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Mrs. Marcia Smith

A MONTHLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF
CURRENT EVENTS,
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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TESTIMONIALS SELECTED.

Toronto, April 12, 1880.

I hereby certify that I have examined samples of John Labatt's India Pale Ale, submitted to me for analysis by Jas. Good & Co., Agents for this city, and find it to be perfectly sound, containing no ascetic acid, impurities or adulterations, and can strongly recommend it as perfectly pure and a very superior malt liquor.
 HENRY H. CROFT.

Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal, Dec. 20, 1879.

I hereby certify that I have analysed several samples of India Pale Ale and XXX Stout from the brewery of John Labatt, London, Ont. I find them to be remarkably sound ales, brewed from pure malt and hops. I have examined both the March and October brewing, and find them of uniform quality. They may be recommended to invalids or convalescents where malt beverages are required as tonic.

Signed, JOHN B. EDWARDS, Phy.,

Professor of Chemistry and Public Analyst.

All first-class Grocers keep it. Every ale drinker should try it.

John Labatt, London, Ont.

JAMES GOOD & CO.,

Sole Agents, 220 YONGE ST., TORONTO.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

THE BYSTANDER.

NOVEMBER, 1880.

NO one can doubt that Sir John Macdonald is a skilful negotiator, or that he has done his best in the Pacific Railway negotiation; the people therefore have every reason for giving a candid consideration to the result of his efforts. Nor can it be imagined that the Prime Minister really intends to deprive the country of perfect freedom of deliberation, whatever light expressions he may have used in the flush of triumph. Taking a land grant of twenty-five millions of acres, well situated, at the lowest assignable value, this, added to a subsidy of twenty-five millions of dollars, and roads already constructed at a cost of thirty-one millions, would make up something like a hundred and twenty millions of public money. A hundred and twenty millions of dollars compared with the aggregate wealth of Canada, are fully as much as ten times the sum would be compared with the aggregate wealth of England. What English Minister would dream of dealing with such a sum as two hundred and forty millions sterling of his own authority, or even by the mere vote of his party majority, without the full concurrence of the nation? There are some to whom speaking of the concurrence of the nation seems treason against the omnipotence of Parliament. They are afraid that we shall lapse into a system of plebiscites. But Parliament is elected on the issue which happens to be before the country at the time of the election; the present Parliament, was elected on the issue of the National

Policy, and is the practical outcome of a plebiscite, if any one likes to use the term, upon that question. Suppose another great issue happens to present itself between elections, why should not the nation have an opportunity of forming and expressing an opinion on this, as well as on the subject of the National Policy? It might be less necessary to stickle for freedom of national discussion, if Parliament were really what it is supposed to be—a perfect representation of the community, deliberating independently on all questions. But it is a very imperfect representation of those who do not attend party conventions; and, instead of its deliberations being independent, if the majority gives any signs of independence, it is at once taken into caucus, and brought back to discipline by arguments and inducements which do not even come to the knowledge of the public. The upholders of the treaty with British Columbia and of the construction of military railroads, have without doubt, good reason for deprecating plebiscites. They would hardly have obtained a plebiscite for their policy. The members of the Syndicate themselves must see that, if they contract, not only for the construction, but for the running of the road, their relation with the Government is likely to survive the present Ministry; and that this relation may prove uneasy, unless the consent of the country to the bargain shall have been deliberately given, so that the nation may feel itself morally as well as legally bound by the agreement.

The Pacific Railway enterprise, though commonly treated as one, is made up of three portions, each calling for separate consideration—the Prairie section, the Mountain section, and the section north of Lake Superior—while the entire road forms the western wing of a line of Imperial communication between the provinces destined to be welded into a North American Empire, of which the eastern wing is the Intercolonial. As to the Prairie section, there is no difference of opinion, supposing the road to be rightly laid out for commercial purposes; a query suggested by the fact that other than commercial objects have been mainly in view. The Mountain section has been designa-

ted as productive and unproductive by the same writers in the same breath, as the changeful exigencies of party battle required. To make it productive there must either be a preternatural multiplication of British Columbians, a discovery of some extraordinary source of wealth in their territory, or a vast development of trade with Asia; but it is a necessary link in the line connecting ocean with ocean, and essential to the execution of the treaty with British Columbia. The section to the north of Lake Superior is pronounced by all independent judges, and tacitly admitted by the Government itself, which has shrunk from putting that section under contract, to be an undertaking, unless we strike gold, commercially unprofitable, not to say insane. It is not essential to Inter-oceanic communication, which may be effected, so as to fulfil all the commercial objects of the treaty with British Columbia by means of the Pacific Junction and Sault Ste. Marie lines. It is essential to nothing except the political and military objects which demand a line carried exclusively over Canadian ground. No one will deny that political and military objects may be sufficient to justify a large expenditure; hardly any sum would be too large to spend in securing against attack the great ports and arsenals of England, or in bringing Ireland, if it were possible, practically nearer to her partner's side and more within the reach of assimilating forces. But our people ought to be satisfied; before they are committed to a vast outlay, that the political and military objects are sufficient in the present case, and not only that they are sufficient, but that they will be certainly attained. The Intercolonial Railroad, after costing thirty-six millions, is pronounced by the military authorities useless for its military purpose, and it is likely to become equally so for political and all other purposes so soon as the natural route shall have been opened from St. John to Montreal through Maine, an event not far distant, though the work is at present suspended, as we understand, on account of negotiations for the purchase of a link. Is it certain that a more satisfactory result would attend the construction of the line to the north of Lake Supe-

rior, that it would really render the country unassailable by superior forces from the South, or that it would effectually separate, and for ever hold apart, the two nations which, socially, commercially, and in every respect but government, are blending with each other before our eyes ?

It would appear that, at all events, there can be no objection to completing the productive portion of the undertaking first, that it may, if possible, supply money for those which are unproductive. The fund, out of which the Prime Minister hopes that we shall be completely recouped, is the prairie land. But this land, be it never so fruitful, will be worth no more than so much sea or ice till it has been opened up and peopled. To open it up there will be needed not one railway only, but a system of railways, for the whole of which it has first to pay. The immigration has this year fallen greatly short of the calculations, and it evidently appears, through the haze of rhetoric, that the country has its repulsive features as well as its attractions for the settler. It may be assumed also that the land made over to the company will be sold faster than that retained by the Government, because the company will push the sale with a spirit and a lavishness of preliminary outlay which no Government can rival. When the net profits of the Government land come in, the first charge on them ought to be the repayment to the nation of the money sunk in the Intercolonial, which, as we have said, is the eastern portion of the Imperial line. When that claim has been satisfied, or the means of satisfying it have been secured, the produce of the land sales will be available for another gigantic enterprise of the same kind. The transfer of the undertaking to a company, though unspeakably desirable as an escape from mismanagement and corruption, does not diminish the cost to the country; nor is there any reason why the different portions of the work, and the appropriations to each of them, should not be kept distinct, as they would have been had the work remained in the hands of the nation.

—The failure of the immigration into Manitoba to realize sanguine expectations is clearly not to be ascribed to the Land Regulations alone. There are bitter complaints, from disappointed immigrants, of the climate and of the nature of the country which, it is said, being a dead level, is without drainage, so that when the snow melts the water either is absorbed by the earth or lies in pools, breeding "Red River fever," till it is dried up by the sun. These accounts are, no doubt, coloured by the personal misfortunes of the narrator and relate only to a portion of the country. They are, however, reproduced in the English papers, and their appearance there is a practical answer to the attack which Sir John Macdonald, by no means in his happiest mood, made upon Mr. Blake for giving people a dark picture of the North-west. Whatever Mr. Blake might have said, or refrained from saying, the less favourable version of the facts would be sure to find its way to those who had an interest in knowing it. English capitalists are not so silly as to be satisfied with official descriptions, or with the representations of a vendor; when an immense sum of money was to be risked, they would take care to inquire for themselves. Supposing Mr. Blake not to have spoken for a party purpose, but to have been convinced (as he well might be) of the truth of what he said, he did his duty to Canada in saying it. Puffing is weak as well as despicable, and no men have done more injury to Canadian credit in England by their own acts than some of our most vociferous puffers. We ought at once to discard the notion that our public men owe us anything, or can do us good by anything, but sincere advice. The councils of free nations are necessarily open, and the risk of revealing weak points to the world must be run; as a rule it amounts practically to almost nothing. Sir John Macdonald and his friends never abstained from criticizing Grit finance from fear of producing a bad impression on the foreign money market. The statesman is a patriot who tells the truth, however unfavourable it may be. He is the traitor who tells us lies.

—Seldom has any country been summoned to deliberate upon an enterprise so vast in comparison with its resources, or so vitally connected with its fundamental policy. The mere outlay, though immense, is really the least part of the matter. What is truly momentous, and makes this a turning point in our destiny, is the choice which our people are now called upon to make between the continental and the anti-continental system, between the policy of antagonism to our neighbours on the south and that of partnership. Here the roads divide. Never was it more needful that the vision of a nation should be unclouded by prejudice or passion. It is certain that the view of Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues on the general question of international relations, is the opposite of that which we should wish to prevail; therefore we are as far as possible from deprecating honest criticism of their policy. But where can be the use of vilifying and slandering them, of treating them as one would hardly treat common rogues in the Penitentiary, and accusing them perpetually of theft and lying? With their great majority they are really masters of the situation. What can be more absurd than to irritate their temper, to render them callous to argument, and to make it impossible for them to yield a single point without injury to their self-respect? It would surely be difficult for a political party to be worse served than the Canadian Opposition has been served on the present occasion by its reputed organ, the *Globe*. The situation of the Opposition leaders was delicate. Either from conviction or, what is more likely, out of deference to conventional opinion, they had adopted the enterprise in its entirety, including the unprofitable as well as the profitable parts of the road, and had become as thoroughly responsible for its success as those by whom it was originally set on foot. They were bound therefore, to further, at least not to impede, it in the hands of their successors; and when Sir John Macdonald went to England to make arrangements for its completion, duty and policy alike prescribed to them scrupulous forbearance from anything like antagonism till the result of the negotiations should have

been made known. Only by such forbearance could they have preserved their authority with the nation and their right to a hearing for their criticisms when the proper time arrived. Instead of this their organ presented them as mad with factious malevolence, passionately desiring the failure of the operation, agonized by any favourable intelligence, hailing any adverse report, however frivolous, as a crumb of comfort. Since the positive announcement of the Prime Minister's success, they have been exhibited as seeking consolation day by day in wretched eavesdroppings from Ottawa about hitches in the negotiations, which were the mere creatures of a malevolent fancy. On the question of the road itself, two or three different positions have been taken up in the course of as many months, and each in turn has been maintained with the vituperative and slanderous violence which, when the time for falling back arrives, adds emphasis and disgrace to the retreat. The game of the Opposition has thus been ruined, and the leaders will go to Ottawa without a shred of moral authority left. Had the object of the organ been to bring disaster on the new leadership, it could not have laboured with more success. The finishing stroke is put to the work by the attacks upon Sir Charles Tupper, stamped as they are in every line with the mark of personal malice added to party hatred. If public justice requires that Sir Charles Tupper be arraigned, arraigned let him be, in the manner and in the language befitting anything so grave as a charge of peculation or personal corruption against a man in an office of the highest trust. But any one, even the most fanatical Grit, can see that it is not regard for public justice which inspires venomous invective. Supposing the person accused to have done anything needing concealment, he could devise no more effectual veil for his offence than that which has been thrown over it by the *Globe*. Generous sympathy for a man run down by malice is a feeling of which the conductors of that journal have had no personal experience, and of the influence of which on the public they can form no idea; but Sir Charles Tupper, whatever may be his demerits, is now in

the eyes of the mass of his fellow citizens an injured man. On evidence which only the blindest of partizans can think complete, he has not only been pronounced undoubtedly guilty of public theft, but loaded with the foulest abuse; for these self-appointed censors feel themselves at liberty to combine the functions of a judge with the oratorical freedom of an Old Bailey advocate. If the same accusation is brought forward by the chief of the *Globe's* party at Ottawa, it will hardly obtain a hearing, because there will be a universal unwillingness to sacrifice any one to the paltry vengeance of the *Globe*. The practical moral is that if the Opposition leaders wish to attract men of sense and character, Liberals above all, to their standard, and to have their cause decently presented to the public intelligence, they will find it necessary to reform their press. While the party system endures there must be party journals, on the conduct of which the popular estimate of the party will, in great measure depend; and leaders whose organ during the eight months of Parliamentary vacation has been identifying them with everything that is narrowest in faction and everything that is meanest in malignity, will find it no easy matter to set themselves right when Parliament meets. Mr. Mackenzie, as we know, deems the conduct of the *Globe* a model of "righteousness and beneficence," and he has perhaps good reasons for his individual opinion; but we expect now to see not the spirit of Mr. Mackenzie, but that of Mr. Blake prevail.

The subject is important to the Opposition and to the Opposition alone. A Montreal journal said the other day that the transfer of the *Globe* from the Brown family to a commercial proprietary (which we may observe, by the way, does not include Mr. George Stephen), would be a great event for Ontario. But Ontario is no longer a one-journal Province. To the energy and growing independence which, within the last ten years, have created or improved the *Toronto Mail* and *Evening Telegram*, the *London Advertiser*, and many of our local journals, we owe what we may safely call a final liberation from the tyranny which for many years was unscrupulously and ruthlessly exer-

cised, not only over opinion, but over personal character. In what hands the *Globe* may be, is a question which fortunately becomes every day of less moment to the public.

— It has been proclaimed that the Duke of Argyll is coming over to inquire into the truth of the sad stories set afloat by wicked persons about the prevalence of annexation sentiment among Canadians. Of course the report is a canard. His Grace has sense enough to know that the last man to hear the truth on such a subject would be a Duke. Another reason for his saving his passage money is that no such stories have in fact been set afloat. Canadians are settling on the other side of the line by tens of thousands; economical and social forces of all kinds are working towards a fusion; non-political organizations of all sorts, religious, social and commercial ignore the political division; the Anglo-Saxon race upon this continent is gradually becoming one in every respect except political allegiance: this has been said, and it neither has been nor can be denied. It has also been said that a feeling in favour of removing the customs line is gaining ground. But nothing has been said about the prevalence of annexation tendencies among the Canadian people, nor has anybody advocated annexation. Moreover, if the Duke were to inquire in the quarter from which the stories are supposed specially to proceed, he would find there a perfect consciousness of the fact that it is most unwise and unstatesmanlike to think of a change in the relations of any communities unless all adverse sentiment is extinct.

—The late Minister of Finance has been holding forth on a large scale and with his usual ability. He pounded the National Policy, but he forgot to tell us what he would have done to fill the deficit. The new taxes appear to have just filled it; so that the character of the tariff as one of revenue, in other words of sheer necessity, except in regard to the single article-

of the coal tax, has been vindicated. Sir Richard Cartwright will gain an easy victory over his opponents if they maintain that a country can be made prosperous by increased taxation; but they will gain as easy a victory over him if he contends that it matters nothing whether a fiscal system is or is not adjusted to the special interests of the country. He can hardly assert with confidence that his own financial policy was successful; and he must surely have begun to suspect that both his budget and his party suffered by his inflexible determination to treat mere rules of expediency as inviolable principles and refusal to consider the actual circumstances of the case before him. He dwells, with a melancholy not unminged, upon the exodus, the numbers of which he says amounted to ninety thousand last year, and are likely in the current year to be still larger. But it is obviously a mistake to call the exodus a flight from Protection, the American tariff being far more Protectionist than ours. The truth is, it is not a flight from anything, nor properly speaking, an exodus at all. It is simply the natural set of the current of population from the less wealthy to the wealthier parts of that which economically is the same country. A Canadian in quest of employment or wanting to better his condition goes south, as a New Englander goes west, or as a Scotchman or a man from a rural district of England goes to the manufacturing cities or London. The phenomenon is not extraordinary but normal, though it happens at the present time to have reached unusually large dimensions, owing no doubt to the coincidence of depression in some of our Provinces with a revival of prosperity in the States. Perhaps a third cause is the heavy weight of mortgage debt pressing on the owners of Canadian farms. This is likely to prove a subject of increasing anxiety, and if the Loan Societies do not take care, they will soon have half the country on their hands.

—An article in our August number, discussing the Pacific Railway Commission and similar Commissions of Inquiry, contained

the passage "With all due deference to Mr. Alpheus Todd, be it said, no Royal Commission can be allowed to meddle with any question which belongs to Parliament as the grand inquest of the nation, especially when Parliament is already seized of the inquiry." Just too late, unfortunately, for notice in our last number, came a letter from Mr. Alpheus Todd, expressing his surprise at this mention of his name, inasmuch as far from approving the appointment of the Commission to inquire into the truth of Mr. Huntington's charges in 1873, he had written a memorandum objecting to it in the most decided terms. The subject being historical, we give the letter *in extenso* below.* We

* OTTAWA, 23 Sept., 1880.

PUBLISHER OF "THE BYSTANDER."

SIR: In Sept., 1873, at the request of the Governor-General, I furnished him with a detailed memorandum, in reference to the issue of a Royal Commission to investigate the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington, M.P., in his place in the House of Commons, against the Ministers of the Crown in Canada, of granting a charter to the Pacific Railway Company for alleged corrupt considerations.

After a careful review of the question, in the light of constitutional precedents I gave it as my opinion "that the issue of a Royal Commission to inquire into the charges contained in Mr. Huntington's motion was precipitate and objectionable; that the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the House of Commons to consider these charges, instead of abandoning the duty assigned to them, because of their inability to administer an oath to witnesses, should have reported the case to the House for further instructions; and that the Government should then have proposed to the House, either to proceed with the investigation upon unsworn testimony, or else to pass an *Act* appointing certain persons, named therein, to be Commissioners for the purpose of investigating the complaint, whose report should have been duly submitted to both branches of the Legislature.

"By either of these courses, the inquisitorial functions of the House of Commons, in the initiation and control of all complaints against Ministers of the Crown for malfeasance in office, would have been duly respected, and the ends of justice effectually attained, without derogation to the constitutional rights of Parliament."

This memorandum, although in the first instance regarded as confidential, was afterwards shown to the two leaders in Parliament, Sir John Macdonald and the Hon. Edward Blake.

It was likewise perused by Mr. Justice Gowan, who was the principal member of the Royal Commission in question, and from his remarks at the time to myself I am under the impression that it contributed not a little to the course taken by the Commission itself; for, as I have stated in my last published volume (p. 445), "this Commission reported evidence taken before them, but properly refrained from pronouncing judicially thereon, lest their judgment might seem to be to the prejudice of further inquiry by a Parliamentary tribunal."

Under these circumstances, you may imagine my surprise on reading in the last

most gladly correct our error, and rejoice to find that we have Mr. Todd's authority on our side. But we submit that any one who, in ignorance of the fact now disclosed, should read the passage of Mr. Todd's work on "Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies," relating to the Pacific Railway Scandal (pp, 444-8), would fall into the same misapprehension. "Various methods," says Mr. Todd in that passage, "had been proposed to determine the truth of the complaint against Ministers, but technical difficulties presented themselves, which provoked delay. At length, by the advice of Ministers, a Royal Commission was appointed to pursue the investigation, cut short by the failure of the Parliamentary Committee. This Commission reported evidence taken before them, but properly refrained from pronouncing judicially thereon, lest their judgment might seem to be to the prejudice of further inquiry by a Parliamentary tribunal." Not a hint of disapprobation anywhere. The conduct of the Governor-General throughout the whole affair is lauded to the skies, without exception or qualification. "Lord Dufferin remained firm in his adherence to constitutional order; while active in his endeavours, by every lawful proceeding, to prove or disprove the accuracy of the allegations, he steadily refused so long as they were unsubstantiated, to withdraw his confidence from his responsible advisers." The phrase "every lawful proceeding," manifestly includes the appointment of the Commission. Again, "We are chiefly concerned with the conduct of Lord Dufferin during this trying time. * * * The honour of his Ministers and the credit of the country were at stake, and it behooved him to be satisfied that none but men of honour and personal integrity should fill the

number of THE BYSTANDER (p. 476), the assumption that I had justified, or was prepared to justify, a "Royal Commission" being "allowed to meddle with any question which belongs to Parliament as the grand inquest of the nation, especially when Parliament is already seized of the inquiry."

As I am at a loss to conceive upon what grounds I have been credited with such opinions, I can only state the facts above mentioned, and request that I may be set right in the next issue of the magazine.

Yours, &c.,

ALPHEUS TODD.

place of his constitutional advisers, and should wield the authority of the Crown. But he would not hastily assume corruption until it should be found to exist. He, therefore, resolved, in the first instance, to leave to Parliament to ascertain the truth or error of the charges, before he pronounced judgment on the question. And when the Parliamentary inquiry temporarily failed upon technical grounds, he promoted and encouraged immediate investigation by means of a Royal Commission, not with intent to withdraw the case from the ultimate cognizance and control of the House of Commons, but to enable him to obtain from his Ministers in open court those explanations in regard to their conduct which circumstances had rendered necessary, and upon which he had a right to insist." It was a sense of delicacy, probably, that restrained Mr. Todd from saying that the measure which the Governor-General promoted and encouraged was "precipitate and objectionable," and that the proper course was to leave the inquiry to be carried on by the House of Commons; but the result is, we must repeat, that Mr. Todd's readers are inevitably misled.

The present Pacific Railway Commission, with regard to which the discussion arose, has, so far as appears, been honestly doing the duty assigned to it: at all events, it has not shrunk from exposing partizans of the Government. But there is the gravest objection on principle to the employment of any such tribunal. The Commission is not engaged in collecting information for legislative or administrative purposes, which is the proper function of Royal Commissions. It is investigating offences, and offences of a deep dye. At the same time, it has no power to deal with the offenders, who, with their crimes upon their heads, stalk forth into the community, to the great detriment of public morals. A Commission to inquire into the truth of a charge against a Government appointed by the accused Government itself, such as that against which Mr. Todd wrote his memorandum, is a palpable absurdity. We want, what we shall never get, a regular tribunal for the investigation and punishment of corruption and other political of-

fences. Parliament itself, while the party system lasts, will not be fit to undertake the task. What happened in the case of the Pacific Scandal? Evidence of a crime was obtained by means the use of which nothing could warrant but the imperative demands of public justice. The trial was opened, but it inevitably degenerated into a faction fight, and as soon as the spoils had changed hands the interests of public justice were laid aside and the trial was at an end. If Parliament could delegate its powers as a Grand Inquest to some judicial body, as it does in the case of contested elections, there would be hope of bringing corruption and jobbery to justice.

—The *Newmarket Era*, a Reform journal, deprecates the transfer of the gaol management from County and City Councils to Local Governments. "We must enter our protest," it says, "against these continual encroachments upon the liberties of the people—this ceaseless effort to centralize power in the hands of the executive authorities. During the last decade the entire patronage of the licensing system has been diverted from the people by being removed from municipal control and placed in the hands of the Administration of the day. Division Court Clerks and Bailiffs have also been made subject to their mandates. County Attorneys, under their authority, can authorize the disbursement of the people's money, raised by direct taxation, from the county treasury, and other patronage, formerly controlled by municipal councils, is now dispensed by the Administration of the day. These encroachments have been gradual, but they have been none the less sure." The patronage of the licensing system is as dangerous an engine as was ever put into the hands of a Government, and testimony comes to us from all sides, shewing that the consequences are precisely what might have been expected; but for this the responsibility rests mainly on our Prohibitionist friends, who, in their eagerness to enforce a special article of morality, forget the larger interests of political freedom. There can be no doubt,

however, as to the existence of the general tendency denounced by the Editor of the *Newmarket Era*; and we would only ask him and other men of independent mind to direct their attention to the real root of the mischief, which lies deeper than any personal propensities of the present Ministers. Here again we see the consequence of intruding the party system of government into a sphere where no real reason for a party division exists. What organic question or permanent difference of principle is there in connection with the local affairs of this Province on which parties can be based? Absolutely none; and the consequence is that the system breaks down; there is nothing to sustain a parliamentary opposition; practically the opposition ceases to exist, but the majority remains bound by its party allegiance to the Ministers, who are thus left practically unchecked. The upshot is the installation in power, apparently for life, of a clique which naturally strives to aggrandize itself and entrench itself more securely in office by appropriating all the patronage and all the means of influence within its reach. Nothing is more irresponsible than a party government when the opposition has collapsed: the responsibility is borne by the majority, while the majority is under ministerial control. At the same time we have all the evils of party government. Men who are not followers of the Ministers are excluded from the service of the Province, however useful they may be capable of making themselves to the community in their own line. The entrance to the Local Legislature is closed against all but partizans. In making the higher appointments, the pitch-fork system, that fell necessity of party cabinets, prevails. Each office must be filled by a member of the clique, whether there happens to be one qualified for it or not; though the consequence to the public may be the dislocation of some great administrative machine. In the present instance there is, moreover, a political compact with a religious body than which nothing can be more opposed to all that is sound in politics and pure in religion. In Provincial legislation, at all events, everybody must admit that partyism

is absurd. Provincial affairs ought to be managed on the same business principles as those of a commercial corporation, and the officers ought to be appointed as those of a commercial corporation are, solely with a view to their practical usefulness. It will be said that to advocate the change is hopeless; very likely it is so, for a system resting on patronage is almost as inexpugnable as a system resting on bayonets; but it is as well to know where the root of the evil really lies: reformers will, at all events, be prevented from wasting their breath in protests against effects when the cause has not been removed. In the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba they are actually getting on at the present time without parties. We are told that some of the Manitobans want party to be introduced as a security against corruption. If any one fancies that faction is an antidote to corruption, let him look across the Line.

— At length the staff of Toronto University is complete, and it is needless to bespeak a cordial reception for gentlemen who bring with them the highest testimonials of their merit, and who are in no way responsible for anything that may have been done amiss by the Government. At the same time, it is impossible to deny that the Government has done some things amiss, and given the Professorial staff real reason for complaint. The manner of the proceeding was unfortunate, to say nothing of the substance, and evinced little desire to consult the feelings of those whose hearty co-operation is as essential to the success of the institution as the character of any single appointment. To the very last, matters seemed to go wrong. Why should the Provincial Secretary, if he wanted a report on the appointments, have applied to the new President of the University, who was not responsible for them, and who is thus placed, at the outset of his administration, in seeming opposition to his staff?

—While Toronto University is thus suffering under the hands of the politicians, the energetic Principal of Queen's College, Kingston, opens his new buildings with imposing pomp, and with high promise of a prosperous future. He is manacled, so far as his Professorships are concerned, by the Westminster Confession, but admission to his college is free, and his own largeness of mind may be trusted to make the liberty real. From political influences he enjoys an exemption. Private benefactors of education will feel an interest in his college, such as they never feel in an institution connected with Government. In the race between his University and the University of Toronto, he will have some advantages; and he is sure to turn them to the best account. In one respect, we confess, his success moves in us rather pensive feelings, inasmuch as it seems to drive the last nail into the coffin of University Consolidation. Languor and incapacity call Consolidation utopian, as they call everything that requires effort and ability. Six or eight years ago it was feasible, as well as most desirable, had the question fallen into the right hands. Now the opportunity has gone by. Ontario will never have a great University, and it is too probable that those who want a first-rate training, either general or in any special department, such as practical science, will find their way to the great Universities of Europe, or of the United States. A cry is raised against the importation of Professors. How are Professors to be trained, except at great seats of learning and science, furnished with all the necessary apparatus, and kept on a level with the latest improvements? Many, no doubt, will always be lured by the bait of a degree to be easily obtained, as they would be lured by a cheap ornament of any kind; but a wise parent will know that to send his son to a University unprovided with adequate means of high teaching is mere waste of time and money, with the danger of dissipation to boot. Practical science is a prime necessity with Canadians. But where in Canada is it to be had? How is the great sum requisite for the maintenance of a proper staff, laboratory, museum, and apparatus, to be provided, when

the resources of a Province containing less than two millions of inhabitants are scattered over half a dozen Universities? The Hon. Alexander Morris, in a letter to the *Mail*, suggests that though we cannot have a Provincial, we may have a Dominion University. There might be an Examining Board for the Dominion, and degrees granted by it, would, no doubt, have a higher value than those granted by Local Universities; but for a Dominion University, as a place of learning and education, a large endowment, as well as legal powers, would be required.

In a gracefully-written address, the new Chancellor of Queen's University, Mr. Sandford Fleming, advocated the abolition of Greek and Latin as compulsory studies, on the ground of their diminished importance since the growth of modern literature and science. The same plea has been often urged before, and on the same ground; it has been seconded by men themselves eminent for classical attainments, and the concession is being gradually made, Greek and Latin being already on the footing of optional studies in some Universities. But as optional studies, the classics, to a wonderful extent, hold their ground. They have lost nothing of their pre-eminence as a school of taste; on the contrary, their value has been enhanced by the progress of æsthetics; and Mr. Fleming's suggestion that translations would do as well will be endorsed by no one who is acquainted with the originals; for as the plaster cast of a statue to the masterpiece itself, so is the best of translations to the ancient author. The classics have also gained importance, with the progress of philosophy, historical and general, as excellent text-books for the study of humanity. Their paganism, at which Mr. Fleming glances, secures their neutrality, and as they are not used in teaching us theology, they interfere with no one's faith. Mr. Fleming is apparently willing to strike literature and philosophy out of education altogether, and to be content with science which, he says, leads us to contemplate the perfect works of God, while literature and philosophy lead us to contemplate the imperfect works of man; but he might be answered in the spirit of his own remark by reminding him that the moral and

intellectual nature of man is the noblest work of God. The "highest vertebrate" view of humanity cannot yet be accepted as the rule of education.

—It seems that at Toronto University the Co-education movement has come to a crisis. We cannot attempt to discuss the subject in all its bearings here ; but we would remind those on whom the responsibility rests that there are three distinct questions :—Ought women to receive a higher education than they receive at present ? Ought they to receive the same education as men ? Ought they to receive it in the same place with men ? The first and even the second questions may be decided in the affirmative without settling the third, in which are involved moral and social considerations which it is the fashion to treat with levity, but which, as the experience of Europe, in the matter of female student life, shows, ought not to be so treated. If expediency is opposed to the change, there can be no plea for it on the ground of right ; neither sex can have a right to use a public institution if the institution would be injured by such use ; women have no more right to force themselves into a male university than men have to force themselves into a female college. For our own part, we avow a mistrust of the movement as part of a general attempt to efface the line which the hand of nature has traced between the sexes, and to turn woman from the partner into the competitor of man. We are of the number of those who believe that the sphere of woman's usefulness and happiness, and therefore of her dignity, is domestic, not public or professional, life ; that her guiding star is affection not ambition. Instead of giving us better wives and mothers, Co-education, we suspect, would prevent a good many women from becoming wives or mothers at all ; the movement is, to no small extent, a revolt against what women have been persuaded to consider the slavish burden of matrimony and maternity ; while men, let them pay lip homage to prevailing sentiment as they may, will practically

seek in marriage, not a "co-partnership," as Miss Anthony calls it, with a rival intellect, but the fireside happiness of union with a genuine woman. The barriers of artificial privilege ought to fall; the landmarks of nature will not be easily removed. At all events we may be allowed to wish success to the Ontario Ladies' College, and other institutions of the same kind, the aim of which is to give women a high yet womanly education in a womanly way. Nor are we sure that the future has not a reward in store for the administrators of any male university who may decline to yield to the current of prevailing sentiment, and to change the character of their institution while it is doing good work in its own line. After all a current may be heady, yet not deep, and the real feeling of the community may be the other way: such in fact is the experience of certain institutions on the other side of the line which have rushed into Co-education. We should be sorry to be bigoted or illiberal in this or in any other matter; but the hand which is laid on the mutual relations of the sexes is laid on the keystone of human happiness; and whatever is done ought to be done with a full view of the consequences, not under the impulse of vague sentiment or individual ambition.

—There is joy over the large number of Matriculations at the Universities this Fall. It would seem ungracious not to join in applauding the thirst of youth for knowledge. Yet we cannot help repeating the warning that the intellectual callings are overstocked, and that the tendency to flock into them is one of the social dangers of the day. Nor can anyone who knows Universities doubt that for all but the really industrious and steadfastly moral, University life is a period of great peril, to say nothing of the expense: no discipline can be exercised by University authorities anything like so effective as that which is practically exercised over a young man regularly attending his place of business and living under his father's roof. People talk about sowing wild oats; but sowers of wild

oats, like other sowers, reap what they sow. A false idea of superior dignity attaches to intellectual callings; the dignity of all honourable callings is the same, and all, with the reading facilities which we now have, are compatible with a certain amount of general knowledge and literary culture. Nothing can be less dignified than the position of a University graduate who can find no suitable employment. As to happiness its indispensable conditions are independence and the power of supporting a wife and family at a reasonably early age. Let a father measure well not only the tastes and talents of his son but the youth's active sense of duty and power of self-control before he takes him from commercial life and launches him into a career, which, if it proves unfortunate, will lead to the misery which is the portion of ambition and sensitiveness in want of bread.

—If the interest of England in British Canada has been re-awakened, as Sir John Macdonald boasts, so has that of France in French Canada, and the manifestation of the feeling in both cases is much the same. It assumes the shape of increased alacrity in investing. France has taken the last Quebec loan, founded companies for growing beet sugar in Canada (as to which, however, we fear our misgivings are proving correct), and sent delegates to her old colony to survey it as a field for the employment of capital. But she has also displayed her maternal love in a less commercial way by crowning the Canadian, M. Frechette, Poet Laureate. "The good old France," said M. Frechette, at the banquet given at Montreal in his honour, "after a great many years of oblivion, has officially recognised us as her children." A celebration of the old connection less agreeable to British feelings, are the annual religious services, which were once more performed the other day, in honour of victories gained by the French Canadians over the British before the conquest. This re-union of the French Colony with its Mother Country can hardly fail, we fear, to

intensify French feeling in Quebec, to render the fusion of the French with the British element in the Dominion more difficult, and to remove to a greater distance than ever the hope of a Legislative Union. On the other hand, it may bring about an important change in the character of French Canada itself, which has hitherto remained a relic, preserved in ice, of the France before the Revolution, with the same patois, the same ignorance, the same piety or superstition, call it which you will, the same social ideas and tendencies; the only difference being that the power which in old France was divided among king, aristocracy and priesthood is, in Quebec, engrossed by the priesthood, or only occasionally shared by the notary. But the France to whose bosom her daughter now turns is the France of the Revolution and the Republic; and through the channel of communication thus opened Revolutionary and Republican ideas will flow. There will be an end of the fossil simplicity of Quebec. The Jesuit, with his Ultramontanism, assailing the Gallican religion of the liegemen of Louis XIV. in Canada, was the first to disturb the repose of isolated antiquity. It is now likely to be disturbed from a very different quarter, and with much more serious effects. M. Frechette himself is a Liberal, and is treated with coldness by the Conservatives of his race; his coronation may prove symbolical of the opening of a new era in Quebec.

—In the Presidential contest victory still hovers between the two armies, but she seems inclined to perch on the Republican standard. The State elections in Indiana and Ohio are not decisive, because Hancock may be, and we suspect is, personally more popular than the local candidates; but they are highly significant, and their moral effect on both parties is plainly visible. It would not be surprising if those who dread above all things a disputed election should now, seeing the Republican side the stronger, throw their weight into that scale, in order to make the result desisive. The national mind seems to

be moving pretty much on the line traced in our last number. Of the "bloody shirt" feeling against the South there has been no sign; anything like an appeal to vindictive feeling has fallen dead; but there has been a strong recoil from the danger of sudden change and confusion, to which the Republic would be exposed if the Government were handed over to the South with its Irish, Tammany and Greenback allies. "The election of a Democratic president at the present time," says the *American*, a new weekly journal, to which we have to thank the *Globe* for calling our attention, "would not, it is true, endanger so much of our recent history as has been embodied in amendments to the Constitution, but nearly everything else would be liable to be called in question. Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, the candidate of a large number of his colleagues for the Speakership of the House, made a threat of a wholesale repeal of Republican legislation, and while his threat excited a just alarm in many quarters, it was not repudiated by his party as involving any breach of political morals. Hence the dread felt by the whole business community of a change in the Administration at the present time, and hence also the sensitiveness of the stock and other markets, as often as signs occurred which seemed to point to the election of Mr. Hancock." The dread of the revolution which would follow if the South were to vault into supreme power is at least as much commercial as philanthropic. As we surmised, the Maine elections, instead of being a death blow to the Republican cause, have proved a warning bell summoning the legions of commerce to arms against soft money. No doubt Mr. Bayard, Mr. Tilden, and other Democratic leaders are sensible and patriotic men who would not wish to do, and perhaps would try to prevent, mischief; but they would be impelled by the Democratic mass. Secession itself was at last the act of the multitude rather than of the leaders, who lost control over the passions which for mere personal purposes they had aroused. Barriers against Secessionist claims set up by Constitutional Amendments, of course, could not be thrown down; but there is no-

thing chimerical in the apprehension that a raid might be made on the Federal Treasury in the way of indirect indemnity to Secessionists. Under the Constitution of the State of New York State aid could not be directly given to religious institutions, yet aid was indirectly given to religious institutions belonging to the Roman Catholic allies of the Democratic party. As to the Tariff issue, our impressions have been verified: the Democratic candidate has thrown over Free Trade rather than risk the loss of the Protectionist wing of his party. That rather narrow, not to say sordid, ground for desiring to see the Republic under the rule of the Ex-slaveowners and Tammany no longer exists. Whichever issue of this contest is best for the United States themselves must ultimately be best for the whole Continent; and it is best for the United States that victory should remain with the sounder elements, which, on the whole, are those comprised in the Republican party. We say it without a particle of fanatical feeling on the Southern question. We look only at the actual condition and prevailing tendencies of the two political sections. Nor would our sympathies be what they are, if the purer section of the Republican party had not triumphed over the Bosses and Third Termers at Chicago. As to the commercial relations of Canada with the United States, we do not believe that the results of the election will make much difference either way. Partial Reciprocity has broken down, and both parties, if we mistake not, are well inclined towards Commercial Union. What the manufacturers on the Republican side want is not Protection against Canada, but Protection against Europe. They would regard the inclusion of Canada in the fiscal line as an additional safeguard.

Whatever doubt there may be as to the results of the struggle, there surely is none as to its immediate effects. The country is plunged into all the turmoil and bitterness of an unarmed civil war. The commonwealth is divided into two hostile camps; rancorous and anti-social passions are excited; the moral atmosphere is darkened with calumny;

bribery and corruption, with all their fatal effects on national character, are rife on both sides; commerce quakes; business is interrupted; a legion of roughs is poured into Indiana, and for some days that State is in peril of a murderous affray. To all this will be added, if the Democrats win, the division of the spoils, and a complete change of the whole administration of the State down to the lowest postmaster for the purpose of paying the services of a vast horde of political buccaneers. There are those who actually profess to desire a Democratic victory in order that the youth of the country may be treated to a practical demonstration of the evils of the Spoils System. Our critics are greatly mistaken if they think that we stand alone or are showing extraordinary "Radicalism" in desiring a simplification of the American Constitution, with a view both to the avoidance of these deadly conflicts with their attendant perils, and to the diminution of the swarm of mercenary politicians which is bred under the present system by the mass of patronage, the number of paid places in legislatures, and the continual recurrence of elections. In the United States the thoughts of numbers of good citizens, and men as far as possible from being Radicals in a bad sense, are tending in the same direction.

—A contemporary, the other day, referring to our opinion that the United States would be better with a single Chamber, cited a dictum of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to the effect that though a community of the ordinary kind might get on either with a single Chamber or with two, in the case of a Federation there must be two, one to represent the national principle, the other to represent the federal. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, under its new editorship, is so high an authority that we are glad to be able to oppose to it, not our own feeble reasonings, but historic fact. The Dutch Confederation had no such second Chamber; nor had the Achæan League, for the Great Council, we may be sure from analogy, was not a second Assembly, with a more federal charac-

ter, but a select body preparing measures for the assembly at large: these with the Swiss Confederation and the United States are the four great federations of history. But the United States are not a federation in the proper sense of the term. A federation, in the proper sense of the term, is a group of commonwealths united for the maintenance of internal peace and for mutual defence, but otherwise retaining their independent existence. The United States are a nation with a quasi-federal structure. The political parties which really rule the country are national: they extend through all the States and through both Houses. The Republican and Democratic Senators act and vote with the Congressmen of the party on the same principles and for the same objects; in no important instance, so far as we are aware, in the whole of American history, can the Senate and the House of Representatives be said to have been opposed to each other as the organs respectively of Federalism and Nationality. When the South seceded, the Southern Congressmen moved in perfect concert with the Senators. Switzerland, in like manner, since 1848, has been not a federation proper, but a nation with a quasi-federal structure. She was in fact at that date remodelled partly in imitation of the American Constitution. When she was a real federation she had a single assembly. We may add that in Switzerland the Legislature elects the Executive Council precisely in the method which, when propounded by us, has been pronounced utterly impracticable. Our own Confederation has virtually but one Chamber, since power centres entirely in the House of Commons; nor has the Senate ever given special expression to the Federal idea. The system of two Chambers, in the case of the United States as elsewhere, is, as we are convinced, an imitation, founded on misconception, of the British House of Lords, which is not a Second Chamber or Senate, but one of the Estates of a feudal realm.

— At the time of our going to press the Dulcigno question remains in a state of ludicrous unsettlement. Jealous of each

other the Powers are, to an extent which will probably be fatal to their further co-operation, even in the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. But having once appeared before Dulcigno they can hardly allow themselves to be foiled and covered with ridicule by the half-crazy Sultan and the eunuchs of Constantinople. English Toryism, however, is excited by the hope of successful resistance on the part of the Turk, and hoists the flag of Non-intervention, on which it has itself been gloriously trampling for the last six years. That England had better look to Ireland and other things needing attention at home, than expend her energies on distant objects of ambition, is a doctrine which has been preached often enough by Liberals, who have been called cowards and peace-mongers for their pains. Launched by the Tory Government into the Eastern imbroglio, the country has now only to choose between the policy of Lord Beaconsfield and that of Canning, between the selfish policy of repressing rising nationalities and the generous policy of emancipation. The Jingo Liberal Mr. Cowen denounces the annexation of the mixed population of Dulcigno to the Christian state of Montenegro; yet he had no objection to thrusting the Christian and Slavonic population of Bulgaria back under the dominion of its Ottoman oppressors. It goes to the heart of a Liberal to do violence to the inclinations of people even so few in number, and so little civilized, as the Mahometans of Dulcigno; but the cession is in pursuance of the Treaty of Berlin; war is commonly followed by the transfer of territory; territory would have been transferred had the Turks succeeded in their invasion of Montenegro; and that there was a war was the fault not of the Gladstone Government, but of that which at the time of the Conference of Constantinople encouraged the Turk to resist instead of honestly pressing on him, in conjunction with the other Powers, the reforms in Bulgaria which were demanded alike by his own interest and that of humanity. The bill for Vivian Grey's fireworks is now being paid, and it is long.

This paltry question between Montenegro and Albania being

settled, there will come the far greater question between Turkey and Greece. As to the final result there can be no doubt: as sure as was the advent of German Unity and of Italian independence so sure is the resurrection of the Greek race; so surely will it recover its ancient domain—the coasts and islands of the *Ægean* sea. The dead Empire of the Ottoman will go to its grave, a living nation will take its place. But how destiny will give effect to her decree is still a mystery, and it will be interesting to watch the revelation. If the little kingdom of Greece single-handed were to attack Turkey at present, it would most likely be torn by the fangs of the dying tiger. Russia will not help, for the extension of the Greek power would be the most effective curb to her ambition, if she meditates aggrandizement in that quarter. Mr. Gladstone sympathizes as ardently with Greek as he did with Italian independence; but environed as he is with desperate difficulties at home and abroad he can hardly think of giving effect to his sympathies with arms. It is something, however, to know that British influence, so far as it is exerted, will be exerted for noble objects, and on the principle, as sound and wise as it is generous, that what is best for humanity is best for England!

— All the powers of evil seem now to be abroad in Ireland. Orangeism as well as Ribbonism is up. The Irish peasants have once more, by murders and other savagery, disgraced their race and sullied their cause in the eye of the civilized world. It is impossible to use language too strong of the conduct of Mr. Parnell and his fellow agitators, who, by speaking with levity, and almost with sympathy, of these crimes, have encouraged the peasantry to commit them. On the other hand it is quite true that the crime is solely agrarian; and that in the districts where it has been most rife, even in Tipperary itself, ordinary offences have been very rare. Justice requires us also to remember the training which the Irish, as a nation, have had, and of which the traces are still left upon their character. The

French, when taxed with the dreadful deeds of the Revolution, may plead that they had been taught cruelty by butcherly wars, by wholesale executions of wretches whom famine had driven to revolt, by a penal system of which torture and breaking on the wheel were familiar portions, by sanguinary persecutions, by the exhibition on the part of the aristocracy, on all occasions, of a most insolent recklessness of plebeian life. The Irish are entitled to the benefit of a similar plea, though in a less measure, as they have had more time to learn humanity. In 1798 they were goaded into open rebellion by the wholesale flogging, half-hanging, pitch-capping and picketing which were carried on over a large district by the yeomanry and militiamen, who, as soon as the suffering masses began to heave with disaffection, were launched upon the homes of the peasantry. When the rising came, of course it was like a rising of galley slaves who had broken their chains. What then ensued we learn from the letters of Lord Cornwallis, who, having commanded against rebellion in America, was not likely to be too sparing of the blood of rebels. After stating that the Irish insurrection is declining and dwelling on the horrors of martial law administered by passion and revenge, he proceeds to say that "all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people without any process or examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the Loyalists in America [we commend that phrase to the notice of Dr. Ryerson], only much more numerous and powerful, and ten times more ferocious. These men have served their country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia, with few officers, and those chiefly of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity; and the fencibles take a share, although much behind hand with the others. The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood, and the conversation even at my table, where, you will suppose, I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, and burning, &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the

greatest joy is expressed by the whole company." These scenes and their train of consequences the hysterical worshippers of force are apparently willing to renew. The Government happily has not forgotten that it is the organ of a moral civilization: it is preparing to protect life and property by legal means while it matures a remedy for the evil. If the existing law fails, it may be supplemented to the necessary extent without doing any violence to principle. But we hardly expect that it will fail, because the righteous policy which has been pursued towards Ireland by the Liberal party during the last half century, beginning with Catholic Emancipation, and ending with Disestablishment and Tenant Right, has ranged large and powerful classes, once disaffected, on the side of law and order. Repression, even legal repression, is uncongenial and unwelcome work to Liberals; but they need not shrink from it so long as their feet are on the path of right. They are the liegemen of liberty and justice, not of anarchy and assassination.

What the remedial measure for Irish agrarianism should be is a question the decision of which will be no enviable task, more especially as the Liberal Government, in any attempt to effect a compromise between the warring interests, will certainly be thwarted and embarrassed by the landowning House of Lords. Buying up the interest of the landlords out of the public purse, and selling it to the tenants, would be perilous work, because, unless the tenant purchased, which many might be unable to do, the State would have to collect the rent, and another agitation would probably break out. The most absurd plan of all is that of Mr. Parnell, who proposes that the payment of rent, at a fair valuation, shall continue for thirty-five years, and then cease. What rent is "fair," we suppose, he expects to be settled by revelation from Heaven. His plan would happily combine the turpitude and violence of confiscation with the denial of the relief immediately required.

As wild theories about land are abroad, and as in this electric age an idea once started is apt to go round the world, it is well distinctly to specify and localize the justification for extra-

ordinary action in the case of Ireland. The justification is that the Irish landlords have for centuries been, and still to a large extent are, absentees; that, as a body, they are not only absentees, but aliens; that they are not only aliens, but heirs of a conquest and a confiscation, the memory of which has never entirely died in the minds of the people, or given place to the idea of legal and friendly relations. The present landlords, it is true, are largely suffering for the sins of their ancestors; but this does not make it easier for a Government, not despotic, to serve evictions on a whole people. That property in land is, under ordinary circumstances, more justly liable to confiscation and plunder than any other kind of property is a fancy bred by the agrarian struggles of the Old World. For every product of human industry, as well as a cultivated farm, nature has furnished the raw materials and supplied spontaneous forces; in every product of human industry are really accumulated the labours of many workers besides the owner; and as to saying that all the people of an old country have a right to live on the land, there would be as much sense in saying that twenty men had a right to make a meal off the same penny loaf.

Let no well-wisher of Ireland, American, or of whatever country he may be, say a word to encourage insurrection. It is utterly hopeless. A single brigade would scatter it to the winds. Not only would all parties in England at once unite to put it down, but they would have with them, if not the majority, the strongest section, as has repeatedly been proved, of the inhabitants of Ireland itself. In the end of the last century Irish insurrection was backed by the French Revolution; since that time it has always ended at once in miserable failure. Great Britain cannot afford to have Ireland an independent and hostile nation on her flank: she would put forth if necessary, her whole power, and she would inevitably prevail. The hope of Irish nationality, if it has a hope, lies in co-operation with that party in England which has just fought the battle of morality against Jingoism and conquered, which holds

that righteousness is better than aggrandizement, which has already obtained much for Ireland, and may yet obtain more, even in the direction of enlarged self-government. To sympathize with the aspirations of an Irish nationalist is easy, or rather not to do so is for a Liberal impossible; but to spur him on to his doom is not the part of a true friend.

—Even in Norway, among the pines and waterfalls, and besides those still fiords in which infant navigation dipped its oar political disturbance is on foot. It is not for want of liberty Norway is as democratic a country as any in the world. She has completely abolished aristocracy, apparently without any bad effect: the legislative power is entirely vested in the National Assembly, elected on a broad basis, and the king has only a suspensive veto. The trouble arises out of the federal relation of Norway to Sweden, which is recent and the offspring, not of spontaneous attraction, but of the military forces which broke up and recast old Europe in the early part of the century, and were themselves set in action by the French Revolution. Before that time Norway had been connected not with Sweden but with Denmark; while, at the former period the three Scandinavian kingdoms were bound together for a century and a quarter by the union of Calmar. A revival of the union of Calmar has been the dream of modern Scandinavians; it is a dream which ethnology and history encourage, and on which geography puts no veto, for the Sound, which in the hands of a Scandinavian union would be the key of the Baltic, might be deemed rather a bond of connection than a dividing gulf. But Denmark is a prolongation of the German plains; she is the seaboard of Germany; and her ultimate destiny can hardly be doubtful. In the meantime Sweden and Norway are illustrating the difficulties which attend a federation of two, in which the greater country is sure to be always troubled by the suspicions and irritable jealousy of the lesser. It would appear that the only sound basis for federation is a

large group of states, in which no single state preponderates. Even in these cases much has been due to the consolidating influence of a common struggle for life, such as those of the Swiss Cantons against Austria and Burgundy, that of the American Colonies against England, that of the Achæan League against Macedon and Rome, and that of the Dutch Provinces against Spain. Those who undertook, the other day, to create a Federal Union in South Africa, had certainly not studied the conditions of their problem; it may be doubted whether the framers of our own Confederation had. That Ontario pays three-fifths of the expenditure of the Dominion is at once a pregnant and an ominous fact. Another thing which the dispute between Norway and Sweden exemplifies is the difficulty of carrying on Constitutional government with two Parliaments under one crown. In the case of Ireland and England, for which the Repealers propose the same arrangement, the difficulty would amount to an impossibility, as utter disaster would soon prove. The two Parliaments, instinct with the disruptive forces to which they would owe their separate existence, could not fail to become hostile to each other. They might, and almost certainly would, take different lines on questions of foreign policy, on questions of peace and war; and as supreme power under the Constitutional system is really vested in Parliament, the monarchy being a figure-head, there would be no conceivable means of controlling the divergence. The Catholic Parliament of Ireland would certainly repeal the Act excluding Catholics from succession to the Crown. Before the legislative union of Ireland with England, the Irish Parliament was kept in harmony with that of England by organized corruption; and the relations between England and Scotland were as uneasy and as full of danger as possible till the Union of the Crowns gave place to the legislative union. Legislative union and entire separation are the alternatives between which Great Britain and Ireland have to choose, though legislative union is compatible with the concession of a very large amount of self-

government, the controlling authority of the supreme legislature in all questions being reserved.

—Nihilism has puzzled us and we have been afraid to touch it. Not that there could be any doubt as to the class of phenomena to which it belonged. Some time ago a beautiful and sumptuous country house, full of first-rate works of art, was burned to the ground under circumstances which pointed to incendiarism. The incendiary was not discovered, but suspicion fell upon a workman who had been employed in repairs, and whose character, upon inquiry, afforded ground for the belief that he might have done the deed merely out of envy and malice, his evil nature being stirred by the spectacle of the magnificence and refinement which he did not share. Add to this man's temperament a little wild philosophy, of the Pessimistic type, or a dash of Materialistic Socialism and you have a Nihilist. In the strange case of incendiarism at Gatineau the other day the main ingredient of Nihilism again appears. A great movement is going on among the suffering and discontent classes throughout Europe and even in the United States; for Kearneyism is the mitigated counterpart of French Communism, Spanish Intransigentism, German Socialism, and Russian Nihilism. A succession of such movements may be traced in history, usually in connection with some general upheaval of society which gave vent to the imprisoned elements of combustion. In the troubled decline of the Roman Republic, there was the terrible insurrection of the slaves known as the Servile war. The break-up of the Roman Empire was marked by a rising of the oppressed peasantry in Gaul under the name of Bagandæ. The risings of the serfs called Pastoureaux in the thirteenth century had partly a religious character, and were connected with the ferment of opinion produced by the Crusades. In the decline of Feudalism came the more fearful risings of the serfs, the Jacquerie in France, the rebellion of Wat Tyler in England. The Jacquerie was the mere

offspring of suffering and despair; but in the rebellion of Wat Tyler we see the force of religious enthusiasm and social utopianism mingling with those of economical disturbance. Among the leaders are Wycliffite preachers, and they are social levellers as well as evangelical reformers. The religious element becomes more predominant as well as wilder in its form, in the rising of the Anabaptists. In our day the place of religious enthusiasm is taken by Materialistic Science, which, in the different countries, blends in varying proportions with Socialistic aspirations and political revolution; religious enthusiasm now giving birth only to Mormonism, which has its best recruiting ground among the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales. Atheism, as the denial of everything above the world of sense or beyond the present life, is the pervading spirit of the present movement. If people fancied that such beliefs as the existence of a Deity, the divine authority of conscience and future compensation or retribution, would depart without leaving a void, they may see proofs of the contrary in this social crisis. The chief seats, however, of the disturbance have been the abodes of the suffering and envenomed proletariat, of which the Faubourg St. Antoine was the most hideous, but which present themselves in the great cities of all the old countries. Now Russia is too young to have a proletariat of this kind; and though there is a certain amount of dissatisfaction and restlessness among the lately emancipated serfs, the Russian peasant is neither revolutionary nor intellectually active enough to be a Nihilist. Even of the artisans, a great number are still peasants, going to the towns for temporary employment, but returning to their country homes. The name itself shows that the party must belong to a class above the lowest, for it is clearly derived from the Hegelian philosophy. Who and what are the Nihilists? The most precise answer to this question that we have seen is given by Arnaudo, an Italian writer on the subject, who enumerates several elements of a sort of middle class proletariat of the excluded and the disappointed. Alexander II., in his golden prime, emancipated the serfs; but

he shrunk from abolishing the privileges of the nobles, who engross the higher employments, civil and military, and whom he was unwilling to make his deadly enemies by depriving them of their official monopoly as well as of their slaves. The first malcontents, it seems, were the students belonging to the three divisions of the middle classes, the burghers, the merchants, and the priests, who, after completing their course, found the gate of public employment closed against them, and soon overcrowded the new intellectual callings, legal and literary, which had been opened by reform. Hundreds of malcontents, says Arnaudo, were thrown upon the street by each set of university examinations, and among these Nihilism took its rise. Members of the lower nobility, ruined by the loss of their serfs, swelled the ranks of discontent. Emancipation itself employed for a time a number of functionaries in the division of the land and other arrangements connected with the process, who, their work being done, were thrown out of employment; while some of them had been discharged for misconduct, and thus sent into the ranks of revolution. The position of the parish clergy in the Russian church is very low, the high places and wealth of the Church being engrossed by the monks; all parish clergymen are compelled to marry; and their sons form a needy and unhappy class, above manual labour, yet with no liberal careers open to them, and flock into the great cities in quest of bread, which many of them are unable to find. Besides, there are religious malcontents, embittered by the theocratic tendencies which have marred the social liberalism of the present Czar. The Jews also have reason to complain of their condition, and conspire. In the army some seeds of disaffection have been sown by the conscription and by excluding the subalterns and non-commissioned officers from the hope of rising to the higher grades which are monopolized by the nobles. Medical students, bitten by the materialistic philosophy and kept poor by their preference for the study of science to the practice of medicine, have evidently played an important part; and Nihilism has female votaries and coadjutors in the unsexed female students, who go about

with their hair cut short, smoking in the streets. Persons acquainted with Russia say that a number of recruits has been added by the investigations and dismissals for corruption which followed the Turkish war. Mere love of conspiracy, probably, goes for a good deal, especially as Russians are lazy, and conspiracy is easier than work. The extravagance of the Nihilist creed and of the objects of the sect are characteristic of a race only just emerging from barbarism and intellectual torpor, impulsive, shallow, unbalanced in mind, and easily caught by novelty. Alexander Herzen was the originator of the school; but he was left behind in insanity by Michel Bakounine. As developed by Bakounine, Nihilism aims at the total abolition of religion and worship by the propagation of atheism (it does not stick at Agnosticism), scientific and humanitarian; at the substitution of collective for individual ownership of property; at the removal of all distinctions between the sexes; the suppression of the family as it now exists, and of every form of marriage; at the destruction, or "winding up" of the State, with all institutions, ecclesiastical, political, academical, financial, judicial, military and bureaucratic. Such are the ends. The means as the horrified world knows, are conspiracy and assassination. Revolutionary societies are apt, unconsciously, to imitate the ways of the Governments against which they war; and in Russia, Nihilism appears to mimic the machinery of the secret police, including the use of bribery. At the centre of the conspiracy is an Executive Committee, which tries the victim in dark conclave, pronounces his doom, and sends forth the emissaries of murder. Secrecy is preserved by terrorism, and by dividing the rank and file into local sections which know nothing of the Central Executive, or of each other. Still, where the secret is so well kept, the number of conspirators can hardly be very large. There is scarcely an instance, in history, of a conspiracy, including a dozen men, which has not been betrayed.

The shroud of darkness which despotism throws round itself by repressing free discussion, serves as the veil of conspiracy

also. There is, no doubt, a large party of moderate, at least of non-satanic, reformers. Probably, there is a large body of reformers willing to co-operate with the Government ; but these men cannot avow themselves boldly or act freely, and thus a band of political Thugs has the scene to itself, and threatens to give a fatal direction to the course of political events. Another example of the wisdom of suppressing opinion !

—Nothing is spared by the spirit of change, not even Death. A curious tract called “ God’s Acre Made Beautiful,” has for its direct object the reform of Cemeteries, which it proposes to make “ permanent, unpolluted, inviolate ” for the future ; but it assumes as its basis, and strenuously advocates the adoption of, cremation. That cremation will in the end be adopted is most likely. But custom is strong, and a religious feeling, vague, though deeply seated, conspires with custom in opposition to the change. Rational objection on religious grounds there is really none. As the Bishop of Manchester says, “ No intelligent faith can suppose that any Christian doctrine is affected by the manner in which, or the time in which, this mortal body of ours is committed unto dust and sees corruption.” No one imagines that a Christian whose body has been burned accidentally, as the bodies of many Christians are, is excluded from the resurrection. Dispose of the corpse as you will, its particles will have been completely dispersed before the end of the world. The very fact that the heathen burned would almost have been enough to repel the early Christians ; nor would it have been so easy for them while their religion was still proscribed, to use the Christian ritual in cremations as it was in burials. That public health is in favour of cremation can hardly be denied ; the evidence against graveyards, as the tract before us proves, is abundant as well as revolting. In fact, the overcrowding leads often to wholesale desecration, and sometimes to burning. It has been argued with some force that the immediate destruction of the corpse might lend impunity to

poisoning: but it is answered that the danger would be counteracted by a slight increase of medical vigilance, and that in the few cases in which there is the slightest doubt as to the cause of death, the body might be preserved for scientific examination. Against the danger of poisoning may be set that of premature burial, the thought of which makes one's blood creep, and which well attested cases have proved to be only too real; though the medical attendants ought to be hanged when any one is found to have been buried alive. Sentiment, if at all under the guidance of reason, would seem to be in favour of that process by which the cast-off clay with which, on any hypothesis as to the nature of death, we have no longer any concern, would mingle as rapidly as possible with the general frame of nature, and pass into the life of trees and flowers. There was a sort of irrational consistency in the Egyptian practice of embalming; it preserved as long as possible, and in a form as little disgusting as possible, the tenement with which a groveling fancy could not help identifying the tenant. The worst fashion of all is coffin burial, which protracts the loathsome process of decay. To this repulsive image is added the practical liability to the commission of posthumous murder by breeding pestilence among the living. It is difficult to understand the sentiment, religious, or of any other kind, which would make a man unwilling to relinquish the prospect of being converted into a poisonous gas.

We go with the writer more thoroughly in his views as to the mode of disposing of the dead, than in his plans for the beautification of cemeteries. Death, in any case, is awful and sorrowful; awful as a change, sorrowful as a parting; nor can we see any propriety in the attempt to turn its abode into a pleasure ground. The much praised cemeteries of the United States with their rose walks and pieces of ornamental water have always seemed to us offensive attempts to disguise the sadness of mortality. The old English churchyard with its solemn yew tree is a far better treatment of the theme. Nor does it seem likely that classical temples and columbaria will ever suit

a taste formed under the influence of Christianity, even if Christian doctrine should lose its hold. Supposing it necessary, under the system of cremation, to preserve the dust at all, the Campo Santo probably presents the most congenial and available mode of doing so. It is right in point of sentiment, and gives the fullest play to religious art, or any other art in keeping with the objects of the place. Niches in its cloisters would receive the urns, with the inscription under each. As to individual monuments, the mass of them are wretched attempts to perpetuate memories which cannot be perpetuated. Nothing is more ludicrous, or more pitiable than the museum of posthumous vanities, vying with each other in the shapes of pillar, obelisk, sarcophagus, and pyramid, which one of our cemeteries presents. A rich nobody, who has been dead for a century, and for whom, even in his lifetime, nobody cared, still thrusts himself on your notice with his cumbrous and costly tomb. In death, at all events, there should be equality. To eminent men, and sometimes to eminent malefactors, special monuments will be raised by the community; at all events eminence will have its place in history. But the only monument for which most of us can hope, or ought to care, is the brief survival of our memory cherished in a few hearts till they, too, are turned to dust. Our tombstones, cumbering the ground, mock our mortality. They seem vainly and weakly to solicit from the passer-by a tribute of interest and emotion not to be called forth by an unmeaning name. The simple turf which covers the pauper is really a more dignified tomb.

A serious movement seems to have been set on foot in England for the reformation of funerals. It would be curious to analyse the ritual of the undertaker and to see whence its different portions took their origin and what they represent. The inquiry would probably lead us back to a mixture of original elements, feudal, pagan, and barbaric, moulded into their final form of pensive solemnity and grace by the plastic genius of the undertaker. Can anything be more pitifully grotesque than the sight of one of these funeral processions strug-

gling with the tide of commerce in a London street? Nor is the cost a trifle, at least to the poor, who always feel it a point of honour to give their dead "a decent funeral." In "God's Acre Made Beautiful," an instance is cited of a poor woman, the corpse of whose husband was denied burial by the harpy to whom she had been persuaded to consign it because she could not pay the whole of the extortionate sum which he exacted. The same social process which has extended to everybody the title of Esquire seems to have extended to everybody the obligation of squandering money on a pomp which, in former days, may have been the special appanage of rank. Custom is in this case very tenacious, because mourners cannot give their minds to reforms, and in the moment of affliction economy seems sacrilege. A rebellion, however, has begun, and some day it will extend to long periods of mourning, which, it may be remarked, are enforced with rather unusual strictness in Canada, where Mrs. Grundy is pretty strong. What man of sense would want people to go about in black and abstain from society as a tribute to his memory? Who wants, after his death, to be a pall and a kill-joy to the living? A British Ambassador used to tell a story of his having come to lunch with a family who had come up to the capital for a Court Ball, which was to take place that evening. One of the children asked for a cake and was refused. It threatened "to tell." No attention being paid to its threat, it shouted, "Grand-mamma is dead!" The news of the old lady's decease had arrived that morning; but it had been determined, in family council, to suppress it till after the ball, and secrecy had been enjoined accordingly. Of course, after the ball the family went into the deepest mourning, and rigorously secluded themselves from less attractive festivities. This nearly measures the worth of the homage which we exact by making ourselves posthumous nuisances to our kin. The art of the milliner is tasked to render mourning becoming to a fine lady, as the art of the cook in Roman Catholic countries is tasked to render a Lenten dinner palatable to the epicure; and the severity of the self-denial

equals that of the sorrow. The early Christians, at one time, discarded mourning for the dead altogether, and treated the departure of their kinsmen to a better world as an occasion of joy. This was too much for nature ; but nature should, at all events, be the limit of mourning. After all, in regard to these matters, as well as to matters of a much more serious kind much depends on the answer to the question, "What is death?" and to that question the human mind is now, for the first time in the history of thought, deliberately, and in the full light of science and philosophy, addressed.

—The controversy between Theism and Agnosticism continues in the press with a vigour which belies the assumption that Canadians take no interest in great problems: nor is it wonderful, for, compared with this question, all others are trivial and superficial. An Agnostic, writing to the *Mail*, undertakes to set forth the Theistic and Materialistic hypotheses, and to explain the ground which Agnosticism takes between them. "The Theist asserts the Eternity of a personal God, and that at His fiat the universe came into existence ; the Materialist asserts the Eternity of Matter, and that the universe has gradually grown to what it is by a series of slow processes, acting through countless ages: the Agnostic asserts that both views are equally probable and equally improbable ; that a universe uncreated and eternal is just as conceivable as a personal God uncreated and eternal, and that both are equally inconceivable ; and further, the Agnostic neither affirms nor denies anything touching these things beyond the scope of the senses, and consequently beyond human knowledge." An uncreated and eternal universe, we venture to submit, is inconceivable, because matter can neither call itself into existence nor set itself in motion, and to figure it to ourselves as doing either is as impossible as it is to figure to ourselves two straight lines enclosing a space. If matter could call itself into existence, or set itself in motion, the foundation of physical science would be

gone. But no mental impossibility or absurdity attaches to the idea of a self-existent Being, from whom the universe emanates, and of whose life all the creations are, so to speak, the pulses. We cannot comprehend such a Being, or distinctly picture Him to ourselves, it is true; but there is nothing in the conception self-contradictory, or repugnant to the laws of the understanding. On the contrary, the mind seems to acquiesce in this hypothesis as an intelligible, consistent, and adequate account of everything, and especially of our intellectual and moral nature. If, therefore, the attitude of the Agnostic towards the Materialistic and the Theistic hypotheses respectively is determined by the belief that the two are "equally inconceivable," he is, it seems to us, in an untenable position. So he unquestionably is, if his attitude is determined by the belief that "everything which is beyond the scope of the senses must be beyond human knowledge." How does he know the operations of his own mind? Whence does he get the data of mental science and ethics? Not from sense, but from consciousness. Nothing can be more baseless than the assumption that the information supplied by our five bodily senses is exhaustive, and that their authority is final. We act upon the opposite belief every moment of our lives. But this assumption, and the notions connected with it, pervades the conceptions and speculations of the Materialistic school. The supposition, with which we have just been dealing, of the necessity of a series of creators is a pseudo-scientific fancy, bred by the intrusion of the law of physical causation into a sphere to which it does not extend. That the law of physical causation is not universal we have an assurance, if we can have an assurance of anything and our knowledge altogether is not a dream, in our own consciousness, which tells us that our actions and characters are partly determined by ourselves. The Giver of the law of physical causation—and every law implies a law-giver—must at all events be above his law.

If we were called upon to furnish a practical definition of Agnosticism, we should say that it was doubt—natural, honest.

and often, though not always, reverent doubt—caused by the difficulties and perplexities of a problem which we have at present, however, no reason to pronounce incapable of solution. The Agnostic is perfectly right in refusing to receive as certain anything which has not been proved : he is wrong, we venture to think, in erecting his doubt into a permanent philosophy of despair. Man, being what he is, will never lay aside the desire of learning the truth about his own origin and destiny ; he will never be content merely to enjoy his present life (supposing his present life to be enjoyable) without thinking of anything beyond. As to that kind of Agnosticism which refuses to admit knowledge through any medium except the five bodily senses, and on that ground would condemn as hopeless all theological speculation, it appears to us, for the reason just given, to rest on an assumption which is itself perfectly gratuitous.

— The New Reformation is evidently making way in the Churches. Presbyterianism, though from its democratic constitution it is favorable to civil and, in a certain measure, to religious liberty, is also favorable to the conservation of dogma, because it gives to the traditional faith and the enthusiasm of the masses preponderance over the learning of the few. Accordingly, it long remained solid and resisted the new opinions : but now the loosening process has begun. In Scotland Orthodoxy is fighting with doubtful success against Professional heresy. In the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Philadelphia, unwonted and startling voices were heard. We do not refer to the proposals of a liturgy and instrumental music : the stern severity of the worship which suited the Covenanting Church in the wilderness was sure in happier times to yield to softer influences ; and extempore prayer, no longer uplifted by extraordinary enthusiasm, was equally sure to become somewhat tedious and somewhat hollow. Far more momentous were the demands for increased liberty of opinion and the assertion of the right of progress for religious as well as scien-

tific thought. An eminent delegate plainly avowed his opinion that the framers of the Westminster Confession could no longer be considered as infallible; that honest doubt about one of its articles was not sufficiently met by the mere application of Church discipline, and that able, learned and conscientious men could not be kept within the pale of the Church upon such terms. The impiety of these representations will not seem inordinate when we remember that the Westminster Confession was not only the work of uninspired men, but of men holding their session amidst the thunders of civil war, and that it was practically rejected at once by the larger and more highly educated of the two nations for which it was composed. Liberal sentiments were also uttered with regard to the attitude of theology towards scientific discovery. It was remarked that the American members of the Council though citizens of a democracy, were more Conservative than the British and some of the Canadians: perhaps, as is said, they were older; we may be pretty sure they were less learned. American Liberalism showed itself in a flash of incipient opposition to the doctrines of Reprobation and Eternal Punishment, which are repugnant to democratic humanity: in fact Universalism is the one great theological movement of which America is the parent, the other Churches being merely reproductions of those of the Old World.

Methodism at Chicago as well as Presbyterianism at Philadelphia is troubled by heretical questionings about Eternal Punishment, and also about the penal theory of the Atonement which in like manner grates on the Republican sentiments of humanity and justice. Methodism, however, is likely to escape the spread of speculative doubt longer than the other Churches, both because the class to which Methodists, as a rule, belong is not the most critical, and because in this Church doctrine, on which speculative doubt fixes, occupies a secondary place compared with religious emotion. Happily for itself the Methodist communion was formed not in dogmatic opposition to the creed of any other Church, but simply in opposition to the vice,

frivolity and scepticism of English society in the eighteenth century. If we may trust our own experience, the discourses of Methodist preachers at the present day are distinguished by a general freedom from polemics and a constant appeal to the motive powers of positive religion.

More significant, perhaps, than even the Liberalism displayed at the Pan-Presbyterian Council is "Scotch Sermons," a collection of discourses by divines of the Scottish Church, published by Messrs. Macmillan. This book reminds us of the "Essays and Reviews," which twenty years ago set the Church of England on fire, though now, so rapid has been the march of heresy, they would hardly be noticed as particularly rationalistic. In "Scotch Sermons" the necessity of believing in the miracles of the New Testament is denied, and the exaction of such belief as a condition of communion is denounced as "intolerance which ought to be resisted." It is pretty clear that the cause which the preacher pleads is his own, and that though he does not formally adopt, he is disposed to embrace, the explanation of the miracles as "a celestial radiance which enveloped Christianity at its birth," and an example of the instinctive tendency to surround with extraordinary phenomena any new moral and spiritual enterprise. He deprecates the assumption that Christianity was purest when it was nearest to its birth, affirming that on the contrary it has, in its progress, worked off impurities and that the process is not yet complete; while among the human, transitory, and unessential elements, which, as the generations pass, fall into the background, he numbers "miracles apostolic ordinance, and the clinging remnants of that Judaism which puts assent to dogma in place of faith."

On the other hand, we find in portions of this volume, as in all half-gagged utterances, a reserve, an indirectness, a preference of suggestion to plain statement, which are more disquieting and more productive of scepticism, in the worst sense, than the most complete unbosoming would be. The fear of ecclesiastical censure is present all the time, and prevents any one of the writers from grappling boldly with the questions and giv-

ing us frankly the positive as well as the negative side of his belief. The author of the sermon on "*Conservation and Change*" promulgates a theory of politic reticence which reminds us of the "economy" formerly adopted by Tractarian leaders in order to enable Roman Catholics to remain in a Protestant Church. He represents ecclesiastical establishments as "organisms," the life of which it would be murder to bring to an untimely close. Pseudo-physical theories of history seem to be generating a spirit of fatalism and jesuitism combined. In private affairs, what man of science would think of putting up with falsehood when he could get truth, or with a bad thing when he could get a good thing, for fear of doing injury to the vital tissues of some social organism? The Westminster Confession and the formularies of the Church of England did not "grow" of themselves: they were made, if ever anything was made,—the Westminster Confession by the Westminster divines, the formularies of the Church of England by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. In a certain sense one's hat is a growth; it is the outcome of a multitude of elements and forces; it has its natural antecedents, traceable back to the original nebula; nevertheless, you pay your hatter and change him if his hats do not suit. The only "life" worthy of respect which an institution can have is beneficence; the only life worthy of respect which a creed can have is truth. Tenderness in dealing with anything established is right, but no Darwinian fancy can absolve us from active allegiance to truth or duty. A clergy of crypto-sceptics would be a fearful source of moral pestilence.

So apparently thinks the Rev. Stopford Brooke, an eminent preacher and writer who secedes from the Established Church of England on the ground that, though a Christian, he is an Anglican no more. Yet he has as much right, perhaps, to stay in the Establishment as scores of "Broad Church" clergymen whom he leaves behind—certainly as much right as Ritualists adoring the Host in a Church which denounces such adoration as "idolatry." Let us pay him the honours due to a faithful liegeman of the truth.

Principal Cavan says we must have dogma. We hope the distinguished theologian means doctrine. Doctrine of course we must have ; no religion, not even that of Swedenborg or Madame Guyon, can consist of mere emotion or aspiration, without any intellectual belief. But dogma, which is unreason imposed by ecclesiastical authority, may, it is to be hoped, be laid aside, because it forms a fatal obstacle to that union of the Christian Churches, towards which the hearts and minds of the best and wisest Christians are evidently turning. The grand example of dogma is the Athanasian creed ; and the grand example of the dogmatic spirit is the curse laid by that creed on all who do not believe propositions to which no human mind can attach any meaning whatever. Christianity has been hitherto bearing a load of sacerdotalism, paganism and Byzantine theosophy, the last of which is the great source of dogma, and is no more of the essence of the religion than the other two.

— Moral as well as theological heresy was broached at Philadelphia. A delegate ventured on the astounding assertion that a temperate man is not intemperate, and he now says that taking a glass of wine with your meal is not so bad as going to a brothel. If the second proposition is false the Pharisees must have had a better case than is commonly supposed. Temperance and abstinence are two different things. Dr. Johnson said that he found abstinence easier than temperance ; but he knew that his own character was a moral paradox. To ordinary men, temperance is easier than abstinence : they need a certain amount of enjoyment ; and if you cut them off altogether from one sort they will take more of other sorts. Monastic asceticism, as experience has shown, distorts human nature, but does not raise it. The exaggeration of one particular point of morality has a somewhat analogous effect : people who think themselves much better than their neighbours because they only drink tea, are sometimes apt to sugar their tea with scandal.

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