposed without defence to the competition not only of the "pauper labour" of Europe but of the more than pauper labour of Hindostan. At the last election the Republicans promised that they would give him Protection and they are now keeping their word. This, not a design against Canadian independence, is probably the explanation of the move; though it is true and has often been pointed out in answer to the charges brought by monopolists here against Commercial Unionists, that the extreme Annexationists in the United States are always opposed to Commercial Union.

Not the less would such a policy as the Report embodies be fraught with ruin to Canada, especially in the midst of an agricultural depression which among the farmers in the eastern parts of this Province amounts to positive distress. It is indeed difficult to see how we should be able to face the future. Justice will now perhaps be done by those who are capable of doing justice at all to the effort which the promoters of Commercial Union have sincerely made to secure to our people and especially to our farmers the benefit of Reciprocity without prejudice to the political question. That Commercial Union was an insidious attempt to bring about Annexation in disguise was a sheer calumny and now receives final confutation. Unhappily the confutation comes, if such a resolution as that of the Sub-Committee passes, in a form most disastrous to the country. If the Report is adopted, will our Protectionists rejoice, as in consistency they are bound to do, over the triumph of their beneficent principle in the policy of a great country?

Simultaneously, however, with the Report of the Sub-Committee of Ways and Means comes the unanimous adoption by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of Mr. Hitt's Resolution in favour of "such commercial arrangements as would result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States." That phrase is substituted for "Commercial Union" to which, though it was selected in contradistinction to political union, a sinister meaning of a political kind has by the enemies of improved trade relations been assidu-

ously attached. As the members of the Cabinet in the United States do not sit in Congress and impress their general policy on legislation, it is difficult to say what is the exact relation borne by the reports of the Sub-Committee on Ways and Means and the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to each other. But both committees are controlled by the Republican party, and the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs may be taken at all events as a proof that the attitude of the party towards Canada is not hostile and that the door of commercial negotiation is still open. If Mr. Hitt's Resolution passes the House and afterwards the Senate, of which there appears to be every probability, there will be an overture which those who are responsible for the welfare of Canada will have to accept or refuse. All the attempts to open markets for us in the moon have failed, and the Government will be called to say whether it is resolved or not that our natural market shall remain closed.

The Resolution of Mr. Voorhees has been at once pounced on by our Protectionists as a proof that the farmer in the United States is no better off than he is here and that consequently nothing would be gained by Commercial Union. But evidently it is a mere move of the party game and its representations must be discounted accordingly. To set off the measure of protection promised by the Republicans to the farmer, Mr. Voorhees on the part of the Democrats holds out the lure of some special measure of relief, hinting apparently at legislation on the subject of mortgages or a grant for their reduction. Of course, to give colour to his resolution, he overpaints the necessities of the case. Nobody who goes into the United States can imagine that distress reigns there. The very difficulty with which all these revenue reformers have to deal is a redundancy of revenue resulting from a plethora of wealth.

—The debate on the two commercial policies is opened by a resolution passed unanimously by the Manitoba Legislature

calling on the Dominion Government to negotiate with the American Government for Unrestricted Reciprocity. Saving Government or C. P. R. officials, there will not be a dissentient voice in Manitoba. Few things in the cruel history of monopoly are more cruel than the suffering of that country under our present commercial policy. Thirty-five per cent. on the settler's farm implements! And on what is the money to be spent? On the building in one of the Maritime Provinces of a needless railway for the purpose of securing the constituencies to the supporters of the Government.

—We hail the birth of another “native industry.” A commercial gentleman has waited, it is announced, on the Minister of Finance to say that he proposes to start a canned soup factory, but he wants a duty of twenty per cent. on canned soup and a protective duty on imported tomatoes. This is Protectionism, like the tomatoes, raw and without the philosophic dressing. The gentleman knows that he cannot make canned soup so good and cheap as that which we are now using, so he proposes that a law shall pass forbidding the public to use any soup but his. Let him go to the Red Parlour and subscribe to the election fund. He will then get what he wants and his industry will become a “native industry,” a position which the industry of the farmer who does not subscribe to the election fund has never attained. A sigh of pity may be wafted to the citizens whose stomachs are thus to be devoted to the support of ‘a national policy.’ Employment will be given to a number of people, including, perhaps, the druggists. That these people will be drawn from other and better employment is not considered. The orators of Protectionism might draw a fine picture of the prosperity which would thus spring out of nothing beneath the wave of the legislative wand.

One Ministerial journal so far “belittles the country” as to admit that trade is not in a very sound state, that the indica-

tions of an increased revenue are hollow, and that agriculture is suffering from depression. The remedy which it proposes is simple, a further increase of the Customs duties. The physicians in the good old times, whatever your malady might be, bled you. If you grew weaker under the loss of blood they bled you again; and so on till they had cured you of all maladies forever. Is it not rather surprising that at this time of day there should still be people who think that taxation is a source of national wealth, and that if a country when highly taxed does not grow rich you have only to tax it more highly still?

—Sir Charles Dilke has followed up his “Greater Britain” with “Problems of Greater Britain” in which he deals with Canada. He has not been here for some time. That his impressions are not fresh, appears from some little slips, such as the statement that in the House of Commons the seats are not divided down the middle, as in the English House, but are “placed in circular form after the pattern of Congress,” and a remark on our architecture made evidently before the improvement of house architecture in Toronto. He has got himself posted in events up to date; but it is easier to get posted in events than in their real character and bearing. Nor is it difficult to divine the general source of Sir Charles Dilke’s information. His account of Canadian institutions is such as would be furnished by an Ottawa Pundit, and his general account of us is such as the Canadian High Commissioner might give at a Conservative dinner party. All is prosperity. Confederation is a complete success, the C. P. R. has thoroughly welded us into a nation, Sir John Macdonald reigns in all hearts through the general enthusiasm in favour of the National Policy, there are hardly any annexationists, and “scandals of corruption are almost unknown.” The last compliment comes in aptly with the Rykert case and with the inklings given in connection with it of the methods by which parliamentary majorities are really gained.

“The growth in wealth,” says Sir Charles Dilke, “of the Dominion, by every test that can be applied, has been rapid since Confederation but more rapid since the adoption of the Protectionist policy than it was before that moment.” What are Sir Charles Dilke’s tests? The flower of our people have been leaving us and are still leaving us by thousands. The value of farm property in Ontario has sunk twenty-three millions in seven years, and the North-West remains unpeopled; while the success of the protected manufactures themselves may be measured by the avowal of the late Senator Macdonald at a meeting of the Board of Trade, that the capital invested in his branch of trade would not be worth more than 33 per cent. of its face value if exposed to free competition. Meantime the public debt has been growing apace. There has been of late a rush into Canada, as well as into the United States and other countries, of British capital seeking investment, which gives us a fillip, but is an addition to our debt. Sir Charles Dilke takes the growth of Toronto for an indication of general prosperity. But the true account of the matter is given in another part of his own book, where he describes the set of Australian population to the cities. Our towns and even our smaller cities are almost without exception stationary or in decay. The exodus, while it is a disastrous drain, is a safety-valve for the escape of discontent, without which more would be heard even in England about the real effects of Canadian Protection.

In the midst of his Imperialism Sir Charles lets fall some notable admissions. Not in his chapter on Canada but in his chapter on the West Indies, he says: “If there were no Custom Houses between Canada and the United States, the bulk of the Dominion trade—indeed, comparatively speaking, almost the whole of it—would be done by the Canadians with their continental neighbours.” He also says that “although the official position of the British Empire and the United States may be so distinct as to be sometimes antagonistic the peoples themselves are—not only in race and language, but in laws

and religion and in many matters of feeling—essentially one.” Sir Charles uses the orthodox map in which Canada appears as a vast solid block equal in area to the United States. If he will look at a map in which the cultivable and habitable parts of the Dominion are marked off from the ice and will combine the fact which it presents to him with the two facts first mentioned, and with what he cannot help knowing of the antagonism of races and religions between British Canada and Quebec, he will have the main elements of the problem all before him, and it might be instructive to hear his conclusion.

A large part of the work is dedicated to the question of Defence; and the impression made upon the reader is that the British Empire is, by reason of its vast extension and especially of the unprotected state of the Colonial dependencies, about the most vulnerable of all the Powers. Again and again Sir Charles calls on Canada to put herself in such a state of defence as to be able to maintain her independence against the United States. To do this no small part of our male population ought to be in arms, while our debt and taxes would be doubled. Our people know too well that against European attack they can at once defend themselves by withdrawing from the European connection and that from American attack they can at once defend themselves by Union. Sir Charles Dilke confesses that in Australia the sending of the Soudan Contingent was followed by a strong reaction and that the Defence Bill has since brought unpopularity on its authors. He has persuaded himself that the French of Quebec are now “the most loyal of all subjects.” They are not likely to revolt, but they are French; and if Sir Charles fancies that they would fight against France he never was more mistaken in his life. He lets us see plainly that in a war with France or any great power, the enemy’s ports in these days of steam could not be blockaded and that England would have to gather her navy round her own shores, leaving her distant dependencies and even her Mediterranean fortresses to their fate. He may rest assured that this would be the end of connection. He lays

it down that a small nation such as Canada could not form a union with a great nation such as the United States on equal terms, as though Scotland had not formed a union on equal terms with England: yet he calls upon the small nation to make itself the equal of the great nation as a military power.

Sir Charles Dilke is of course opposed as an Imperialist to Commercial Union, the advocates of which he says are illogical in not declaring for Free Trade, as though the choice were open to them. But in another part of his book, by an application of his Foreign Office knowledge, he incidentally and perhaps involuntarily does the cause a good service. "No doubt," he says in the chapter on the Cape, "Commercial Unions rest upon a different footing from other arrangements with regard to trade. There are Customs Unions of territories under different sovereigns in a number of cases, for example, between France and Monaco, between British India and Portuguese India, between the Austrian Empire and the Italian Kingdom respectively, and little States contained within them, as well as the arrangements in Germany under one general sovereignty. Foreign Powers do not object in the case of India to the free admission of Portuguese Indian products into British India, and it has now become usual to admit without question Customs Unions established on the basis of a common Customs frontier as regards foreign nations, and the suppression of the Customs frontier as regards the States forming the Union." Commercial Union then is perfectly practicable, there are several cases of it, and the most favoured nation clause does not stand in the way. If Monaco can have a Customs Union with France and Portuguese India with British India without loss of political independence surely Canada might have a Customs Union with the United States without risk of political absorption. Sir Charles also admits that England would consent, though reluctantly, to a Commercial Union of Canada with the United States as she did to the imposition by colonies of protective duties on British goods.

There is one problem, and the most pressing of all, with

which Sir Charles Dilke nowhere deals. The commercial unity of the Empire, having been completely broken up, the Mother Country having resigned every vestige of political power, and nothing really remaining but mutual liabilities perilous to both parties, what is the use of the present political connection? This we say is a problem with which Sir Charles neglects to deal. He incidentally glances at certain advantages, such as the resort of wealthy Colonists to the Mother Country, and the political service which the Colonies render the Mother Country by trying for her experiments in democracy. But the first, if it is a gain to the Mother Country, is a loss socially and politically as well as financially to the Colonies and as to the second, the Mother Country, a land of factory hands, farm labourers, and Irish peasantry, had better take care how she follows the political lead of colonial democracies in which intelligence is general and property is widely diffused.

It is impossible to read one of these "Greater Britains" or promiscuous surveys of the British Empire without noting the fallacy which they all involve. The Hindoos are not "Britons," nor are the negroes of the West Indies, or the French of Canada. On the other hand, a self-governing and virtually independent Colony is most improperly designated as a part of an Empire, an Empire being a centralized dominion. An ancient European Kingdom, cast in a monarchical and aristocratical world; a number of young democracies in America, in the Pacific, or in South Africa; a vast Empire peopled with Asiatics totally ignorant and incapable of self-government; a group of tropical islands inhabited by negroes;—who can believe that all these have a common interest and a common destiny, or that you can secure their ultimate cohesion by casting over them the drag-net of a fallacious name?

—It can hardly be supposed that the Ontario Government will allow the Public Schools to be used for the purpose of indoctrinating the children with anti-Continental sentiment

That was the real object of the deputation which waited on the Minister of Education to propose that the national flag should be hoisted over the schoolhouses on a number of anniversaries. The anniversaries which these patriots love best are not those of memorable epochs in the history of our civilization such as we should wish the children of the community to cherish in their memories: they are those of battles between us and people of our race who are our partners on this Continent and in its hopes. The effect would be to tear open wounds almost healed by the hand of time, and to strip off the grass with which kind nature is clothing the grave of an extinct feud. It is not in the hearts of children, at all events, that the seeds of international hatred ought to be sown. If you want to make converts to a dangerous policy address yourselves to men. Some of the cavaliers who head this and other anti-American demonstrations are, as readers of Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution* know, the representatives of a family feud with the Americans. At the time of the Civil War their feelings led them into figuring as ardent partisans of the Slave Power. We have to share this continent with the Americans, and good relations with them must always be of vital consequence to the great body of our people. Besides, who are Americans and who are Canadians? Are the two millions of Canadians or children of Canadians on the other side of the line, including perhaps near relatives of the trumpeters of enmity themselves, to be classed with the hated foes over whom we triumphed at Detroit or Queens-ton Heights? Not only are we bound up in interest with the people of the United States, but if we are to be an independent nation we must be content, at least whenever the force of England is diverted by war, to owe our independence to their justice and forbearance, since their power is enormously greater than ours and hatred, however passionate, is no bulwark. Would it not then be more dignified on our part to refrain from demonstrations of ill-feeling? In proposing to transfer the honour of discovery from Columbus to Cabot,

the patriots have at once come into collision with the French, who claim priority for Cartier. If they do not wish to make themselves and us a laughingstock, they had better let Columbus alone. The heroic memories of those who defended Canada in the two wars are enshrined in history, and are only sullied when they are invoked by those who had no part in their exploits, to kindle passions which if they were now alive very likely they would not share.

—On the other side of the line, General James Wilson, Mr. Wiman's antagonist in the discussion of Commercial Union at Wilmington, shows a spirit not less heroic than that of our flaming patriots. Like all the extreme Annexationists in the United States, he is opposed to Commercial Union. He wants to annex Canada by hostile pressure if not by force. He even lays what he thinks the moral ground for a future invasion. He asserts that the right of Great Britain to Canada is solely that of conquest, and he contends that the Colonists who did a good share of the fighting have never had their just share of what was won. This he thinks "fixes a taint upon the character of England's title which might become fatal if we should find our permanent and paramount interest impelling us towards the acquisition of her American dependencies." That the Colonists bore a share of the war is true, but they were requited by the security of their own settlements from French aggression. In the actual conquest of Quebec their effort was represented by about three hundred American Rangers who were apparently in British pay. But suppose they had done not only a share of the fighting but the whole of it; if two solemn treaties, that of 1784 and that of 1815, besides a number of minor treaties in which the right of Great Britain to Canada is recognized by the United States, cannot quiet a title what can? The gallant general had better look into his own title to Delaware, which was a Swedish settlement conquered by the Dutch of New Amsterdam, who in

their turn were conquered by a British fleet. He expresses regret that the Americans did not invade and conquer Canada with the army and fleet which they had at the close of the civil war. To say nothing of the chance of a third miscarriage, which a coalition of France, then embarked on her Mexican enterprise, with England might have rendered possible, the commonest morality would have forbidden such an outrage on the independence of Canada, who had committed no act of hostility and had done her utmost, under trying circumstances to observe her neutral obligations. We do the American people the justice to believe that they would not have consented to such an abuse of their power. Nor would the unwisdom of the step have been less manifest than its unrighteousness. A despotism may annex, a democracy must incorporate: by incorporating a conquered Canada the American democracy would have been introducing disaffection into its own vitals and preparing for itself a new rebellion at the North. But of this our people may feel assured: their destiny is in their own hands. The Americans generally desire nothing but a free union, such as may be discussed, as that of Scotland with England was discussed, without dishonour or breach of allegiance on either side.

—We said that it is not impossible that the outcome of the present fermentation in the Spanish Peninsula may be an Iberian Republic in a federal form, including Portugal. We are asked, if Spain and Portugal can be united in a Federal Republic how it should be impracticable for British and French Canada to remain united on the same footing. The answer is the map, which shows that the unity of the Peninsula and its separation from the rest of Europe have been as clearly decreed by nature as any political arrangement can be; not less clearly than the unity of our own Continent. Portugal is a Province of Spain detached by historical accident. The Portuguese race though more mixed than the Spanish is of the same stock: the

Portuguese language though it approaches in some points nearer to the French is radically identical with the Spanish and was once used in Castile. The religion of both nations is the same and has cast their characters to a great extent in the same mould. Both have undergone pretty much the same political training. There is no sharp antagonism between them of any kind, nor if they were now to unite would there be any estranging memory of conquest such as a glance at the school histories of Quebec will show that there is in New France. False analogies are sometimes instructive by throwing essential differences into relief. After all, we have never said that a federal union of British and French Canada is impracticable, provided that the political veto, as a controlling power over divergent tendencies, is retained.

—Some discoveries in relation to Rideau Hall have called attention to the waste of nearly a million there since Confederation. One member ventured to raise the real question, 'What is the use of an office which having been constitutionally stripped of every vestige of power can have no active functions?' On the Governor-Generalship and the Lieutenant-Governships we have spent since Confederation about six millions, and what benefit have we derived from all this pseudo-monarchical gimcrackery? The dinners and balls of Government House can be shared only by residents at Ottawa, and it is doubtful whether to these they do much good. Lord Dufferin's reign of splendour caused government clerks to sell their pianos. Politically, the mockery of monarchy does nothing but blind us to the sinister action of the Prime Minister and lead us to put up with abuses which otherwise we should not bear, such as electioneering dissolutions of Parliament and the use of nominations to the Senate as part of a bribery fund. Why is it that hollow figments while they are scouted in every other walk of life should in politics be thought salutary and essential? What do we gain by praying every Sunday in church

that God will enable the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors to use well the delegated power which we do not allow them to use at all? Is even the wholesome respect for real authority cultivated by a misdirection of reverence to mere pasteboard? The people will soon be ready for these questions.

We are so far from being actuated by any revolutionary spirit in this matter that we have ourselves contended for the retention of such shreds of authority as were still left the Governor-General. Especially we have contended for his retention of the prerogative of dissolution as our only security against a system of tenure during the pleasure of the Prime Minister which would be subversive of the rights of the electorate as well as of the independence of Parliament, and if combined with the unscrupulous use of a large patronage and of government appropriations might prolong indefinitely the ascendancy of a bad Minister. We thought we might appeal for confirmation of our plea to the constitutional practice of the Mother Country. But Sir Charles Dilke tells us that now the continuance of a British Parliament after its third or fourth year depends entirely on the pleasure of the Prime Minister. He will not find this doctrine, we believe, in any constitutional writer, and we are very sure that if a statesman of the last generation had been asked where was the prerogative of dissolution, he would have answered that it was in the Queen. Such certainly was the belief of Sir Edmund Head. A female reign has perhaps been favourable to encroachment. But supposing the British doctrine to be what Sir Charles says it is, we have another instance of the folly of keeping us in the leading-strings of a community the character and circumstances of which are different from ours. In England the exercise of the prerogative by a party leader would be restrained by traditions hardly less effective than laws, and preserved by a standing, and to a large extent, hereditary body of statesmen. In communities like ours, if the Governor-General had no restraining voice the power would be arbitrary and would be liable to the grossest abuse. Sir Charles's limit of three or four

years, resting on nothing stronger than tradition, would be set aside as soon as a minister was strongly tempted by a favourable outlook, or fear of an impending change of weather, to go at once to the country. In fact, the same limit would not be applicable to the case of the Canadian as to that of the British Parliament, the term of our Parliament being shorter by two years. In the United States there is hardly such a thing as a traditional restraint. Everybody in office uses his authority to the full legal extent. The safeguards are the legal limit and the fixed term. No other safeguards are to be trusted here.

—In admitting the authenticity of the letters, Mr. Rykert pleaded guilty; nor, though he had a full opportunity of stating his case, had he anything to say in extenuation. He did nothing but abuse the police, a performance for which he has every qualification. The relegation of his case to the Committee of Privileges is therefore a judicial form. Mr. Rykert however, is the least part of the matter. Much more serious is the state of public morality revealed by his triumphant re-election in Lincoln, when the constituency had full evidence of his character before them, and by the conduct of the Prime Minister in twice attempting to make him Deputy Speaker and designating him for the Senate. Sir Richard Cartwright said that the Rykert case was only one which had come to light out of many. Mr. Rykert alludes in the letters to the sons of two ministers as useful agents for the purpose which he had in view. Both of them have sent in denials in the present case. But in *The Globe* of May 5th, 1886, will be found the exhibits of a law-suit brought on by a quarrel in the Winnipeg firm of which one of the two is the active member. These relate to the promotion of transactions in timber limits, coal mines or land claims, and seem to prove that a traffic in personal influence at Ottawa was going on. That the services were not professional but personal appears from the refusal of those by whom they were rendered

to bring them into account with the firm. In each transaction the promoters received a share exceeding a professional fee—two ninths, one sixth, or even a half. The *Globe* would appear not to have gone far beyond the mark in saying that everybody who wanted land or coal or lumber, whether in the North-West or in Manitoba or in the once disputed territory, hired the son of a minister to make the application and gave him a share of the plunder. We note, too, that at the same time there was a burst of indignation from the Winnipeg Junior Bar against "foreign influence" which had been exerted to deprive the oldest and most respected of the local firms of business in favour of the connections of the Government. "Highway robbery under a professional disguise" it was called by an eminent authority who took part. It cannot be said, at all events, that Sir Richard Cartwright's statement is reckless.

After all, your man walks away with his \$70,000, while some underpaid and overtempted bank clerk goes to gaol. Why should there not be a distinct law, with adequate penalties, against political corruption? The crime is perfectly capable of legal definition and of legal proof, while, as Mr. Weldon says, it is of all crimes the highest. No ordinary fraud at least bears comparison with that with which Mr. Rykert stands charged. The proper tribunal is not a Committee of Privileges, but a criminal court of justice. Why cannot Mr. Weldon, who spoke nobly on this occasion, take the matter in hand? Every honourable journalist would rejoice if the law could be extended to corrupt dealings with the public press.

—A Senator from Alberta says that something must be done to people the North-West and he proposes assisted emigration. Assisted emigration if it brings people at all will not bring people of the right sort. Nor will touting and spouting in England, which is another proposed nostrum, be of any use: even Hodge by this time knows better than

to be taken in by touters or spouters. What the North-West wants is not so much that something should be done as that something should be undone. Throw down the barrier, let the floating population of this Continent, which the other day made such a rush into Oklohama, enter freely and the North-West will be peopled. Do away at the same time with the thirty-five per cent. on farm implements and let the North-West settler have a free market to buy and sell in. Bring the territory, in a word, within the commercial pale of its own Continent; prosperity and population will then come hand in hand. Otherwise they will not come, apply what emigration-pumps you will. But, as Mr. Martin says, the first object with Ottawa is not the peopling or the commercial development of the North-West: the first object is its vote; and this can be more easily secured while the country is in a poor way and its constituencies are open to petty inducements than it would be if the country were full and rich. If the first object of Ottawa had been the commercial development of the North-West railway monopoly would not have been so persistently maintained nor would the North-Western farmer be now paying the implement tax.

—Mr. Davin, it seems, has been arraigned by some of his constituents for his vote on the Dual Language question. The *Regina Leader* defends him thus: "It is easy for people who have no responsibility to talk. Mr Davin has to get certain things done for his constituency. There are public buildings to be got, changes in the law, certain things for individuals in every part of Western Assiniboia. These are practical material advantages. How can he get such things done if he loses influence with the Government?" There is the secret of the misrepresentation of the North-West and of the abandonment of its great interests at Ottawa. The Government keeps the representation in its hands by means of "public buildings" and by doing "certain things" for individuals. Recent

disclosures have shown, as Sir Richard Cartwright has pointed out, that it has not overlooked the Press. The North-West and Manitoba as a portion of it would be much better off if they were not represented at Ottawa at all. But if they are to be represented and if their great interests are to be dealt with there, they must manage to have an independent representation. It is difficult, no doubt, because in a new settlement there are few good men who can spare time. Manitoba is lucky in having Mr. Watson. But if necessary the electors must for a time suspend their excessive localism and choose representatives above Government influence and temptation of any kind wherever such men can be found. Let them remember that their present delegation failed to uphold their interest on the railway monopoly question vital as that was to the very existence of the settlement. The Local Legislature is good, because its electors feel a direct interest in the questions, and because the best local men can find time to attend it. After all, the men who figure and are elected as locals are sometimes mere casuals without any stake in the country or connection with its great interests. A non-resident, if he was strong and independent, would be just as likely to get all that was right done for local interests or individuals as a weak and servile resident.

—It is rumoured that the Manitoba Separate School Bill will be vetoed by the Lieutenant-Governor at the instance of the Dominion Government. There can be no foundation for the report. Sir John Macdonald is estopped by his own action and declaration from making any such use of the Lieutenant-Governor, and from holding any intercourse with him for a party purpose. The only ground which Sir John could assign for the dismissal of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier was that he had acted as a party man and that it was necessary absolutely to debar Lieutenant-Governors from assuming a party character for the future.

--The preliminary examination in the Benwell case has been conducted with a publicity which would be appropriate not to a trial but to a plebiscite. The whole community has been sharing the chase. We agree with Mr. Meredith, that the Government would do well to look to its detective service. Not only does a detective, instead of hunting silently, let himself be interviewed, but he allows it to be seen that he has staked his professional reputation on the conviction of his man. When this is the case liabilities arise. In Ireland, a good many years ago, a murder was committed and the wadding of the murderer's gun having been picked up was found to be a leaf of a school-book. Suspicion fell upon a man in the neighbourhood who kept such books. A large reward was offered and a detective was sent down. The detective got admission to the house and found there, as he said, the book with the fatal leaf torn out. The house was then entered by the police and the book was brought to Dublin. But the law officers before proceeding took the precaution of sending the book for inspection to the publisher, who reported that it was the right book but not the right edition. The detective, to make evidence, had taken the book to the house and left it there after tearing out the leaf. It is not unlikely that if the quarry escapes in the present instance, he will owe his escape to the too manifest eagerness of the hunter.

To discuss the case of a man held for trial would be unfair. Let us substitute for the name of the accused in the Benwell case any other name, that for example of the English William Palmer. William Palmer was a medical man of sporting habits who when he wanted money for the turf was in the habit of obtaining it by means of policies of life insurance followed by scientific administration of antimony and strychnine. He went on for a long time pleasantly enough, being greatly looked up to in his neighbourhood, and was detected only through an accident which obliged him to precipitate his operations. We are led to ask ourselves the reason why, assuming the truth of the Agnostic theory and of Evolution, the trade of

murder should not be plied as Palmer plied it? If Evolution is true there is nothing in the origin of man to make human life sacred. If Agnosticism is true there is no All-seeing Eye, there is no hereafter, and conscience has no authority beyond that of accumulated tribal experience. Why then should it be immeasurably worse to kill a man and live upon his spoils than to kill a sheep and live upon the mutton? If we say that murder is against the common interest of mankind, the difficulty is only put off a stage. We have still to show why the man should sacrifice his individual interest to the interest of mankind at large. If we say that the murderer will be doing violence to his own sensibilities and preparing for himself the hell of remorse, many murderers and many men of the character of Napoleon will be able to say that they are happily free from sensibilities and that they can enjoy their dinner as well after a murder or a wholesale butchery as they could before it. It comes apparently to this, that murder being a practice most injurious to the community, the community if it catches the murderer will hang him. But very often, probably, the community does not catch the murderer; it was by the merest accident and apparently after several failures that it caught him in the Palmer case; he always hopes at any rate that he will escape. You see hanging on the brink of a precipice when nobody is by a man whose life alone stands between you and a great inheritance. You push him over, succeed to the inheritance, and live in ease and opulence for the rest of your days, making perhaps a liberal and popular use of your wealth. Provided you are free from superstition, including groundless reverence for accumulated tribal experience, why should you not be happy as well as rich? We propose this question to the philosophical debating clubs, not in a spirit of captious orthodoxy, but because it is the question before us and points to the deepest question of all.

—The hapless victim of the murderer was one of a class to which as much sympathy is due as to classes on which more

of it is bestowed, the sons of the English gentry, compelled by the overcrowding of the professions to seek bread not only in a strange land but in menial or manual employment. There are men in this country tending cattle who have taken an Oxford or Cambridge degree, and have been brought up not only in comfort but refinement. When these youths come out here to farm they often do not know to what they are really coming. They picture to themselves the life of the English farmer riding round to superintend his labourers and in the hunting season often following the hounds. A chill comes over them when they find they have to work with their own hands. This is the chief lesson which the gentleman-emigrant has to learn. At least if there is anything else, he can learn it best by taking a course at the Agricultural College at Guelph, which appears now to be in excellent order. The system of farm-pupils never, we suspect, gave the pupil his money's worth, and it was always liable to abuse. A company was formed some time ago to supply a trustworthy agency for the purchase of farms by emigrants; but it sank beneath the expense of advertising and circulating information. Could not the operations of the Emigration Office be extended to this field?

—Though the majority against the Government candidates in the St. Pancras election was not large and there was no great change in the relative members, the defeat is about the most damaging which Lord Salisbury has encountered. The candidates were well matched and the fight in every respect was fair. The Metropolis was the great Conservative stronghold and at the last election gave immense majorities for the Union. But before the Local Government Act London demagogism was comparatively unorganized and the constituencies were largely governed by the Press which was in the hands of men usually above the ward politician. The Local Government Act has supplied demagogism with a machine, as

its authors were warned that it would. Apart from the well-known tendency of bye-elections to go against the Government, the general account of these losses is that since the question of Home Rule has for the time passed out of sight, the rank and file of the Liberal Unionists have been straggling back into the Liberal camp. When, after the joint victory of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists in the last general election, the question of coalition was under discussion the leaders of the Liberal Unionists were warned that it would prove impracticable to induce a section of the Liberal party to remain permanently separate from the rest for the purpose of acting as a crutch to a Conservative government. They were told that in elections Liberal-Unionism would be crushed beneath the upper and nether millstones; that the rank and file would desert; and that even members of Parliament would become tired of a position, which, besides putting their seats in jeopardy, involved a renunciation on their part of office and of power, though their chiefs might be taken into council by the Government. But Lord Hartington was weary and fastidious, while some of those about him were perhaps still dreaming of a reconciliation with Mr. Gladstone and a return under him to office. On the other hand there are, as we have said, Tories narrow and selfish enough to wish at any risk to the country to keep office to themselves. All these politicians will soon have to make up their minds, for the barque is drawing near the rapids.

—It might have been supposed that when police disclosures took place of the hideous vices which have always haunted and, till human nature is treated more scientifically than it is now, will always haunt the purlieus of great and luxurious cities, the instinct not only of a gentleman but of a civilized being, would lead him to leave the filth to the policeman and not sully his own lips or soul with it. That even Mr. Labouchere should have been able to make political capital of such ordure

in the House of Commons without being crushed by the general disgust, shows what a change the character of the House has undergone. It is almost surprising that on the point of order, when Mr. Labouchere accused Lord Salisbury of lying, the House should have mustered courage to deal with this man whose command of a "social" paper is the real source of his impunity. Suppose Lord Salisbury was not a member of the House, was that a reason why the House of Commons should allow its own debates to be disgraced by breaches of social decency, and its privileges to be abused by offering under their cover a gross insult to an absent man whose high position, while it exposed him to the attack, disabled him from personally resenting it. If Lord Salisbury was not in the House his son was; and had his son allowed his anger at a gross insult offered his father to hurry him into some violent and irregular exhibition of resentment, the House, had it neglected its own social duty, might have had reason to be shocked but would have had no reason to complain.

—The bubble of "Randy's" reputation seems to have burst at last. Unscrupulous the man not only is but professes to be. In that respect, at all events, the mantle of his "Elijah" has fallen upon him. But he never had any real gift save that of talking smart rowdyism, which pleased the music halls from the lips of a lord. At least if he had any other gift it was that of intrigue. That he should have ever become a power was one of the most sinister features of the situation. Lord Salisbury showed the weakness, of which there is an element in his character, by allowing Lord Randolph's cabal against Sir Stafford Northcote to succeed and rewarding it with the leadership of the House of Commons. He did worse. He allowed Lord Randolph to entangle him in an alliance with the Parnellites for the overthrow of the Liberal Government and to abandon the Crimes Act as the price of their support. This disgraceful and fatal move was the beginning of the mis-

chief. It threw Gladstone into the arms of Parnell. Very different would now be the situation, and very different Lord Salisbury's own position, if he had said in answer to such tempters that though the opponent of Mr. Gladstone and desirous of ousting him from power he was before all things a British nobleman, and that he would never embarrass the Queen's Government while it was defending the integrity of the nation against foreign enemies and domestic treason. Had the grace been given him to take that course he would now be in real power. But Party is not the school of patriotism or of honour.

—What dirge is loud and pathetic enough for the fall of Bismarck? It is an ominous comment on personal government that a youth fresh in power and intoxicated with it, as unsteady as he is ambitious, lurching from Chauvinism to mock Socialism, should be able at his imperial will and pleasure to cashier the creator and preserver of German unity, the man whose mighty genius has wrought what few men have ever wrought for a nation. We almost look in vain among the giants of history for one who has achieved such things and borne such a weight of responsibility. Bismarck's faults were but the shadows of his great qualities, while the union in him of Militarism with Liberalism was as rare as it was indispensable to the work that was to be done. He was the man for whom Destiny waited, as she often, when all else is ready, has to wait for the man. The other day his work and that of Von Moltke were in danger from the intrigues of the Empress; now he is cast from power by the vanity of her son. Were the crisis of Germany's fate over, the Man of Iron might be spared, perhaps even his retirement might be seasonable as opening the way for an era not of iron; but with France and Russia in their present attitude the crisis of Germany's fate is not over, nor is the crisis in Europe's fate, which is bound up with the fate of Germany. It will now be seen whether

Phaeton can guide the chariot of the sun any better for having a crown upon his head. Bismarck's age makes it very doubtful whether if necessity should once more call for the man and not the shadow, he can ever take the reins again. But Herbert Bismarck, though he has hitherto appeared in an equivocal light, is said by good judges to inherit more of his father's qualities than is supposed, and to be capable of becoming, at need, the pillar of the State.

—The German Emperor's attempt to outbid Socialism has met the usual and the deserved fate of such manœuvres. His International Conference is not likely to come to much. It has proved hitherto impossible to get the working-men of different nations to agree to the same restrictions; and if the workman of one nation handicaps himself those of the other nations will take advantage of him. The English workman under the guidance of Mr. Burns is in a fair way to drive trade from England.

Socialism is a very vague term and is being much misapplied. Genuine Socialism means nothing less than the total subversion of a civilization founded on industrial liberty, private contract and private property. This has not yet anywhere made great way or got political power into its hands. On this Continent it has scarcely gained a footing even in opinion. In France, or rather at Paris in 1848, it for a moment in the person of Louis Blanc mounted to power and founded the national workshops which at once and ignominiously failed. But the name "Socialistic" is applied to mere extensions of the action of the Government, the limit of whose regulative functions must always be a question of experience, and may vary greatly in different circumstances, in different stages of civilization and in different nations. There are people who call the factory laws socialistic and exult in them as a triumph over political economy, as though any sane economist had ever denied that law must protect those who cannot pro-

tect themselves. All law restrains liberty of private action, and might, at this rate, be called Socialistic. Factory laws are so far from being opposed to political economy that they fulfil its purposes by preserving the efficiency of labour which would be marred by overworking the child or the mother. State construction and ownership of railways and telegraphs, again, whether desirable or not, are no more a breach of the laws of political economy than State construction and ownership of highways and ships of war. As to German Socialism it appears to be in the main a local revolt against the military system, the burden of taxation, and the grinding usury of the Jew. The same people when they come over here are, with the exception of a few maniacs such as Herr Most, quiet and ordinary citizens. Reduction of armaments is what Germany above all countries needs; but it is hardly possible while Russia on one side and France on the other continue to grind their swords. To imagine that the Pope could be accepted as arbiter of disarmament is preposterous. He would disarm the Protestant nations.

—The world is sometimes led by verbal fallacies into practical errors. We have mentioned as an instance of this the word “money,” the equivocal use of which has led Governments to fancy that because it was their province to guarantee and regulate the coin it was also their province and their right to regulate the circulation of bank-bills and appropriate the profit. “Labour” is another fallacious word, which is betraying us into practical aberrations. We talk of labour, the dignity of labour and the claims of labour, applying the terms solely to those who labour with their hands, in fact almost exclusively to the mechanics. All alike labour—the farmer, the storekeeper, the clerk, the millowner, the schoolmaster, the lawyer, the minister and the physician, as well as the mechanic—though nobody proposes for anybody but the mechanic an eight hours law. The farmer at times works fifteen

hours and the lawyer as much. Labour is simply the means, by which all but the few who have inherited property live: there is no dignity about it except that which belongs to work well done; nor can any man or set of men claim special privileges or honour in its name. On this subject there is a good deal of nonsense to be cleared away. People are repeating the complaint of John Stuart Mill that hardly any of the working-class labour for themselves, meaning that they do not themselves use or consume what they make. Who does? The pastry-cook does not eat his own pies, nor the druggist swallow his own pills. All who work work for wages in one form or another, not for the specific article which they produce. Let us not make sham grievances when there are real grievances enough in the world.

—The strong point of the Russian character is not veracity and Stepniak is a Russian. We receive therefore with allowance all narratives of atrocities which come from that quarter. But whatever may have happened no man who has not taken leave of good sense and morality will give his sympathy to Nihilism. Nihilism, like the Clan-na-Gael, is a murder club; and no murder club ever has helped or ever will help the progress of humanity. Nihilism is believed to be made up chiefly of five elements, not one of which is likely to lead the world or any community in the path of wisdom: wild students, the women whom they inspire, dismissed or discontented servants of the Government, intriguing Jews, and destitute sons of the clergy. The clergy in Russia are all married, are all poor, and their sons, too much educated to stoop to manual labour, are often, in the close hierarchy of Russian professions and callings, unable to find a place. The creed of the Nihilists is destruction, not political only but social, domestic and moral. They do not represent the Russian people, which if the question were to-morrow put to the vote would decide by an overwhelming majority in favour of the autocracy of the Czar. Their only

constituency is Chaos. The effect of their murderous agitation has been to discredit moderate reforms which were before making way, and to silence moderate reformers who are afraid of being tainted by the association. Alexander II. not only emancipated the serfs but outstripped both the aptitudes and the wishes of his people in grants of local self-government. His reward was assassination. His heir was not likely to follow in his footsteps. Nor is it surprising that the constant fear of assassination, notoriously the most maddening of all fears, should goad the Czar to acts of cruelty, the responsibility for which falls mainly on the Nihilists themselves.

—Another French Ministry, the twenty-fifth since France became a Republic, has ended its ephemeral existence. They are born and die like flies in summer. From France to Australia every thing shows that Party is in a hopeless state of disintegration and can no longer form a basis for a government. Sectionalism gains ground daily and discipline can no more be maintained. This will be seen here as soon as the bribery fund fails and the lynch-pin of personal ascendancy drops out. France grows weary of instability, and the finances, drained by the effort to prepare for revenge, are in the worst condition. The success of the Exhibition largely helped to give Republicanism its victory at the last election. Even Boulangeism though defeated is not extinct. The fall of the Republic would be felt beyond France; for the "electric chain" now binds all the European nations very closely together. English politics would be affected, probably not less than they were by the fall of Charles X., though in the opposite way.

—Of Nationalization of Land we believe we may take a long farewell. In more than one of the Australasian colonies it gained a sufficient hold upon the minds of some of the politicians to bring it within the field of practical politics, and in

New Zealand a transient attempt was made to retain the fee simple of the land in the hands of the State granting only leases to the settlers. But it was soon found that freehold ownership was the life of husbandry, and as mechanics and the people generally became owners of their holdings they went over to the side of property. Long leases could not be granted without violating Mr. George's canon that all private ownership is wrong. The Torrens System wherever it has prevailed, by facilitating the acquisition of land, has been the death of confiscation. On this as well as on the economical ground we are glad to see that an advance toward the better application of the system in this Province has been made by the Premier of Ontario, though he still drives his chariot somewhat heavily.

A stimulus has been given by Mr. George's book among the revolutionary masses of Great Britain to hatred of great landowners and to the general craving for confiscation. On this continent, the realm of freehold farmers, the movement never made the slightest way. Instead of "Nationalization of Land" is now inscribed upon the banner of the party "The Single Tax," a totally different proposal and indeed one contradictory of the original device, since in taxing a man on anything you imply that it is his own. The single tax is not new, but when proposed before it was with reference to countries in which almost all of the wealth was in land. What reason or justice would there be in taxing a farmer and letting a Rothschild or a Jay Gould go free? The consequence of throwing the whole burden of taxation on land would almost certainly be the discouragement of farming and the scarcity, or at all events the dearness, of bread.

—We have never said that great inequalities of property were not an evil. What we say is that the desire of property is the only known motive power of production and that you must take it with its evils. It is however difficult to see how, without certain gradations of wealth and a class lifted above

manual labour, civilization and progress could exist. On the whole it is wonderful how little mischief millionaires have as yet done. A distinction must be drawn between fortunes which like that of Mr. Brassey are made by taking a small percentage on a number of beneficent enterprises, and fortunes made like that of the Rothschilds by manipulating the circulating medium, or, like the vast Astor hoard, to which notice was called the other day, out of toll paid by industry to a race of land-owning drones. If the newspapers told the truth, an Astor lady once went to a Presidential reception with so many diamonds on her that a detective was required to guard them. Schemes for enabling the thriftless to rob the thrifty, which are now so rife, would do harm not only to the thrifty but in the end to the thriftless themselves, who after wasting the substance of the thrifty would be more thriftless than ever. But there is no reason why legislators should not do what they can to discourage immoderate accumulation. The British Parliament passed the Thelusson Act with that object. There could be no objection to a graduated succession duty.

—The Church of the Past, though in its despair it may dally with revolution, still shows itself on practical occasions the Church of the Past. The Archbishop of Paris denounces cremation as unspiritual and anti-Christian. With all due respect for His Grace we prefer the opinion of the late Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Fraser, who was spiritual enough though not superstitious or fantastic, and who told his diocese that it mattered not in a Christian point of view how we disposed of the dead body. The unspiritual view of the matter surely is that which ties the spirit to the cast-off clay by treating the clay as though it were still dignified by the presence of the spirit. In spite of all denunciation, and of the most deeply rooted of all prejudices, cremation gains ground. The next generation may witness the adoption of a cleaner and safer mode of disposing of the dead than the protraction of decay by coffin

burial, and at the same time see an end of those hideous processions through the streets, and of the struggle of posthumous vanities for pre-eminence in the monumental monstrosities of our graveyards. The Egyptian was a thorough-going materialist and he embalmed the body : we are half materialists and prolong the process of corruption. If we could feel at all for our remains our feeling would surely lead us to desire that they should not slowly putrefy in a box, but that they should mingle again as speedily as possible with the universal frame.

—The debate about Jesuit morality goes on, but with little fruit. There is really nothing to be added to what Pascal has said, and no Protestant can speak with half so much force as the great Roman Catholic writer. That the Jesuits constructed an elastic casuistry for the consciences of the rich and powerful whom they desired to draw to their confessionals and subject to their influence is as certain as any fact in history. But they were sure not to profess immorality or fail to leave themselves loopholes of escape. If you want to fix them with the doctrine that 'the end justifies the means' look at the annals of their conduct, at the part they played in regard to the Catholic League, the Thirty Years' War, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the extermination of the Huguenots, the conspiracy of James II. against English liberty, the assassination of heretic princes, the Sonderbund and the Franco-German War, remembering that every act of a Jesuit is the act of the Order and must be in accordance with its Institutes and sanctioned by its head.

—We so far go with the advocates of a Single Tax as to hold that real estate is the best basis of municipal taxation. The apportionment may not be strictly just, but it is roughly so, and the values are capable of ascertainment. Alderman Hallam has put forth a strong plea for the abolition of exemp-

tions, and if they were not defended by the political influence of a powerful sect exemptions would before this have been abolished. One thing is certain, a municipal government has no right to tax any property but that to which it renders service, and the tax ought to be as far as possible in proportion to the service rendered. It has no right to anything which is beyond its jurisdiction and which receives from it no benefit. From the national government all property, whether real or personal, and wherever invested, receives benefit, inasmuch as the laws protect it. Even money invested in a foreign country is to a certain extent protected by the diplomatic action of the national government and by its co-operation with other national governments in the maintenance of international law. But property held or money invested outside a municipality receives from the municipal government no benefit whatever. The income tax with which Ontario is specially cursed is even as a national tax at once the most odious and the least productive; and the Americans after trial have rejected it on that account; but as a municipal tax it is flagrantly unjust.

—The University fire by clearing the ground gave an opportunity of putting the finishing stroke to confederation of which we wish the Government had availed itself. The best course, we venture to submit, would have been to abolish University College, to turn the staff definitively into the staff of the University, and reconstruct the buildings as a set of University lecture rooms and offices, leaving the students to board in the Confederated Colleges or in private houses. A student's residence in College is a questionable institution except under such control and influence as a religious College is supposed to afford. In the English Colleges which were taken as the model, the Fellows live, or till the recent relaxation of the rule of celibacy did live, within the College, so that the juniors were always under the eye of the seniors. The presence within the building of a single officer has not the same effect.

# Henry M. Stanley,

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