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A MONTHLY  
REVIEW

**THE BYSTANDER**

OF  
CURRENT EVENTS,  
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

*NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.*

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# THE BYSTANDER.

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OCTOBER, 1880.

---

IT is always something to have your strongest man at the head of affairs, whatever his political sentiments may be. Like a powerful horse, if he gets you into a scrape, he pulls you through. Sir John Macdonald got us into a scrape, and something worse than a scrape, when he bound us to build the Pacific Railway in ten years; perhaps it may be found that he has now pulled us through as well as the circumstances of so bad a case permit. The favourable condition of the money market, combined with the well-known skill of our negotiator, and the inducements which he had to exert his utmost powers, are enough to assure us that our interests have not been thrown away; and there can be no doubt that any good, or even tolerable, arrangement which rids the country of the danger and uncertainty of this portentous undertaking will be welcomed by the mass of our people with the strongest sense of relief. Though the exact terms are not yet known, it appears to be understood that the Company is to receive twenty-five millions of dollars and twenty-five millions of acres of land, besides the lines already constructed at an estimated cost of thirty-one millions. The Company undertakes to run as well as construct the road. Including the sops to British Columbia and the excess of Government expenditure in the North-west, for general purposes, over the receipts from import duties, Canada will have sunk some sixty millions in the attempt to

give effect to the North-western policy ; a policy on which, as we believe, Nature by severing from each other the territories assumed to be conterminous, and linking each of them to the region on the south of it, has inexorably put her veto. As a set-off we have the balance of the land, vast in extent, and much of it, no doubt, excellent in quality, by which Sir John Macdonald appears to believe that we shall eventually be fully recouped. On this point there is no certainty. That a tract of raw land, remote from existing markets, cannot be expected to do much more than provide roads and other things necessary to open it for settlement, is the impression which, we confess, we have formed, but which we can only submit to the verdict of more practical judges. Of this we feel sure, that the imagination of the public has been too much excited by eloquent descriptions of the fruitfulness of the soil, which, after all, is only one element of the question. It is the more necessary to bear this in mind, because the Opposition, for controversial purposes, has been led to exaggerate the value of the land, that it might charge the Government with throwing away the public property, and has thus committed itself to an estimate to which the Government, when pressed in debate, will, of course, triumphantly appeal. On such occasions as the present the nation feels the benefit of the party system which leaves it without unprejudiced advisers.

The value of land, whatever it may be, is more likely to be realized in the hands of a private company than in those of the Government. The failure of this year's immigration to verify the sanguine calculations of Sir John Macdonald, and the still more sanguine calculations of the *Globe*, is confidently ascribed by the opponents of the Government to the impolicy of the land regulations. We have never ventured, amidst the conflict of testimony and the cross-fire of recrimination, to form an opinion on that subject, though it seemed to us that the regulations were unfavourable to close neighbourhood, which is a great consideration in settling a new country. Perhaps the severity of the climate and the remoteness of the

situation, may have had something to do with the disappointment, as well as misdirected legislation. But the regulations and other arrangements of a Government, whether good or bad, are, as a matter of course, decried by the Opposition, whose disparaging descriptions scare away settlers. Nor can a Government, obliged daily to show a front to the criticism of its enemies, afford to play a long game by making the temporary sacrifices for the sake of future profit, which commercial policy often dictates. A company will be at liberty to give away land, if it thinks fit, to induce settlement; it will have no criticism to encounter, except that of commercial rivals, which everybody understands. The same frenzy of party-hatred which proclaims with premature glee the disastrous failure of the Minister as an event inspiring to all true Canadians, will do its best to make the Minister fail. It used to be said that the students of two rival hospitals in England reciprocally attended surgical operations for the purpose of joggng the operator's arm.

Irrespectively of party detraction, everybody knows that a Government is the worst of commercial managers; it is undertaking a work for which it is not adapted, and which it never performs with the hearty and vigilant interest inspired by private gain. But the maladministration is the least part of the evil. Upon a great commercial enterprise carried on by a Government, with large expenditure and a multitude of contracts, jobbery, speculation and roguery of all kinds attend as certainly as pestilence upon miasma. We are getting, through the facts elicited by the Pacific Railway Commission, a glimpse of the gulf into which we were being drawn. Happy as is the escape of the country from economical disaster, her escape from political corruption is not less a cause for rejoicing. Had the Company to which the Road is to be transferred been a set of needy adventurers, political mischief of another kind would have been in store for us; the government and the legislature would then have been constantly exposed to the machinations of a gigantic lobby; but, fortunately, notwithstanding

the refusal of certain great English and French firms, from which arose the rumour of Sir John Macdonald's failure, it appears that a thoroughly strong Syndicate, headed by Canadian capitalists, has been formed. There will be little reason to apprehend lobbying; and as the capital is sure to be forthcoming, there will be no issuing of a flood of bonds, the holders of which might be soon cursing the Canadian name.

From what we have said it will be clear that it is from no hostility to the Government or its scheme that we venture to enter a strong caveat on one point. Everybody must see that to carry the line round the north of Lake Superior, through an irreclaimable wilderness, full of engineering difficulties, when it can be carried to the south through a practicable and peopled country, is, in a commercial point of view, sheer madness. There is not, we imagine, one dissentient voice upon this subject. But the Prime Minister has what may be called the weaknesses of a strong character; he cannot bear to give up anything with which he has once been identified. That he should actually give up the line to the north of Lake Superior is not necessary; his pride need not be touched; though if he reflects upon the history of this affair he can hardly fail to be conscious that he owes to the country at least the sacrifice of his pride. But it is necessary, and we trust Parliament will do its duty by insisting, that the construction shall be postponed, and that the nation shall, in the meantime, be left at liberty to consider maturely whether it is worth its while to subsidize that part of the line for the political and military purposes which alone it can serve. The grant to the Company may, of course, be apportioned so as to leave room for such separate consideration. Already Canada is burdened with a public debt almost as large as that of the United States in proportion to her population, and larger in proportion to her resources; and of this by far the greater part has been incurred in the construction of politico-military railways, the Intercolonial and the Pacific, and in other objects of Imperial policy, commercially unprofitable, and in which our people have no special interest, while to the great

mass of the people in the Mother Country, who share no aristocratic dreams of an Anti-American Empire, they are equally matters of indifference. It is about time that a reasonable limit should be put to the load which is to be laid on the shoulders of the Canadian people.

We never want to sail under false colours. Our belief is that the line round the north of Lake Superior, if the country is not forced to construct it at once, will never be constructed at all; because, while commercial inducements there are none, the political and military inducements will every day grow less, and our people will become more and more convinced that amicable partnership, not the jealous antagonism which the Anti-Continental policy with its military roads implies, is their destined relation to that part of their race whose abode adjoins them on the south. The original parties to the old quarrel, which we feel locally bound to perpetuate, have themselves buried the memory of their feud. The principals have withdrawn, the second only keeps the field. The author of "Tom Brown," a Briton of the Britons, chooses, as the site of his English settlement, Tennessee. People are surprised that he should prefer a "foreign" country. The answer is that to an Englishman America is no longer foreign, nor is England foreign to an American. International Reviews and International Boat Races are symbols of the social and intellectual fusion which is going on. Internarrriages are becoming daily more frequent. An English Duke and an English Tory Minister send their sons into mercantile houses in New York. Aristocratic antagonism to Republican institutions, no doubt, is not extinct, nor will it be while political differences last; but with this democratic Canada has nothing to do; and the general feeling of the English people towards the United States differs not at all from their feeling towards any English colony. Even the aristocracy, since the victory of the Union, has been laboriously civil to the Republic, as a power. Just on this spot, where the refugees of the American Revolution fixed their abode, the embers of the feud of last century are kept alive by



assiduous blowing: otherwise they are cold. In spite of family law-suits about boundaries and fisheries, everything tends towards the effacement of the last vestige of a conflict in which, after all, the bulk of the English people had no part. Everything forebodes a perfect reconciliation of the English-speaking race. Even here, in spite of the United Empire tradition, the signs not only of reconciliation, but of fusion, are all around us. We have just seen the banners of the American mingling with those of the Canadian Odd Fellows in the streets of Toronto; and this is only one example of the organizations of all kinds, social, religious, commercial and intellectual, which ignore the existence of the dividing line. The exodus to the States is not a very pleasant theme; but those who revel in the thought of "sending rifle-bullets through a Frenchman, a Russian or a Yankee," will have to take care that their bullets know how to discriminate between a Yankee and a Canadian settled in the United States, to say nothing of the fact that a million of our people are Frenchmen. We lavish money in founding a Military College for the training of officers to lead us against American invaders; and the first thing we hear is that one of our cadets, after having completed his military education, has gone off to earn his livelihood as an engineer at Chicago. The fortification of Montreal was an essential part of the scheme of Confederation. What has become of the fortification of Montreal? Of a political federation, extending over the whole globe, it is absurd to dream; but a moral re-union of all who own Great Britain as their parent and speak the tongue of Shakespeare is an idea which is fast, though silently, becoming a fact, and against which it is as useless to wrestle with angry denunciations and appeals to evil memories as it would be to wrestle against the diffusion of the morning light.

Only in case the Government is obstinate about conceding to the nation the necessary freedom of deliberation with regard to the line north of Lake Superior, or anything else which might require further consideration, will it be in place to recur to the errors of the past. Let us dismiss the past from our

thoughts and do what is best at present and for the future. The Opposition has no stones to cast at the Government. Had Mr. Mackenzie, when he came into power, acted on what we can hardly doubt was the dictate of his own good sense, by frankly declaring that the agreement with British Columbia was impracticable and must be rescinded, we firmly believe that he would have had the people with him; but misled, as party politicians very often are, by conventional opinion, instead of rescinding, he signed anew the fatal bond, made the enterprise a Government work, and showed his misgivings by a hesitancy in the execution and an attempt to find a middle course, which apparently would, in the end, have served only to increase the expense. His organ, or rather his leader, never ceased, under the influence of Anti-Continental sentiment, to goad the nation on to the undertaking, and to the last insisted on the immediate construction of the Mountain line, covering with foul aspersions all who opposed that course, though it now turns round and designates the policy as waste.

Ought the Pacific Railway agreement to be laid before the country at once, or ought it to be reserved for the meeting of Parliament? In demanding that it shall be laid before the country at once, the Opposition organ is, no doubt, mainly actuated by that precipitate eagerness to condemn which has led it to forfeit in advance for itself, and as far as it could for its party, every semblance of critical authority in passing judgment on the scheme. But the best friends of the Government, would, we venture to think, advise it to be as frank as possible in its dealing with the people, and when the material parts of the agreement are settled, to communicate it to the public without delay. The dignity of Parliament is a very good thing, but it is also well that in a question which is one of financial life or death to the country, Parliament should enter on its deliberations with all the light that the fullest and most searching discussion can throw upon the subject. The nation will not be satisfied with an arrangement disclosed only to be carried through the House by a party majority at the bidding

of the Minister by whom the arrangement has been made. Already there has been more than enough of the dignity of Parliament in this matter. Sixty millions would have been saved if the Treaty with British Columbia had, in the first instance, been fairly submitted to the good sense of the people.

—It may safely be said, we believe, that the attempts of certain journalists styling themselves Liberals, to limit freedom of discussion in Canada and to crush by personal libel those who presumed to pass the limit, after several years of unscrupulous and venomous persistency, have ended in failure “final, total, and disastrous,”—to borrow the phrase rather unluckily applied by these journalists themselves to the mission of Sir John Macdonald. Suspicion of personal and commercial motives lurking beneath professions of jealous loyalty have probably helped, in this particular case, to decide the public verdict; but it may also be affirmed that the principle has triumphed. It is a principle which we all must accept, however great may be our unwillingness to surrender some cherished dogma or institution to the general ordeal. What have been the fruits of the opposite system carried out on a large scale? Dreadful wars, international and civil, were waged, millions of men were destroyed, civilization was thrown back in its course, the earth was made an Aceldama to exempt from free discussion certain theological dogmas and a certain form of church government; we now find ourselves freely discussing, in all countries, the very existence of a God, while the general belief in religion rests no longer on authority, but on the testimony of those who are regarded as competent to enquire, and courageous enough to tell the truth. Efforts not less desperate and sanguinary have been made to protect political dogmas, especially dynasticism, against the advance of thought; yet these efforts have not saved us, after all, from the necessity of defending with the arms of reason the fundamental principles of society against the Communist and the Nihilist. Does any one

think that the failure was due to the inadequacy of the measures of repression or to want of persistency in their application? Could repression be carried further or applied with more persistency than it was in Spain? Yet in Spain it has failed at last. Nor is mere failure the only result: Conservative principles have been discredited by futile protection, and an artificial impulse has been given to revolution. To what does Mr. Buckle appeal throughout his book but to the suspicion with which protected dogmas and institutions are naturally regarded? Leave thought to its free course, and doctrines favourable to order are not less acceptable to the human mind than doctrines favourable to progress; perhaps, with regard to the mass of men, the reverse would be found to be the case. In ordinary natures use and wont are at least as powerful as the love of experiment or the hope of benefits to be derived from change. The idea that men not oppressed or seriously inconvenienced by an established system can be induced by speculative reasonings to fling themselves into a violent revolution, though it has been put forward among ourselves as a justification for gagging the press, is, in truth, the most preposterous of chimeras. Even Voltaire and Rousseau could never have raised a mob or thrown up a barricade by their writings without the aid of maddening oppression, bankruptcy and famine. On this continent, the realm of democracy, it is Conservatism, not Liberalism, that most needs to be sheltered by the ægis of inviolable liberty; and, to do the Americans justice, not only Conservative, but anti-popular opinions are published with perfect freedom in their press. Nor are they published without effect; in some of the State constitutions changes of no slight importance have been made in a Conservative direction within the last fifteen years. Apart from bayonets or the influence of superstition, there is no conceivable basis for institutions or warrant for authority but public assent; and there can be no assurance of public assent without perfect freedom of discussion. If there is any danger in unrestricted heterodoxy, it is slight compared with that which at-

tends the weakening of spontaneous allegiance produced by attempts at restriction, and it is diminished by every improvement of popular education. Nihilism may safely be licensed to preach or hawk its doctrines in a country governed by just laws and inhabited by a contented people; the more extravagant its sentiments are, the more they will repel, and the more impotent it will be; but it might become formidable if it could point to the existence of the gag as a proof of fear and conscious wrongdoing on the part of a privileged class.

In Canada we have some curious remnants of the idea, dominant everywhere in days gone by, and still dominant in Islam, that intolerance on certain questions is a duty and a virtue. The good St. Louis of France used to say that he would never argue with a heretic who doubted Papal doctrine, but give him six inches of cold steel; and we have lately been told that among ourselves there are questions which are to be debated only sword in hand. There are some special factors in our political composition, such as United Empire Loyalism, Orangeism, and the surviving sentiment of Anglican establishmentarianism, which may explain the phenomenon without disparagement to our intellectual civilization. It is remarkable, however, that, as we have said, the recent attempts to maintain the dominion of intolerance have proceeded not from Conservatives, but from writers who usurp and sully the name of Liberal. We have felt the more indifferent to the charge of disloyalty when it was brought by the representatives of the party which had shorn the Crown of all real power, and which was in fact the heir of the Revolutionists of 1837.

The battle tendered by these gentlemen, however disagreeable, could not be declined by independent journalism without betrayal of duty. The Anti-Continental policy was not a mere sentiment or an airy speculation; it was imposing on Canada the construction of the Pacific Railway; the danger of financial disaster with its political consequences stared us in the face; and all our public men, even those whose real convictions could not be doubtful, seemed spell-bound by their political

superstitions. The only chance of rescue lay in the awakening of the public mind, by frank and fearless discussion of the enterprise, and of the general policy to which it belonged, and apart from which no rational estimate of it could be formed. In the debate, we, like our antagonists, have of course advocated our own views; but we can sincerely say, that far above the advocacy of our own views, we have placed the vindication of that liberty without which all other liberties are at once poor and frail. Nor was the struggle only for freedom of political discussion; it was for an open career. The self-constituted dictators who undertake to keep the keys of public debate, undertake also to keep the keys of public life, and to decide who shall be deemed "fit," and who shall be deemed "unfit" for the service of the State. The fit are the servile: the unfit are the independent; and the instrument for excluding the unfit, and elevating national morality at the same time, is systematic slander. The "fit" must be ready to veer as well as to cringe; one day they must invoke anathemas on all who would touch the Senate; next day they must swell the cry for immediate and unqualified abolition. Any young man of spirit who looks forward to public life may regard, at least with sympathy, efforts, which, even if misdirected in respect of their immediate object, and unprofitable to those who make them, cannot fail to have the effect of giving him a fairer field and a better chance; while the thought that something has been done towards clearing the path for a more independent and fearless generation of Canadian statesmen may well be deemed a sufficient compensation for anything that defenders of free discussion have undergone.

—Every tidal wave of opinion is followed by a considerable ebb. In England the Liberals, since their astonishing victory, have lost several elections, and the swell of N. P. enthusiasm which bore Sir John Macdonald so high two years ago has been followed by a similar subsidence. The point of extraordinary

interest having been gained, Jingoism having been voted down, or the N. P. voted up, ordinary influences, party and personal, resume their sway. This seems enough to account for the decrease of the Government majority in West Toronto, and for the increase of the Reform majority in North Ontario. In West Toronto, moreover, there was probably an uncommon number of those disappointed applicants for patronage whose resentment, as the evil trade of politics draws more adventurers into it, will be found a source of increasing danger to the stability of administrations. The verdict of the bye elections is practically favourable to the Government, because it shows that nothing like a decisive reaction had set in even before the success of the Pacific Railway negotiations, which relieves the Ministry of a heavy load. As to the victory in Selkirk, over which the Government journals are jubilant, to the land of contracts, we apprehend, belong both the victory and its significance.

The West Toronto election brought the new leader of the Opposition into the field. He showed his oratoric power in smiting the enemy ; perhaps in a local election-fight he could hardly be expected to propound a policy of his own, though it will soon be time for him to do something in that way, that his followers may have a reason for following. He belaboured the N. P., and went back once more to the Pacific Scandal. Belabouring the N. P., if we may venture to offer an opinion, is not the very best strategy. The *Globe*, by assailing every Canadian industry that is doing anything for itself, as though its prosperity were a public wrong, is providing the Government at the next election with a body of supporters who will fight with the energy of despair. Mr. Blake himself at one time appeared to see that it was better to let the experiment on which the nation had decided by an immense majority run its course, and be judged by its practical results, than to denounce it incessantly on abstract grounds. "National" is a name as congenial to his sentiments as it is uncongenial to the sentiments of the *Globe*. As to the Pacific Scandal, no

right-minded man, Mr. Blake may be assured, has changed his opinion about it, or ceased to regard it as a most disastrous and humiliating proof of the evil tendencies of the party system, but all men of sense begin to think it time it should be buried. Not only does it belong to the past, but the habit of perpetually recurring to it and trusting to it as an inexhaustible source of appeals to popular feeling, blinds the Opposition leaders to the necessity of placing their claim to public confidence on higher and better grounds.

All is not yet harmony in the Opposition camp. Mr. Blake's appearance in the West Toronto election was the signal for a renewal by the Grit organ of an attempt to "whip him back into the traces" over the shoulder of some one who is supposed to share his sentiments. To imagine him capable of yielding to such coercion a second time, would be to set him down as not only destitute of the courage without which no man can hope to lead his fellows, but of ability to profit by the plainest lessons of experience. He must surely see that had he held his ground five or six years ago, and taken the line which his own general principles would have prompted him to take about the Pacific Railway and the National Policy, he and his following would now, to say the least, be in a very different position. He is again obliquely charged with disloyalty; that is with cloaking an inclination for Independence beneath his faltering advocacy of Imperial Federation. If he deigned to reply he might say ~~that~~ disloyalty is a vague term, and used in different senses; meaning sometimes a breach of that personal allegiance to a feudal lord or sovereign which formed the political morality of the Middle Ages; sometimes betrayal of a great principle; sometimes like the French *deloyauté*, want of fidelity to special rules of duty, such as the code of professional honour: that in the first sense nobody can be more palpably guilty of it than a man who leaves his native allegiance to settle in a foreign country; in the second sense, than a member of a free press who attacks freedom of opinion; in the third sense, than a journalist who uses his journal as the instrument of private ends or personal malice.



A hope seems still to linger in the Grit breast not only of whipping Mr. Blake into the traces, but of setting aside the independent chief and bringing back the "Faithful." What the *Globe* "longs for" is "the return to power of men of practical judgment and business prudence and forethought, like Messrs. Mackenzie and Cartwright." Fortune, no doubt has surprises in store for us; but the surprise will be great if Canada ever again has Mr. Mackenzie as the head of her Government, and Sir Richard Cartwright as her Minister of Finance. We say it with unfeigned respect for the ability and character of both men. They served and represented special influences now nearly extinct, and the exceedingly narrow ledge on which they stand is being fast overflowed by the advancing tide of independent opinion. Never did leaders more completely fail to read a situation, or more signally throw away the chances of a party than did those who, on the eve of the last election, turned the depressed industries of Canada with contumely from their door. A slight concession, almost a sympathizing word, would have saved them and their adherents from a ruinous overthrow.

—We have seen no denial of the statement that a member of the Local Government of Ontario took an active part in carrying round the hat for the Opposition candidate in the West Toronto election. We do not blame the Minister of Education for doing what all his compeers do: but we note the circumstance as one among the innumerable proofs of the close connection of these Provincial Cabinets, under the present system, with the central parties, and of the hollowness of the pretence that by doing away with them, and substituting really Local Councils of a practical and inexpensive kind, Provincial self-government would be impaired. Provincial self-government, on the contrary, would gain greatly by the change, and local business would be better managed, if its administrators had both eyes fixed on their proper work, instead of having one always fixed on Ottawa. The Ontario Government and its patronage

are in the hands of the Opposition, which finds them a useful engine of party, and naturally wishes to keep them on the present footing if it can. Its organ denounces as malefactors all who, like the member for Russell, advocate simplification and economy. Nevertheless the feeling in favour of simplification and economy gains ground.

—Everything betokens an undiminished plethora of money, and consequently a continued fall in the rate of interest and a further advance in the price of all sound securities. The reduction of the debt of the United States is every year driving a mass of capital to look for employment elsewhere. England has made immense accumulations and is seeking investments for them all over the world. She is likely for the future to have less of the character of a producing, and more of that of an investing, nation. The revival of commercial enterprise, especially in the States, is increasing the demand for capital; but the supply appears still far greater than the demand. An easy money market is good for debtors, and what is good for debtors is good for Canada. This country privately as well as publicly must be carrying, in proportion to its resources, a very heavy load of debt. Banks and loan societies of late have been thrusting money, largely drawn from England, on the merchants and farmers; and when the lender solicits the borrower the state of things is no longer safe. If there were any legislation of a communistic character to which we should be disposed, it would be an Act enabling the farmers at any time to pay off their mortgages with interest up to date. This, with an easy money market, would be a large measure of relief, and little practical injustice would be done. It might even, under certain circumstances, be an advantageous arrangement for the mortgagees, who, if a bad harvest should be closely followed by a general election, would be in some danger of being payed in National Currency instead of gold. The small vote polled by the Fiat money candidate in West Toronto is not a fair measure of what might occur if the great

farming interest should find itself ground down by debt, and be persuaded that Fiat currency would bring it relief. It must be remembered, too, that our Beaverbackers are only an outlying portion of the Greenback party, which is far from being extinct in the United States. Some of the Beaverback leaders are at this moment on the stump in favour of the Greenback candidate for the Presidency; a proof that, as we said before, the labour interest and its movements have ceased to be divided by the line. The same might also be almost said of the currency itself, for American paper is now current for all but government purposes in Canada; a circumstance which may add to the difficulties of the Fiat men when they proceed, as they propose, to proportion the issue of their paper exactly to the wealth of this country.

—The stockholders of the Consolidated Bank are still on the war path, and it is in place to remark, that bank-stockholders in general seem to have somewhat fallacious ideas of their position. They seem to think that their case is in some way distinguished from that of the stockholders of ordinary companies, that mismanagement of their concerns is a peculiarly heinous offence, and that they are entitled to some special protection at the hands of Government. There is no ground for such a notion. Holders of stock in a bank are just in the same position as holders of stock of any other kind; the public at large has no interest in their affairs; the Government has nothing to do with them; they must look for security to their own judgment in the choice of a directory and vigilance in watching its conduct; if they fail, their failure is just like that of any other set of men who undertake a commercial enterprise, and they have no more reason to raise an outcry or invoke the interposition of the State. The only thing with which the public and the Government are concerned is the circulation, and this, for the special reason which we have mentioned before, that bank bills, though not legal tender, cannot, in the ordinary course of commerce, be

scrutinized and refused like promissory notes and paper of other kinds. On this account the Government is entitled and bound to see that bills are not issued without a money basis sufficient to secure the taker. Its duty in short is not to the stockholder, but to the bill-holder and to him alone. Nor, on the other hand, is the Government or the nation in any way injured by the failure of the bank, as a private enterprise, or by the loss of the money which the stockholders have invested. If the bank stockholder appeals to the Government to afford him special protection against the misconduct of directors, he admits that the banks are not private enterprises but public institutions, and from that admission, when demagogues are in power, he will find that sinister consequences flow. Banking is a trade like other trades no more entitled to protection, no more justly liable to meddling, than the rest: that is the only consistent view and the only safe ground on which to stand.

—The visit of the Odd Fellows has set us moralizing on Secret Societies. One thing is certain; they gratify the love of title, costume, pageantry and parade. "The child is father of the man;" and the man even when highly civilized and a citizen of a Republic retains strong traces of his parentage. At Chicago twenty thousand Knights Templar underwent, for the sake of figuring in a superb procession, what their mediæval namesakes might have undergone in a Syrian campaign. It is curious, too, to observe how the military taste survives under the reign of industry, and how fond a peaceful tradesman is of marching through the streets in the guise of a warrior with a cocked hat and a drawn sword. Perhaps the love of secrecy and mystery may all be explained as simply infantine, without resorting to the less amiable hypothesis of the Orator of the Odd Fellows who pleaded the necessity of throwing a shroud of darkness round the strong box. We fully believed the Orator when he solemnly declared that no secret of real importance was withheld by his Order from mankind. If Odd Fellows or

Freemasons appeared to know better than the uninitiated which way stocks were going, there might be reason for public disquietude. Our theory would require qualification, if it should appear, from social statistics, that the members of the community most noted for hard common sense were the chief bearers of society titles and the chief wearers of society regalia. It would not be easy to defend these associations in the court of strict reason. In spite of all disclaimers, the artificial bond which they create can hardly fail in some degree to disparage, if not to weaken, that of natural duty. A touching story was told by the Orator of a wounded unionist soldier, who being an Odd Fellow, was saved from death by confederate soldiers belonging to the same Order. Supposing the wounded man had not been an Odd Fellow, would he have been left to his fate? It does not appear that the Good Samaritan belonged to any Lodge. However, we are not aware that any evidence has ever been produced of evil consequences of this kind. There is, practically, more reason to fear political intrigue. Perhaps to the mass of citizens, who either do not belong to the party, or do not go to caucus, and have nothing to say to the nominations, it matters little whether they are in the hands of a secret society of Grits, or in those of a secret society of Odd Fellows. The rule of the Odd Fellows would probably be the more liberal and genial of the two. Associations whose motto is brotherly love, are at all events practically useful as counter attractions to others, whose motto is brotherly hatred.

—Every one will welcome the appointment of Professor Wilson to the Presidency of University College as a recognition both of literary merit and of long and faithful service. It is a pity that the decision was so much delayed as to make the new President appear not as a free choice but a last resource. This interminable imbroglio has been damaging to the Local Government, as well as most injurious to the University, in which it has gratuitously stirred up jealousies and heart-burn-

ings, the traces of which will not speedily disappear. One cause of the trouble appears to have been a fancy about the indefeasible superiority of classical studies, which we have shewn to be untenable, and which in fact seems to have arisen from a too limited induction ; for it is only at Oxford that the Classics have reigned supreme ; at Cambridge Mathematics were long the dominant, and still are the favoured, study. Another cause seems to have been a desire on the part of the dispensers of the patronage to buy a shilling's worth of goods with sixpence. The salary of a professorship being insufficient to attract a first-rate man, an attempt was made to add to it, in appearance, by tacking to it a Vice-Presidency, and by holding out, or suggesting, hopes of the Presidency in reversion, a course which could not fail to breed complications. The influence of party politics is seldom absent, and is plausibly conjectured to have been felt in this affair also. The denominational colleges are, at all events, free from that bane ; while the sectarianism which they cannot wholly escape may be reduced to a minimum by large-minded administrators such as the Principals of Victoria and Queen's. Their immunity is shared by McGill University at Montreal, which has just received a noble donation (not the first we believe) from Mr. Redpath, who would scarcely have been so ready to give his money to an institution under the control of a local party Government. Queen's College, thanks to the energy of its Principal, has also been largely adding to its endowments. The University of Toronto, weighted as recent events have shown it to be, is likely to be exposed to a serious competition.

—Different pictures are, of course, given by the Government and the Opposition papers of the condition of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. The truth we believe to be that in the Maritime Provinces little improvement has taken place ; that the outlook remains gloomy, that ship-building is dull and that the people are still dissatisfied with the New Tariff and angry with

its framers, so that a general election would be almost certainly disastrous to the Government. In the City of Quebec, matters appear to be mending; the people are employed, and there are no fears of a riot this Fall. All the Provinces are cheered by good crops; Quebec is going to try Beet Sugar, and we wish her success greater than that which usually attends an industrial *tour de force*. Strafford's creation of the linen trade in Ireland is about the only instance which we know in economical history of a *tour de force* which has turned out well. Political news from Quebec is always pretty much the same, relating largely to personal combinations and changes, actual or surmised. One of our contemporaries was the other day deploring the bitterness of Quebec politics in connection with some incivility which had been shown from party motives to M. Frechette the poet. The only wonder is that the bitterness is not greater, considering that the parties to the struggle are professional politicians, fighting not about any question of principle, but for their bread.

—Writers who bid us sympathize with the Democratic party in the Presidential contest, simply because it is the party of Free Trade, are hardly in a position to denounce others who pay regard to economical considerations as "advocates of a policy of hogs." It is doubtful whether the Democratic party can be rightly called, in a practical sense, a party of Free Trade. No doubt there are more Protectionists in the Republican than in the Democratic camp; but there are Protectionists in both camps, and hitherto the Protectionists in the Democratic camp have proved strong enough to restrain the whole army from making any effectual movement in the direction of Free Trade. The truth is that while the Protectionists are ardent and energetic, like other people fighting for their own interests, the mass of the people are, or have up to this time been, luke-warm. They do not keenly feel the import duties which they pay; they see that the national finances flourish, and they like the idea of encouraging home industry. Even the western farmer, to whom

free traders always point as the great sufferer by protection, uses no great amount of imported goods, and is little excited by the story of his own wrongs. In the newspapers, for the most part, the subject is not often mentioned. The Democratic party, therefore, has not been inclined to risk the allegiance even of a small section of its supporters by making a party issue of the Tariff. Reduction is perhaps more likely to come as the consequence of the payment of the national debt than from a legislative change of principle. He must be a Protectionist indeed who, when taxes had ceased to be needed for the purposes of government, would desire to impose them simply for the exclusion of foreign goods.

For our own part, we never can treat the subject of a Presidential election, or of any party contest in such a community as the United States, without repeating that we hold these conflicts to be the greatest of evils, and fraught with danger to the stability of the Republic; that we deny the necessity of party government and of organized parties altogether; that we do not believe in the usefulness of an elective Presidency, or of any Republican reproduction of King, Lords and Commons, but are convinced that the Republic would be better, more safely, and more honestly governed by a single Assembly elected by the State Legislatures, as the Senate now is, though with a due reference to the population of each State, and itself electing in turn an Executive Council, without the introduction of party at all. In the possibility, to which everybody is now looking forward with dread, of a disputed election, and a political convulsion as its consequence, we see another confirmation of our views. But as the battle must be fought, and good citizens, instead of uniting their forces against the evils which threaten the whole state, are doomed to turn their swords against each other, it seems to us desirable in the interests of the United States, of this Continent, and of humanity at large, that the Republicans should win. The Third Term movement has been defeated, and in defeating it the purer and better section of the party has gained a decisive ascendancy over that which had



been corrupted by power. Long before Garfield was nominated, and when there seemed little prospect of his nomination, we avowed our belief that he was the best man for President. With bloody-shirt fanaticism, or negrophilist extravagances, we have no sympathy whatever. The issue between National Sovereignty and State Right, of which much is made in the campaign manifestoes and pamphlets, does not seem to us to be in itself of much practical importance; State separation, let it be carried in theory as far as it will, is sure to be controlled in practice by social and commercial unity: the party in power, whichever it be, is sure to incline to centralization, the party out of power is sure to incline against it. What we regard, are the influences which are arrayed on either side, and which, according as victory declares for one party or the other, will practically control the Government. It would be very unjust to say that everything which is Democratic is evil; but it would not be so very unjust to say that nearly everything which is evil is Democratic. The Solid South, which is the heart of the whole party, and more than any other element will control its corporate action, is evil, though its bad character may be deemed the disastrous heritage, not the fault, of the existing generation. The character of the Southerner, so far as it partakes of that of the slave-owners, has been formed under influences unfavourable to regard for human rights, to respect for law, to love of equality, to republican principles generally, and at the same time to high civilization. It is, and almost boasts of being, a character not of legality and good citizenship, but of domineering violence, It has repelled, among other humanizing agencies, that of popular education. Abroad it has, and deserves, the sympathy of all who desire the overthrow of republican institutions. At home it is allied with everything at the North that a true son of the Republic has most reason to dread. With it goes the great mass of the Irish immigrants, who, while fresh from their unhappy training in Ireland, and devoid of all political ideas and sentiments except the craving for personal leadership, which reigns in the heart of the clansman, are

the credulous retainers of the worst political adventurers, and the unhappy liegemen of municipal misgovernment. In vain did O'Connell, in his best mood and in his most fervent tones, conjure Irishmen in America not to sully the Irish cause by supporting slavery : slavery and the slave-owner have always been supported by the Irish. The most consummate embodiment of political evil has always been Tammany. A good citizen might be sure that in voting against Tammany he was voting for the welfare of the Republic. But Tammany has always been Democratic. The other day there was a passing disagreement between the Tammany leaders and the Tilden section of Democrats about some local question ; but this quarrel of lovers has proved the renewal of love, and Tammany and the Democracy have rushed into each other's arms. A respectable Democrat, it is true, always affects to hold Tammany at arm's length ; but he goes to the poll with it ; he manages New York elections in concert with it ; and he has to account for the connection and to explain what it was that Mr. William Tweed saw in the Democratic party so congenial to himself and so favourable to his objects ? If, as the Democrats assert, they are the great Reformers, why should they allow their cause to be contaminated and compromised by association with such a den of corruption ? This is a point which needs explanation. So, for cognate reasons, does the return of General Butler and his followers in Massachusetts, as by irresistible gravitation, to the Democratic ranks. But there is another body of auxiliaries in the Democratic camp, whose presence is even more ominous than that of the Tweeds. American Nihilism is mainly an importation from Europe, and it happily assumes in a land of popular government and generally diffused wealth a far milder character than that which it assumes among suffering proletariats and long-gathered elements of discontent in the Old World. Nevertheless it is there. Kearney is the leader of a throng, not inconsiderable in numbers, and sure to be joined, in case of a conflict, by the swarming tramps, which is the enemy of all civilization, which hates all kinds of industry but the coarsest,

all wealth though made and saved by the most honest toil and thrift, all education and refinement; which wants to gratify its appetites by public pillage instead of making its bread by labour; which would like to set the social edifice on fire and plunder it while it was burning. Kearney and his crew represent the lowest and worst section of the party of destruction; the Greenbackers represent the highest. Undoubtedly there are Greenbackers who are perfectly respectable people, honest dupes of an economical fallacy, as Mr. Spooner and other worthy men were in England: but Greenbackism really means Repudiation, private as well as public, and though not every Greenbacker is a Kearneyite or has any sort of sympathy with Kearneyism, every Kearneyite is a Greenbacker. There is a natural affinity and a political connection between the ruder and the more refined form of spoliation. Many Democrats are honest money men; probably most of the leaders are so; though Mr. Thurman unquestionably tampered with Greenbackism in Ohio. But in Maine we see a complete junction of Democrats with Greenbackers under the name of Fusionists, and find them combining under Garcelon to carry the State by fraud. The better Democrats throughout the Union and the better part of the Democratic press repudiated the Maine frauds; but the Fusionist league is not broken, and it must be assumed that the Greenback element of it remains convinced, notwithstanding the disapproving tap of the moral fan, that the Democrats are really its best friends, and that their victory is its own. We should feel that this connection also needed explanation if we were called upon to cast a Democratic vote. We should, in this case again, have to ask why it is that all things most lawless and dangerous seem to range themselves on the same side. The honourable leaders of the party no doubt flatter themselves that they can use a Solid South, the Irish, Tammany, Greenbackism and Kearneyism in recovering power and set them at nought, or baulk them of their object when power has been recovered. This, to begin with, is slippery work, but the notion is a mere delusion. Democratic government will be a government of the

South, the Irish, Tammany, Greenbackism and Kearneyism combined, though not harmonized, and perhaps more or less managed by a leading element of strong plutocracy. From such a Government we do not see how reform, or good of any kind is to be expected. Civil service reform would be more hopeless than ever, and the only retrenchment that would be likely to take place would be the cutting down of the army in the interest of Kearneyism and disorder. The last Congress was Democratic, and nothing could possibly be less promising in every respect than its conduct, or look less like reform. A party which has long been out of power is of course the enemy of administrative abuses; its leaders may be sincerely anxious for purification; but no party can be pure; all parties have to buy support; and it is not likely that the fell necessity will be surmounted by the virtue of Tammany.

The Republican party has suffered in character, beyond all doubt, by a long tenure of power, comprising eight years of Grant, who though, as we firmly believe, above corruption himself, allowed it to be practised by his lieutenants in the supposed interest of the party, and when one of his adherents was convicted of a breach of duty fancied that it was a point of honour to stand by him under fire. It has, and, even under so good a chief as Garfield it will continue to have, the inherent vices of all such organizations. Yet no one, we think, can have seen much of American politics without forming the opinion which we have already expressed, that, on the whole, the steady-going industry of the people, its sound morality, its intelligence, its respect for law, those qualities on which free institutions rest, are arrayed on the Republican side. The Toryism of the United States, perhaps, is to be found in the plutocratic element of the Democratic party, but the Conservatism, in the proper sense of the term, is Republican. "The right and authority of the people to govern themselves is accepted by all Americans. But there are two views of this authority; one is that it exists by the *will* of the people, and the other that it exists by virtue of its inherent rightfulness, accepted by the *convinced will* of the

people. I understand the two parties as they now exist, to represent the two ideas—the *Democrats* holding that the will of the people, or the majority of them, is absolute and should govern; while the *Republicans* hold that the will of the people is *without* authority, unless it acts through the orderly forms of the law." This is the reason given for his choice of a party by a Republican. He, no doubt, pictures to himself party as more completely identified with principle than in fact it ever is. Yet the will of the people, as will, is certainly rather the Democratic, while the will of the people, embodied in, and restrained by, law is rather the Republican, idea. The Democrats are zealous for the Constitution, which they declare to be in danger from Republican encroachment; but what they mean by the Constitution is not so much the maintenance of restrictions on the arbitrary action of popular will, as local freedom from national law. There can be no question as to the lawless character of their long reign in New York. The Republican party represents, so far as any party can, the sentiments and political temperament of Washington and Hamilton: it is the party of the Conservative Republic.

We have said that the issue between National Sovereignty and State Right does not seem to us in itself of great practical importance. What is of practical importance is the submission of the South to national control in its dealings with the emancipated slaves. White ascendancy has already been completely established, and the negroes have been entirely deprived, by force or fraud, of the franchise conferred on them by the nation, while their numbers are counted, without deduction, in the apportionment of representation. Still, while the National Government is Republican, Slavery cannot be legally or practically restored. Of its legal restoration there is no danger; but it may practically be restored in a great degree by abuse of the criminal law, and even by that absolute supremacy which the possession of power at Washington, as well as in the South itself, would give to the dominant race. Then there would be a revival of Southern society essentially as it was before the war; a re-

currence of its antagonism to the society based on Free Labour at the North; and a renewed danger of collision and civil strife. At present, disfranchised though the negro is, he feels the presence of a protecting, while the white feels the presence of a restraining, power. That feeling would depart on the fall of the Republican Government; for it is idle to suppose that a Democratic Government, sustained by the Southern vote, would do anything either to protect or to restrain.

Some Canadians seem to think that the Democratic party is the more friendly to England, and that it demands their sympathy on that account. The line which aristocratic society in England took at the time of the Civil War of course estranged the Unionists, who wrongly, though not unnaturally, identified the nation with the governing class; whence there was a temporary alliance with the South; though the South feels little gratitude for sympathy which lent it no effectual aid, but rather helped to lure it on to utter ruin. But the party of Washington and Hamilton is the really English party, and has always been at heart most friendly to the Mother Country; it suffered martyrdom in protesting against the war of 1812. Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, was a frantic enemy of England, and so were all [his sect. These things, however, belong to the past: at present, apart from fishery disputes or mere rivalries of trade, there is no bitter feeling against England, except among the Irish, who are Democrats almost to a man. If a Republican on the stump speaks bitterly of England, it is in the hope of winning over Irish votes. English sentiment, therefore, would rather lead us to wish success to the Republicans; while, in a commercial point of view, as nobody doubts that we are affected by the prosperity and adversity of our neighbours, the party of Resumption and honest money is entitled to the benefit of our prayers.

—Unexpected strength has been shown by the Fusionists in Maine, and there are some who are so impressed by this as to

say that the Republican candidate has received his death-blow. But the victory, if it is one at all, seems to have been won almost as much by the Greenbackers as by the Democrats; and for the Presidency the Greenbackers have a candidate of their own. Tough as the ties of party are, and strangely as people in the United States are dragged by them into voting against their own manifest interest, it is hardly possible that commercial men and all who have an interest in commerce should not be repelled by the Greenback alliance: in this way the success of Fusionism in Maine may do the Democrats as much harm as good. Even apart from the fear of pronounced Greenbackism, Commerce is likely to recoil from the prospect of the general disturbance, by currency agitators, of the financial settlement which would almost certainly follow the advent of the Democrats to power. The desire of a change, which is natural, perhaps under the party system wholesome, and which Grant's two terms certainly did enough to justify, will be balanced by the fear of interrupting prosperity, which is just now flowing with a full tide. There may be reason to apprehend the secret hostility of the Third Termers, who must have been intensely embittered by their defeat, after a contest of extreme fury, at Chicago. The leaders are not likely to indulge their resentment, deep though it evidently is; they have lost much, but by a Democratic victory they would lose all; and they would rather keep the Pachalics of Pennsylvania and New York with abated grandeur, than be entirely stripped as well as discrowned. But some of the followers, having nothing solid to lose, may give free vent to their passion, and act upon the hint which was thrown out to them, after their overthrow at Chicago, that four years' Democratic rule would make the whole country long for the return of Grant. The break-up of the parties has commenced in the form of internal conflict between their sections; and partly in this way, partly by the progress of free thought, a good number of citizens have got loose from the trammels and form an independent element the decision of which will, perhaps, not be known before the election day.

—The power which is to rule the world has been holding festival at Boston, where the American Association for the Advancement of Science was received by the municipal authorities and the citizens, not only with the utmost liberality, but with the most delicate, assiduous, and judicious attention. "It is confidently rumoured that Professors Snore, Doze, and Wheezy have engaged three beds and a sitting-room at the Pig and Tinder-box." Our readers may recognise in these words a quotation from Dickens's "Report of the First Meeting of the Mudfog Association," which has been opportunely reprinted just as the "Mudfog Association" was holding its jubilee in England, and receiving the greetings of its American offset, in contemporaneous session, on that occasion. In the natal hour of the British Association, Dickens himself was not more derisive than the *Times*. With such strides has Science advanced towards Empire. Now, when a paper is announced "on the endocranium and maxillary suspensorium of the bee," not a risible muscle moves; all await with reverence the momentous communication.

A pæan of Evolution was sung by Professor G. F. Barker, in his address on "The Problem of Life." The solution of that problem the Professor, looking forth from his Evolutionary Pisgah, announced to be very near at hand. "The rapid march of recent organic synthesis makes it quite certain that every distinct chemical substance of the living body will ultimately be produced in the laboratory; and this from inorganic materials. Given only the exact constitution of a compound, and its synthesis follows. When, therefore, the chemist shall succeed in producing a mass constitutionally identical with protoplasmic albumen, there is every reason to expect that it will exhibit all the phenomena which characterize its life; and this equally, whether protoplasm be a single substance or a mixture of several closely-allied substances." "There is no essential difference between the protoplasmic life of the plant and that of the animal: hence the solution of the life question in the myxomycetes will solve the life problem for the highest vertebrate."



Nor could the sympathising hearer fail to draw the inference, whether the lecturer wished to suggest it or not, that, with the life problem, all other problems, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, would be solved also, and that "the highest vertebrate" was a full equivalent for humanity. It may be so, but the predictions of Science, like other predictions, must await the verdict of experiment. Let Professor Barker make a man, or even an oyster, and scepticism will bow before the evidence of fact. But even then, we shall not be able to admit that the rudiments of a being are the being itself; or that a description of its genesis is a full account of its nature and a limitation of its destiny. Every man was once an embryo; yet the man is not an embryo, but a man; and the case will not be changed if the protoplasmic life of Newton and Shakespeare can be identified with that of the myxomycetes. Nothing will have been proved except this, that the Author of our being works not by abrupt creation, but by gradual progress, in a manner analogous to human effort, the finished products of which are essentially different, if there is any such thing as essential difference, from their rudiments or raw materials; and this is as much implied in the saying of Genesis, that "God made man out of the dust of the earth," as it is in the scientific doctrine of Evolution. That which is called Evolution is only an observed succession of phases through which the being regularly moves in an ascending scale: what power causes and regulates the movement is just as much a mystery as ever; it would remain a mystery even though Professor Barker should succeed in producing life by chemical appliances, because he would be only the instrument; the power which endowed the chemical ingredients with the life-generating virtue would still be behind. If Evolution implies more than an observed succession of phases or stages of existence, if it implies a known cause of progression, it is a misleading and illegitimate term.

The great event of the meeting was the revelation by Mr. Graham Bell, the discoverer of the Telephone, of another grand invention in a similar line. Light has been proved capable

of producing sound, and messages are to be sent by a beam darted from a distance and received by the sensitive cells of Selenium, means being devised of controlling the beam. The fabled statue of Memnon is hardly a fable after all. No experiment was exhibited at the meeting, so that the holders of Telephone stock have still an opportunity of selling out; but the Professor and his coadjutor, in their private experiments, had spoken to each other to and from points two hundred and thirteen metres apart. If the Photophone succeeds it will mark another step in the development of a quasi-vital sensitiveness and communicativeness in the world of inorganic matter; and at the same time it will show that in science all things are connected and everything is useful. Little could Apollonius of Perga have guessed the practical use which modern science would make of Conic Sections; little could the Swedish chemist, Berzelius, when he toiled with the ardour of a lover, not to be chilled by repulse, over the mysterious sediment which at length yielded the new elementary substance Selenium, have guessed the practical use which American invention would make of his discovery. It is curious to see the wild enthusiasm and fantastic hopes which these triumphs of science are kindling. In Louisiana, the inventor of a mode of making man immortal by preventing the waste of tissue, is trying his process upon an old gentleman of ninety, who is considerably selected as not having much to lose. Another projector proposes to make the clouds discharge rain by sending up torpedoes in balloons—a power which will require regulation, since what would suit the projector's turnips might not suit his neighbour's grain.

The Anthropological Section was attended by a crowd which showed the keenness of the popular interest in these questions. But it was deluged with papers about the Indians. Real importance attaches to the tribal system of consanguinity: it is, so to speak, the protoplasm of society. But with Indian antiquities and mythology we confess, for our part, we are soon sated. They are both uninteresting and suspicious. An ex-

plorer of one of the mysterious mounds found in it, among other antiquities, a pin. The happy discoverer of a genuine Indian myth of the deluge was just going off with his treasure, when his informant, the venerable depository of the immemorial tradition, added that the name of the man who had survived the deluge was Noah. Of the myths recited, we could hardly recognise in one the character of a primitive conception as to the origin of the nation or of the world: they seemed to us either poor fairy tales, or stories which might have been derived from the missionaries. A tablet was exhibited from one of the mounds, the figure on which was plainly enough the Angel Standing in the Sun of the Book of Revelation, with one wing rudely converted into a spear, and the other into a shield. A self-made antiquary from the West brought a tablet which he affirmed to be ancient, and the hieroglyphic inscription on which, with the aid of grammars or vocabularies picked up at Chicago, he rendered into a sentence,—religious of course—and made up of three languages, Greek, Hebrew, and English, three marks in the form of *angles* denoting *angels*, while the whole was connected, after the manner of mare's nests, with Sun-worship and the Mythology of Egypt. This if more patent is not greater nonsense than a good deal of that which is being talked about the Pyramids. Proofs tendered of the co-existence of men with the hairy elephant appeared to us, like some of the Indian antiquities and myths, highly apocryphal. Those from Europe were drawings of nondescript animals, which we should have taken for the mere play of savage fancy, the elongation of the snout into an apparent trunk, which was the only elephantine feature, being no more portraiture than the rest. Those from our continent were two stone pipe heads, also representing nondescript animals, in which, again, there was nothing elephantine, except the elongation of the snout, forming an apparent trunk. In neither case was the end of the snout detached from the block, and in both cases it was, as we could not help thinking, not portraiture, nor even grotesqueness, but mere want of skill on the carver's part.

A lively debate arose as to the primitive form of government. The text was the well-known passage of Mr. Freeman, in which he identifies the popular assemblies of Uri and Appenzell, where all the freemen of the canton meet and vote in person, with primitive democracy. His position was impugned by the reader of the paper, on documentary and other grounds, as it seemed to us with considerable force. What was the primitive form of government was a serious question in the days of Filmer, when people believed not in Evolution, but in Devolution, and when the Primæval was not pithecoïd but divine. Upholders of the Patriarchal theory are encountered by the serious objection that in the present day, of all the savage communities scattered over the world, which may be taken to be the representatives of the primæval state of things, not one is patriarchal. Consanguinity must clearly have been the germ of society, whether in the form of what we now deem a family and connect with patriarchal rule, or in some coarser and more animal form, is a debatable question ; Filmer might have found that something in the way of Polyandry really occupied the historic shrine in which his fancy placed the Father of mankind. Kinship would broaden into the clan or tribe ; but before anything that could be called political government, as distinguished from mere clanship, could arise, diversity of circumstances would produce a great variety of social conditions which would give birth to an equal variety of polities. In the struggle for existence weak clans would be crushed and broken ; their *debris* would be annexed to the stronger clans, either as slaves, or as the dependants who appear in Roman history as clients ; and thus an aristocracy of race would have its origin. War would exalt mighty chieftains into kings. In mountain-girt valleys, such as the Scottish glens, the isolation of the clan would be preserved with its brotherhood, its patriarchism, and its equality. On wide plains tribes would be fused, and empires would grow. Large migrations, requiring the conduct of a strong leader would probably have the same tendency. Maritime migrations, such as the enterprises of the Saxons and the

Danes, as they must necessarily have been undertaken by small bands, would substitute comradeship for kinship, encourage free councils, and the foundation of new communities in which the local tie, which is the rudiment of the political, would prevail over that of mere consanguinity. A universal prototype of political government is a chimera, and to search for it is to chase a shadow.

—In English politics the great event is the recovery of Mr. Gladstone which might be more than temporary if he knew how to take rest; but this is a part of greatness which nature has denied him, and it seems physically impossible that he should long upbear the burden laid on the shoulders of the Atlas of the State, especially when to its ordinary weight are added the Eastern and Irish questions. His departure with no one to replace him would be certainly followed by the break-up of the Liberal party; the Whigs and Moderates flying apart from the Radicals; and the religious section from the Agnostics; and it is probable that the void would be filled for some time to come by a mixed ministry of Whigs and Conservatives, of which a prominent member, and possibly the chief, would be Lord Derby, who voted with the Government for the second reading of the Compensation Bill and whose counsels, inspired by the coolest and most enlightened class-interest, can hardly fail to commend themselves to the wisest men of his order.

—A resolution in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords, moved by a new Irish member at the fag end of a session, when the grouse season had begun, and at three o'clock in the morning, could not possibly lead to a serious debate or division. But though a young hound may overrun the scent, it does not follow that the scent will not lie. The "tremendous cheering" which greeted Mr. Foster's threat shows that the game is afoot;

and the formal explanation, which followed of course, that his utterance was personal not ministerial, in no way diminished the significance either of the speech or its reception. Mr. Forster remains a member of the Government. In the echoes which the speech has awakened on the Continent, especially in France, we perceive the unity of the European movement, which again renders the result in England much more certain than it would be were the English aristocracy and democracy left on a field of battle by themselves. What shape the project of Reform will take when the leaders have made up their minds, there is nothing at present to show; but if the hereditary principle falls, the institution falls with it: another Senate will never be constructed in face of the experience which is every day growing more decisive. Those who imagine, as some American writers seem to do, that the life of the House of Commons is bound up with that of the House of Lords, so that in putting an end to the existence of its rival the House of Commons would necessarily put an end to its own, must have curiously constitutional, not to say antiquarian, notions of political physiology. The House of Commons has actually lived and governed the country without a House of Lords; and, during that period, it showed at all events no diminution of vital energy. Conservatism will find itself constrained to become rational and employ the forces of the present, not those of a bygone, age.

In the great debate which is opening the history of the House of Lords, as well as its present doings, will no doubt be the theme of many a tongue and pen. In the case of a body whose pretensions are hereditary, the question of pedigree is not irrelevant. If the Lords claim to rule on the ground of their ancestral virtue and wisdom, it is reasonable to ask who were their ancestors. About half a dozen peerages really date from the Middle Ages, and connect the modern nobility of title and privilege with the feudal aristocracy which once furnished social as well as military leaders to the nation, and working in a way mentally narrow and little enlightened, yet

not wholly for selfish ends, extorted the Great Charter and rough-hewed the Constitution. The holder of one of these peerages, and the most ancient of them, illustrated the hereditary principle in the last generation by being convicted of cheating at cards. But the real root of the genealogical tree is the aristocracy of the Tudor epoch; new nobles, the sycophants of Henry VIII, by whom the spoils of the monasteries were flung to them, men gorged with public plunder, steeped in foul intrigue and judicial murders, the cruel and rapacious oppressors of the people, as well as the servile tools of the Court. Protestants, while Protestantism yielded booty, these Lords, upon the accession of Mary, sold the national religion to the Pope for a ratification of their title to the confiscated Church lands, while peasants and artisans went to the stake for their faith. By the early Stuarts, peerages were regularly sold to replenish the empty treasury, and the payments were unblushingly entered in the books of the Exchequer. A considerable addition was made to the stock of hereditary excellence by the concubinage of Charles II. Twelve peers were created at once to carry the shameful treaty of Utrecht, and it proves the corrupting influence of these titles, that of all to whom the Utrecht peerages were offered, only one was found to reject the dishonour. So, in 1831, when a wholesale creation of peers was in contemplation to swamp the majority against the Reform Bill, there was a crowd of applicants for what a high-minded man might have deemed a brand of ridicule. Under the House of Hanover titles became, with pensions, sinecures, bishoprics, contracts, and drafts on the Treasury, a regular portion of the bribery fund of party, to be earned like the rest by the proprietor of a rotten borough, who voted steadily with the Government. Chatham was universally felt to have lowered himself by accepting a peerage. "Lord North," as Mr. May says, "was liberal in the creation of peers, with a view to strengthen his own position as Minister, and to carry out the policy of the Court." Still out of some five hundred peerages, only ninety-eight can claim

an earlier creation than the reign of George III. The arch-manufacturer of the modern peerage was Pitt, who, "during the first five years of his administration created fifty peers and secured a safe majority." Within two years he created and promoted no less than thirty-five peers, and the sum total of his performances in this line was upwards of one hundred and forty. Nelson received the lowest grade in the peerage, while servility and corruption received the higher; there were a few other cases of creation for merit; but the great mass of the creations and promotions were payments for partizan votes, and in the case of the Irish Union, for votes not only partizan but infamous. Draw aside the veil of vague belief which shrouds spurious antiquity, and the idol is not one before which we can bow the knee. With regard to the legislative record of the House of Lords, harsh words would be out of place; its conduct has been that of a privileged order, which is necessarily the enemy of all change. It has resisted to the uttermost of its power, not only measures of political reform, such as the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1831, but change of every kind, as directly or obliquely tending to the subversion of privilege. It threw out the *Habeas Corpus* Bill; it threw out the Bill for abolishing capital punishment in cases of petty theft; it threw out Catholic emancipation; it threw out the repeal of the paper tax, which has given England a cheap press. Its brightest epoch is the Revolution of 1688; but apart from any large-minded patriotism, it was deeply interested as a privileged order in the resistance to Stuart autocracy, and having expelled James II, it established, instead of a national government, an oligarchy to which history points as a paragon of political corruption. By its influence, in conjunction with that of the Crown, it plunged England into the American war, and again into that most fatal of all wars, the war against the French Republic, which was undertaken, almost avowedly, to save Privilege from the contagion of Equality. In 1867, once more threatened with an extension of the suffrage, and deeming direct resistance hopeless, it passed under the auspices of Lord



Derby, whose wires were pulled by his lieutenant, a measure which was a direct and undisguised appeal to the passions of the ignorant populace against the intelligent and respectable part of the industrial classes; a proceeding which only the largest allowance for the influence of corporate fear can prevent us from branding as treason to the State. The last act of the House of Lords, and of the party of which it is the centre, has been to goad the nation into a policy of aggression abroad in order to divert its mind from political progress at home. Of that impartial censorship of legislation, that wise revision of the rash acts of the Commons, which the Conservative fancy fondly ascribes to the House of Lords, there is no important instance in its history; if there is, let the instance be produced. Of such an agency of obstruction the immediate effect is the prevention of progress; the ultimate effect is revolution. An English statesman who was wise and a Conservative indeed, seeing that reform was inevitable, would try while he was yet in the way with it, to procure the adoption of more tenable securities for deliberate legislation, and the imposition of more rational checks on giddy change; he would tell the Lords frankly that nothing remained for them but to use all that was left of their influence in negotiating a good settlement, and smoothing the transition; but his counsels would no doubt be rejected by the temper of the order. Obsolete privilege never has known its hour.

—On the eve of the French Revolution the aristocratic party directed all its hostility against the Moderate Liberals: it was ready even to ally itself with the Jacobins against them. In the same way, though happily at a crisis of less peril, the aristocratic party in England directs all its hostility against Mr. Gladstone, and on the Irish question seems willing even to combine with the Home Rulers for the purpose of defeating his policy. The good harvest may soothe Ireland; otherwise there would be every prospect of an agrarian war, of which

the violent Tories of the English Parliament, would share the blame. There are two movements; a political movement, of which it is impossible to define the objects, since it is led by men who do not know their own mind, and only wish to keep an agitation raging because agitation is their trade; and an agrarian movement, without leaders, but carried on by peasant farmers, who know their own minds perfectly well, and whose object, clearly enough, is to get rid of their landlords and pay no more rent. To deal with the agrarian movement is a matter of desperate difficulty, not because the Government could not put down armed resistance to the collection of rent, for it could do this with ease, but because wholesale eviction is impracticable. Under any circumstances, the task of the Government would be arduous; it becomes doubly so in face of Home Rule and Tory obstructionists acting in tacit concert. If the Irish only had a strong and honest leader, it might be possible to come to terms with him and effect a settlement with his aid. But, instead of a leader, there is merely a knot of agitators, full of anarchies, dissensions and rivalries among themselves, whose only common aim is to keep the pot of disturbance boiling. Of all the accidents of geography, the most calamitous is the Irish Channel: not the contiguity of the two countries, but their separation, is the thing to be deplored. An alien and absentee proprietary is the immediate source of these troubles. Yet now the absentees can hardly be expected to go into residence; to do so they must take their lives in their hands. Some Irish landlords have nobly done their duty; but they have too often suffered from the indiscriminating fury of peasant vengeance for the offences of their class. The savage suspicion, bred of estrangement and misery, has fiercely dashed aside even the hand of beneficence when it was held forth in the form of agricultural improvement. Meantime the value of Irish estates must be rapidly declining, and it seems possible that many of the landlords may soon be willing to settle the dispute by selling out on easy terms. There can scarcely be a doubt that pea-

sant proprietorship would be a change for the better; proprietorship, as France and Belgium prove, is the certain parent of zealous, almost over-zealous industry, of thrift, and of the prudence which prevents a redundancy of population. Thriftlessness, drunkenness, quarrelsomeness, superstition, reckless multiplication beyond the means of subsistence, it must always be remembered, are the vices of the Irish peasant, not of his landlord or the Government; but they were the vices of the French peasant under the old *régime*; and the Irish peasant gradually works out of them when his economical condition is changed. Of the farms in New England abandoned by emigrants to the West, many are taken up by Irishmen, who, as farmers, soon get rid of all vestiges of Donnybrook Fair. Unluckily, Ireland, from the moisture of the climate, is, for the most part, hardly a grain-raising country; certainly it cannot raise grain in competition with America; while, being without coal, it can have no manufactures. A large emigration will be as necessary as a change of land tenure. But the Irishman is not an Icelander, and Irish emigration will be apt to seek climates less severe than that of the North West. The Celt, moreover, is highly gregarious and prefers to settle with his kin in the environs of great cities. Of course the worshippers of force are ready at hand with their tirades against "constitutionalism" and their advice to do something violent, and as they think heroic. They who revel in these paper dragonnades are the weakest of sentimentalists, feeding their fancy with imaginary acts of vigour, as they indulge their passion for making a sensation by startling extravagance of immoral paradox. A really strong statesman knows that the violent is the reverse of the heroic, and that his power is shown by economy, not by prodigality, of force. Agrarian murder ought to be put down, for the sake, not only of its victims but of its perpetrators, who are steeping themselves and their race in barbarism by their atrocities; but to suspend liberty in Ireland, and let loose the Orangemen, which is the favourite policy of Mr. Froude, would be to merge the crimes of

the people in the crimes of the government. "Constitutionalism" that is righteousness, embodied in just and humane laws, has not been able to cure, as by magic, the accumulated evils of seven centuries in a few years; but there can be no question in the mind of any one who reads history and not novels as to its having wrought a great improvement, and ranged on the side of law and order sections of society which, half a century ago, were on the side of rebellion. Of this the impotence of Irish insurrection of late years, and the collapse of Fenianism, are proofs. Evil enough remains, but it is a legacy of the "unconstitutional," not the product of the "constitutional" *régime*. If the lash were to be used at all nobody would deserve it more richly than the would-be imitators of "Flogging Fitzgerald."

That the Irish question should be settled is as much to be desired for the sake of England as for that of Ireland herself. Home Rule obstruction, covertly seconded by the violent section of the Tory opposition, has largely contributed to the demoralization which has too evidently marked, in increasing measure the recent sessions of the British Parliament. In the last session allowance was to be made, as far as the government side of the House was concerned, for the multitude of new members eager to make themselves heard, for the sectional idiosyncracies and individual crotchets of a motley party, for the excitement and impatience of Progressists suddenly restored to power, for the personal disappointments which are always a source of trouble among the Liberals, while on the Conservative side there are not so many candidates for office, the squires being satisfied with the protection of their class interests. But the leader of the Opposition, Sir Stafford Northcote, evidently lost control of the extreme section of his followers. It would be a catastrophe indeed if the mother of Parliaments and the cynosure of Constitutional Europe should herself become disorganised and collapse. Yet something of the kind always impends over an assembly of which the organization

depends on party. Adherents of the Party system point to the evils which the break-up of Parties entails: but the evil lies really in a system which founds government on the assumed perpetuity of combinations, in their nature temporary and liable at any moment to be dissolved. Let the organic questions in which the parties originated be settled, or let independent opinion break through the trammels of party discipline, and the foundations of your government are gone.

For the last twenty years or more the extent of grain sown in England has been decreasing under the pressure of American competition, and of late the decrease has been very rapid. This cannot fail, by reducing rents and the income of the landowners, to work a great social, and ultimately a great political, change. The importation of food has been increasing with equal rapidity, notwithstanding the hard times. England, therefore, is becoming more than ever a country living on food brought from abroad; more than ever bound over to keep the peace; less than ever likely to enter into any commercial federation with the colonies which would require her to exclude American grain and meat. If Mr. Ashmead Bartlett's notice of motion respecting Imperial Federation points to anything of that kind, he may as well put it into his pocket. But the question presents itself, how long will this process of sending the workman his raw materials and his dinner across the Atlantic go on? Will it not some day occur to him and his employer that they may as well settle where the raw materials and the dinner are raised? Saving the coal, of which the mines are now growing very deep and the working very expensive, cotton-spinning England is an artificial structure, and everything artificial has its limit of existence.

—By the military genius of General Roberts, which appears to be of a high order, and by the valour and endurance of his soldiers, the disgrace of the Candahar disaster has been effaced and the honour of England has been redeemed, so far as arms

can redeem honour which had suffered a stain in doing injustice. It is to be hoped that this will close the scene, and that here is an end of carrying fire and sword into the homes of a gallant and unoffending race in quest of a scientific frontier. The advice of the great English soldiers and statesmen to let Afghanistan alone, and allow it to remain as a neutral zone between the British and the Russian Empires, having been twice tested by a ruinous experience, will be recognised as the rule of policy for the future. Russia evidently responds to the changed language of the English Government, and the wrangling between the two Powers is likely, so far as Central Asia is concerned, to end in their settling down each in its own sphere, where it will have enough, and more than enough, to do. It is now certain that the lively author of "Lucille" wanted to add a leaf to the chaplet of his renown by declaring war at once against Russia. He might, perhaps, plead that he was only going straight to the conclusion to which the policy of the Home Government logically pointed, and would ultimately have led. What a war with the Afghans and Russia together would have been, may be inferred from the fact that the war with the Afghans alone has cost a long period of anxiety and danger, two serious disasters, and twenty millions sterling. These are results which everybody must acknowledge. The moral consequences of aggression to the aggressor will not be so universally admitted. There are people who are very willing to show their love of God by putting Mr. Bradlaugh into the clock-tower; but whose "God" is a very obliging personage, satisfied with Parliamentary recognition, on which it seems he sets the highest value, but ready to take himself out of the way whenever you want to oppress or despoil your neighbour. There will, no doubt, still be swagger in Russian guard-rooms, and talk among Anglo-Indian alarmists about that singular hobgoblin "the will of Peter the Great," the current version of which is a product of French industry, manufactured by order of Napoleon I. Peter, if he can from his grave direct the Russian armies against the British Empire in India, must

have had the gift not only of posthumous despotism but of prophecy; for at the time of his death the British Empire in India did not exist. An autocrat who, by great effort and at immense expense, fixed the centre of his power on the Baltic, may be acquitted of any definite designs against Calcutta.

—Turkey as an Empire is defunct, though the Sultan retains a religious influence as the head of Islam, and is able in that character to sway, to some extent, the movements of the Mohammedans. The Powers have now to deal directly with populations, to which the Treaty of Berlin is an arrangement to which they were not parties, framed in a city of which they have never heard. Diplomacy is superseded by ethnology, geography and religious statistics, which amongst them must determine the boundaries and relations of the new communities to be formed in place of the Ottoman Empire. Those who are charged with the task are not to be envied; for the lines of race and locality are crossed in the most bewildering manner by those of religion, which, after a long suspension of political life, is stronger than nationality; while the whole process is rendered not only perplexing, but dangerous in the highest degree by the mutual jealousies of the mediating Powers. It may be taken as pretty certain that to the Greeks, or to use a more correct phrase the Greek-speaking race, will fall their ancient heritage, the *Ægean*, with its coasts and islands, Thessaly and Epirus. As to the northern part of Turkey in Europe the question is between the multiplication of independent principalities, perhaps in federal union, and an extension of the Austrian Empire to the East. Russia will probably favour the first plan, in the hope (the delusive hope, we suspect) that the principalities would be under her influence. Germany would favour the second plan, both from jealousy of Russia, and because it would certainly entail in the end the separation of the German provinces from the Austrian Empire and their union with the Fatherland. Hungary would be unwilling to see Austria

add to her Slavonic element because the Slav is the enemy of his oligarchical oppressor, the Magyar, and she would probably oppose that policy in the councils of the Austrian Empire. Albania has practically been almost independent since the time of Ali Pasha, and the Mahometan part of her population, a wild and warlike race, is giving most serious trouble, but will hardly count for much in the general result. That the Dardanelles will be opened may be taken for granted; Russia would be self-denying indeed if she failed to insist on it. But the Bosphorus is the water street of Constantinople, and the difficulty thence arising seems to be best met by the proposal to make that capital a Free City with a district, under the guarantee of the Powers. It would be absurd to allow this question to be regulated by Byzantine history and not by the practical relations and requirements of the present day. England, apart from sentiment, has the most manifest interest in strengthening Greece, and in making her friendship sure.

The decrepitude, thrice pitiable after the glorious beginnings of his reign, into which the Czar has fallen, only proves the more clearly what all cool-headed observers said at the time, that he personally desired, not the toils and anxieties of war, but the lap of ease; and that he was forced into war by the sympathy of his people with the oppressed Christians of Bulgaria. No fact, we believe, can be more certain, though those who believed it were set down as the dupes or the accomplices of Alexander's hypocritical ambition. It follows that had England loyally insisted with the other Powers on reform in Bulgaria, instead of whispering to the Turk that there should be no coercion and egging him on to resistance, war would have been avoided, and with it the peril to the peace of Europe with which the Eastern Question again teems. But if the world chooses to worship showy charlatanerie, it must pay the cost. Cyprus, as an acquisition, has proved worthless, as any one who had observed its commercial position and knew the capacity of its harbours might have foreseen; but as a piece of



plunder, it serves, by belying the disinterestedness of England, to destroy her moral authority both with the Porte and the other Powers.

—In France another Ministry has fallen, and its fall reveals once more the weakness of the party system. It is assumed by that system that every National Assembly is permanently divided into two parties, and two only, each party being united in itself on all questions of practical importance. But this is far from being the fact: it is the farther from being the fact the greater the activity of thought and the more independent opinion becomes. In the Italian Chamber there is a multiplicity of sections and sub-sections which makes it almost impossible to find a sufficiently broad basis for a Government. In the French Chamber there are, if not so many, yet many sectional divisions, and Ministers find it equally difficult to maintain themselves. De Freycinet is a hearty Republican; but he is disposed to moderation on the question of the Religious Associations; his moderation gives offence to the more thoroughgoing sections, and he falls. Nothing can be more injurious to the Republic than these rapid changes: they create that impression of instability which is the most fatal of all impressions, and most disposes the people to take refuge in the Empire. In time, and after calamitous experience, it will be seen that the administrative function is distinct from the legislative; that the administration does not need control over the action of the Legislature, but that it does need stability, and that to give it stability it must be elected not by a party, or a section of a party, but by the Legislature at large. This is the moral of Ministerial catastrophes in France. May it be understood soon enough to save the Republic from calamity!

A more ominous account has been given of De Freycinet's fall. It has been ascribed to Gambetta, whose wrath is said to have been kindled by the pacific speech which De Freycinet made to allay the disquietude caused by the disenterment of

Gambetta's Cherbourg letter. If this were true, serious events would be at hand, and, as we have before had occasion to remark, it is an unfortunate circumstance that Gambetta's political character was moulded, and his part, so to speak, cast, by the Franco-German war. Whatever his designs may be, he must soon take power in his own name; such a form of Government as an unavowed and irresponsible dictatorship cannot last for ever. Gambetta has hitherto had the great advantage of trying all policies at the risk of his nominees, without detriment to his own reputation. As in the matter of the Amnesty, he has been able to wait till the nominal Ministers had tested public opinion for his benefit, and public opinion having been declared, he has been able to take his line with success assured to him beforehand, and to come forward as the real exponent of the national will. It will presently be seen whether he can rule France without cat's paws and without a screen.

—In the paper to which we referred last month Principal Grant says, that in Canada with "astonishing religious zeal and clattering activity" there is little "theological scholarship and less speculation." He also says that Canadians, though political to excess, "calmly ignore fancy politics." Both statements are intended as compliments to the practical character of the people; but they amount in fact to this, that Canadians never rise to the consideration of great questions, religious or political, but are entirely taken up with mere party politics and mere sectarian religion. Be it favourable or unfavourable, the description, we think, would have been more applicable to our people twenty, or even ten years ago, than it is now; a vigorous race will in time show its vigour in all directions, speculative as well as practical; and to say nothing of politics, it seems to us that the great questions of religious philosophy are beginning to engage a good many Canadian minds. Among the latest proofs of this is Mr. Allen Pringle's "Ingersoll in Canada," a reply to Mr. Wendling, Archbishop

Lynch, BYSTANDER, and others. We do not know what the Archbishop will say to being coupled with BYSTANDER ; probably he will lift his Archiepiscopal skirts pretty high ; but we for our part must protest against being supposed to take our stand on orthodoxy, or to be affected by any of the arguments by which mere orthodoxy is confuted. We wish to take our stand on reason and truth, without excluding the possibility that reason and truth may be divine. It seems to us not unlikely that when the rush of exaggerative physicism caused by the recent triumphs of physical science is past, things may, after all, work out in a very different way from that in which extreme physicists assume that they will. In the meantime, we want the facts of religious development to be rightly stated and seriously considered, as well as those relating to the maxillary suspensorium of the bee. Col. Ingersoll's mode of dealing with Mosaism seems to us passionate, unscientific and misleading, to say nothing about the question of taste. Either he has not studied the philosophy of history, in which case he is hardly fitted to come forward as a teacher, or he chooses for the sake of platform effect to put out of sight what everybody who has studied the philosophy of history must know. The New Testament itself says that Moses gave the Jews some things because of the hardness of their hearts, that is, of course, not because of their wickedness, but because their moral development was imperfect. Orthodoxy itself, if it keeps terms with reason, allows that the method of divine dealing with man is that of gradual training, not of sudden advancement to perfection. Mosaism in its presentation of Deity, in its cosmogony, in its institutions, social, religious, political, military, domestic and juridical, belongs to the primitive and tribal state: to denounce and ridicule its primitive and tribal character is, in the eyes of well-informed and sensible critics, a mere platitude. The question is, whether we do not perceive in it, as compared with other primitive and tribal civilizations, an upward moral tendency, which renders it a memorable step in the progress of the race. We look in the Old Testament only for the begin-

nings of spiritual life ; yet nobody can trace those beginnings in the twenty-ninth and the following Psalms, or in certain passages of the Prophets, without a feeling widely different from contempt. If the Old Testament were a mass of absurdities and immoralities, could it by any force of mere tradition have kept its hold on the reverence and affection of multitudes in the most highly civilized nations ? Would the sacred books of any other primitive nation have done the same ? If the Mosaic code and polity were on a level with those of other barbarous tribes, would men in the age and with the culture of the Puritans have imagined, however erroneously, that they were a divine ideal of government and law ? Newton rested satisfied with the cosmogony of Genesis, which came into no decisive collision with his science : would he have rested satisfied with any other cosmogony that could be named ? Say that a great deal of the Old Testament, especially the history of the tribal wars, belongs to the past, to the ages before humanity ; say that those portions of it ought no more to be read in churches ; and we shall heartily agree with you. But let us be true critics and do justice to the past.

Even as to those tribal wars and the exterminating precepts connected with them (which it is a comfort to think were probably speculative, having been penned when the wars were really over), they differ from their counterparts in the history of other tribes, not by special ferocity, but in having, not merely a territorial or predatory, but a moral object. The lawgiver wanted to save his people from contamination by the presence of an impure religion and a depraved morality ; the Dorian invaders of Peloponnese, the Huns, the Danes, the Iroquois, had no such aim. Mosaism is the very reverse of favourable to militarism or to conquest. It is a remarkable attempt to give peaceful industry, embodied in a community of agricultural freeholders, a complete ascendancy over war. It bids the people, of course, fight bravely in defence of their land, and enjoins the priests to encourage them in doing so, as in a world of rapine necessity required. But it does not exalt military

achievement or the military character as they were exalted by Greece and Rome: it ordains no triumphs or special rewards for the warrior; provides no military training. Much less does it—like the Koran—open heaven to those who fall in battle against the uncircumcised. It is opposed to monarchy, the military form of government, and if there is to be a king, forbids him to multiply horses, the almost indispensable instruments of conquest. It discourages the existence of a military profession by prescribing that the “captains of the armies” to lead the people shall be chosen only when the people are actually in the field. It almost absolutely precludes wars of mere ambition when it prohibits forced service, by which the great armies of eastern conquerors were raised. He that has built a new house, he that has planted a new vineyard, and the newly-married man, are to be exempted altogether; but besides these, every one that is “fearful and faint-hearted” is to be allowed to return to his home. What conqueror could act under such conditions? Pythius, a wealthy Phrygian, according to Herodotus, having promised Xerxes a vast contribution towards the expense of his expedition against Greece, ventured to pray that of his four sons one might be left at home as the prop of his declining years. The King’s reply to the prayer was an order for the immediate execution of the young man, whose body was cut in two and impaled half on one side of the road by which the army marched, half on the other side. The keynote of Jewish history is not military or territorial greatness, but righteousness, which is identified with loyal obedience to Jehovah.

We might deal with other points of comparative civilization or morality in the same way. The Avenger of Blood is an institution universal in the tribal state before the introduction of regular justice: but the Mosaic law limits the privileges of the avenger to cases of wilful murder; it forbids the blood feud, ordaining that the fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither the children for the fathers, but every man for his own sin: it also forbids the blood fine or money compensation for blood, inculcating with a unique clearness the sanctity

of human life, and declaring that murder shall be punished with death. The right of asylum is universal, but the Mosaic law restrains its abuses, by limiting the number of cities of refuge and confining the privilege to cases of unintentional homicide; he who commits a murder with *malice prepense* is to be taken from the altar that he may die. The absolute power of the father over his children was universal; but while a Roman father might put his son to death privately, of which there was a case under the Empire, the Hebrew father is required to bring his rebellious son before the elders in the gate of the city, and the concurrence of the mother, who would be sure to be on the side of mercy, is required. The ordeal was universal, but the Mosaic law confines it to one case, the water of jealousy, which seems to be more a device for allaying domestic suspicion than a superstitious mode of trial. Sacrifices are universal, but there are no human sacrifices in the Mosaic ritual. Expiatory offerings for national sin are universal, but among the Hebrews the offering was a goat, among the Athenians it was a man. Slavery is universal, but of all slave-codes, ancient or modern, the Hebrew is the mildest; its tendency is to do away with slavery altogether, and in Hebrew history there is no trace of servile insurrection or discontent. Hereditary priesthood is common, but the Levites are prevented from becoming a caste by being consecrated in the general assembly, and by the laying on of the hands of the whole people. Laws of war in the tribal state hardly existed, no common bond of humanity being known; but the Hebrew is enjoined to summon a city regularly before attacking it, not to destroy the fruit trees, which the Greek always destroyed, and to show at least some tenderness for the sorrows of the captive women. All tribes think themselves the chosen people of their tribal deity, but in place of legends of national pride, the Hebrews were taught that a Syrian ready to perish was their father, that they had been brought out of bondage by a God who executed the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and that they were to love the stranger, for they had been strangers in the land of Egypt. Finally, the character

of the tribal deity was such, and such his worship, that in the best and most spiritual part of the nation they passed naturally, though not without a crisis, into universal Fatherhood and a religion of Humanity.

We said that if no reality corresponded to the idea of Deity it would be difficult to account for the existence of the idea. Mr. Pringle replies that the difficulty is no greater than it is with regard to the idea of Fairies or of the Devil. Fairies are merely local creatures of the imagination, without any sort of root in our moral nature. As to the Devil with horns and hoofs, he also is a creature of the imagination, and may go with the anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity. But moral evil and the perpetual conflict of our higher tendencies with it are ideas which have a root in our moral nature, and for which, as well as for the idea of Deity, it seems to us difficult to account without supposing some corresponding reality.

The idea of Deity lurks where Mr. Pringle would least suspect it. Mr. Spencer himself in one of the opening chapters of his "First Principles," after combating and rejecting the Theistic hypothesis in its ordinary forms, falls back upon the Unknowable as the background and basis of our existence. "By continually seeking," he says, "to know and being continually thrown back with a deepened conviction of the impossibility of knowing, we may keep alive the consciousness that it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as the Unknowable." In this and subsequent passages he evidently looks upon the Unknowable as an object of reverence, otherwise it would hardly be our highest duty to regard it as that through which all things exist, or to maintain any particular attitude towards it. But Unknowableness in itself excites no reverence: we do not venerate an insoluble problem or a fact which is irrecoverably lost: and the same may be said of anything material, even though it be supposed infinite and eternal. Nothing excites our reverence but a Person, or at least a Moral Being. There lingers in Mr. Spencer's mind the belief that the present limit of our knowledge is the veil of Deity.

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