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A MONTHLY  
REVIEW

*473*

**THE BYSTANDER**

OF  
CURRENT EVENTS,  
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

*NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.*

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# THE BYSTANDER.

MARCH, 1880.

TWO assemblies, styled deliberative, have met, one in Canada, the other in England—

“ They meet in clouds of smoke and dust,  
With sword sway and with lance's thrust,  
And such a yell is there —”

Whether it is better to plant the blow on your opponent's ribs, or between his eyes, is the chief subject of “deliberation.” In England, however, the battle is about great questions, the decision of which may settle the destiny of the nation. Here there are great questions of a certain kind, but on these both the armies are on the same side. Tory and Grit are equally Anti-Nationalist: in truth, the Grit is even the more Anti-Nationalist of the two. The chief subject to which, if there were a Liberal Opposition, its criticism would be directed, is the Railway policy, which is leading the country through financial disaster to compulsory annexation; and it is precisely on this point that the tongues of the Grit leaders are most fatally tied by their own acts as well as by their general fear of the powers of toadyism which menace with calumny any Canadian who stands up for the special interests of Canada.

The policy which lavishes the resources of Canada in building railways for the purpose of politically annexing British Columbia and Manitoba is Imperialism. The word is used in no disrespectful sense. There are many good and able men

who believe that the aggregation of boundless territories in different parts of the world, really or nominally under a single government, is the grand source of strength and happiness, while there are others who believe that more of both is to be obtained by multiplying the centres of political life. There are many good and able men who believe that it is possible and desirable to erect the straggling line of British possessions of the north of this Continent into an Empire, united in itself, antagonistic in spirit to the communities which adjoin it, identified politically with the British aristocracy, and destined to prevent the triumph of democracy on this Continent; while there are others who hold that such an undertaking is a mere fighting against the progress of humanity as well as against the physical ordinances of nature. We only mean to say that the object of the present policy is Imperial not Canadian; political not commercial. The special interest of Canada is treated as subordinate to that of the Empire; while commercial considerations are disregarded. This, right or wrong, is the plain fact.

Thirty-six millions have now been sunk in the Intercolonial Railway; no hope is held out that the road will ever pay: the utmost expected is a reduction of the outlay on it, and this, the Opposition maintains, is being brought about by a serious sacrifice of efficiency and repair. Nobody can doubt that this, at all events, is a political and military, rather than a commercial, work. The main objects were to secure a communication through British territory and a military road beyond the reach of the supposed enemy in the United States. Whenever the Intercolonial Railway is mentioned we are authoritatively informed that the suggestion came not from the Colonial office but from Canada. Knowledge of the sentiments and plans of the Colonial Office is not confined to this side of the water or to a single breast. But what does it signify whether the suggestion came from Imperialists in Downing Street or from Imperialists in Canada? It did not come from a quarter in which commercial considerations prevailed, or in which the special

interest of Canada was paramount. The Imperial Parliament gave a guarantee on the ground that the work would be beneficial to the Empire.

That for Canada to construct a railroad at a probable expense of a hundred millions for the purpose of opening a connection with British Columbia and her fifteen thousand whites can be, in a commercial point of view, anything but madness, nobody has been yet found explicitly to say. Suppose the New England States, whose aggregate wealth must be as great as ours, had undertaken by themselves to carry a railway to the Pacific Coast before the existence of San Francisco, for the purpose of connecting themselves with a place like Burrard's Inlet, what would have become of the Yankee's reputation for good sense? In this case the political aim of the enterprise is almost as little likely to be fulfilled as the commercial. It is inconceivable that geography, against which no power has yet prevailed, should so completely succumb to our Acts of Parliament as to permit this more than unnatural combination. The British Columbians themselves are frank; they do not pretend to care much for the railway as a bond of union, though they clamour for the expenditure of Dominion money in their Province. In private all the world is of one mind on this subject; and, as we have said before, it is a sinister fact that in public not one man has been found to make a resolute resistance, or indeed any resistance at all, to this desperate waste of the money of our people. Fear of being out of fashion, and being denounced by some organ of toadyism as disloyal, has prevailed in every heart over duty to the country.

With regard to the North-West Territory there is more to be said. Had the British Government, with its Hudson Bay Company charters and monopolies, as absurd as Papal grants, not stood in the way, the country would long ago have been colonized in the best manner without a cent of expense to Canada, without a violent disturbance of the value of her own agricultural products, and with all the benefits of whatever kind

which the present outlay is likely to secure. What it will be to old Canada now is the most momentous and interesting problem of the day. There are many who think that it will be her salvation: that it will give her a substance and a backbone which she could not otherwise have had; and enable her to become—a nation, perhaps, they would not say—but a permanent Confederation. These men assume that Canada will be able to engross the North Western trade. But upon what do they base that assumption? If upon convenience of transit, this, apparently, must depend upon the possibility of carrying a railroad, at a cost not utterly ruinous, to the north of Lake Superior: for a water way, frozen during five months in the year, can surely never hold its own against railway communication. If upon patriotism, their faith must be strong, and nobody can say that they are infected with the scepticism of the age. In old Canada the population is almost entirely British, and there is still a certain feeling of border antipathy to the Americans, the offspring of U. E. Loyalism and the two wars. But the settlers of the North-West are a mixed multitude, and likely to be more so as time goes on, while those who know the country assure us that there the border antipathy does not exist. At St. Paul is being formed a colony of Canadian business men, which will be a point of attraction and a connecting link. The special sentiment of the Canadian element is likely to rule for a season; but in the end commercial influences will prevail, and unless the road can be constructed round Lake Superior, they will infallibly cause the North-West to gravitate commercially towards the States immediately to the south of it, with which it is connected by nature. Signs of the tendency will probably appear before long if it is true that under the present prohibitive system the people of Manitoba are unable to provide themselves with cows and oxen. We have not yet had from any one of our public men a statesmanlike speech upon this question, deliberately attempting to forecast the future. Of blazing rhetoric about the glorious fertility of the “illimitable wilderness” we have

had enough from Prime Ministers, Governors-General, and orators of all descriptions ; but what does this prove with regard to the probable relations, commercial or political, of the North-West to the Dominion ?

Remarkable passages, illustrating the Military and Imperial character of the Pacific Railway, will be found in the Adjutant-General's Report on the Militia, together with a prospectus of the demands which will be made on Canada for the defence of British Columbia, and of Imperial interests in the Pacific, of which she seems destined to be the special guardian, in the event of a war with Russia. The whole document is a most instructive exposition of Imperialist policy and sentiment. It proposes to turn the husbandmen of Canada into an army and her mariners into a navy, to be incorporated with a vast Imperial armament, for the purpose of carrying on the wars of the Empire in all quarters of the globe. Of course there are to be military schools, arsenals, manufactories of rifled cannon—all in face of an annual deficit, a heavy public debt, and a burden of private debt, especially among our farmers, at least equally heavy. To these proposals is subjoined, not as equally military in its character, but as equally beneficial and practicable, one for stopping the polar current which runs through the Straits of Belle Isle.

This, it cannot be too often repeated, is the great question of the day. If a member of Parliament has not made up his mind on it, or is afraid to say what he thinks about it, he may be great in investigating scandals, but he is of little use at a perilous crisis.

—The Opposition finds a point of attack in the misdoings at the Toronto Custom House. It was apparently the duty of the Government at once to proceed criminally in accordance with the law. Instead of this, we are told that a bond has been taken and the offender has been permitted to decamp. That he had not falsified the books is a poor plea ; the books of a public office are not easily falsified under the eyes



of the clerks. His character was notorious, so much so that he really has some reason to complain of those who gave him the opportunity of laying his hands on public money. But he was a political wirepuller and knew the secrets of his party, the heads of which were compelled to pay him with an appointment, and now dare not proceed against him. Meantime Mr. Jarvis, a Post-office clerk, suspected of having stolen money from a letter, is taken through the streets handcuffed before his trial and locked up in a felon's cell, though when he is brought to trial it turns out that there is no evidence of his guilt. The Toronto Post Office appointment was another instance of the evil hold which the underlings of party obtain over its leaders, and which in that case caused the claims of the public service and the just rules of promotion to be utterly set aside. No doubt the leaders loathe the degrading necessity to which they bow; but so it will be while the party system lasts.

We have also had revealed a system of organized roguery in relation to public contracts. That this has been generated in the atmosphere diffused by the present Ministry is a fond fancy of the Grits, who imagine that no political air can be pure without their Cauchon. But it is connected clearly enough with the trade of politics; so much we might have taken for granted, even if a government organist had not appeared as a partaker in the corrupt gains. In this case again, the Government will shrink from dealing with the offenders and put off public justice with securities real or imaginary for the future. And this sort of work is pretty sure to have been going on in the North West on the largest scale. That it opens a wide door for corruption is an evil of the North-Western policy in gravity second only to the expense. We welcome the accession of Mr. Macpherson to the Cabinet, in the hope that his vigilance may support the virtue of the Department of Public Works.

—We are promised a discussion, though not in definite terms a measure, on the Banks and Currency. There are one or

two things which, it is to be hoped, will be borne in mind. In any question between the action of the Government and that of commercial institutions it is usually assumed that while the commercial institutions represent private interest and an inferior morality, the Government represents purity and the nation; and the inference is naturally drawn that the more the action of the Government can be enlarged, the better conducted we shall be. Unhappily this assumption is not borne out by facts; in communities such as ours the commercial element is sounder than the political; we may say that upon the whole it is much sounder, and our opinion will be supported by the incidents to which we have just referred. Commerce, if the laws regulating its operation are even tolerably wise, is likely to do better for us by itself than with the frequent assistance of politicians. It, at all events, suffers for its offences, in credit and ultimately in cash, whereas the politician, bedeviling commerce with his legislation, suffers not at all provided he obtains the vote. Our industrial life depends on the soundness of the currency, a disposition to tamper with which for party objects has already been betrayed. The United States have lost heavily, and would have been ruined, by currency legislation, if commercial influence and the better part of the press, supported by the good name of the people, had not kept Congress under some control. Canada has not had much reason to be ashamed of the conduct of her banks, compared with that of the banks of other countries. We have had nothing like the failure of the Glasgow Bank, of the Western, or of the Agra and the Brighton in former times. The Consolidated, it is now announced, will pay billholders and depositors in full. If further safeguards are needed, let them by all means be devised; but nothing will be gained by making banking or any other branch of trade political.

Again, it is a mistake to suppose that the issuing of bank bills is essentially a part of the duty of Government. The only thing which is essentially a part of the duty of Government is stamping the coin. Bank bills are not to be classed with coin:

they are to be classed with securities or drafts for coin, such as cheques, promissory notes, and bonds. A bank bill is a note promising to pay the bearer so much coin on demand. The use of the ambiguous word currency has made people forget this fact. Who shall be authorized to issue such notes, to what extent, and under what conditions, are questions of commercial policy, the answers to which will vary with the circumstances of different countries. But in all countries alike, the right is limited to those who have the coin and are ready on demand to pay it; and this holds good in the case of Governments as well as in that of private corporations. Issuing notes without the means or intention of paying is just as much a fraud when committed by a Government as it would be when committed by a bank. Any political breach of commercial honesty in that direction, or in the direction of inflation, will soon bring its own condemnation in an unmistakable form; American bank bills will be at a premium in Canada.

It may be added, that of all remedies for the commercial distress, the most strangely inappropriate would be what, by a confusion of thought already noted, is called an increase of the currency. It would be like injecting water into a man suffering from dropsy. Throughout the crisis there has been a glut of money. The dearth, both in England and here, has been of investments. Masses of money lay in the London banks at a nominal interest. The main cause of the crisis has been over-production, and excessive increase of the means of production, stimulated by a previous period of rapid development, which was brought suddenly to a close, partly in consequence of a break in railway enterprise. To fancy that any relief can be obtained by furnishing Government with a printing press, and bidding it print off quantities of irredeemable paper, would surely be most absurd.

—Any possible task would be well performed by Sir Alexander Galt. The task of divorcing Canada commercially from

her own hemisphere, and wedding her to the other, is not possible. It is a desperate attempt to make nature bend to the dictates of political prejudice. The political part of Sir Alexander's mission will be jealously watched by those who prize Canadian self-government, and it is satisfactory to see that Mr. Blake is on the alert. Our relations with the Government of the Mother Country are defined by the British North America Act, and, in case of necessity, the Governor-General is the constitutional medium of communication. What then are the matters in which the Canadian Privy Council requires the "support" of the British Cabinet, and finds it necessary to receive that support, not openly, but with cabinet secrecy, through a quasi-Minister domiciled in London? They ought to be, at least, intelligibly described.

—Once more, in a very positive form, if not from a very authoritative source, comes the announcement of a projected scheme of Imperial Confederation. It would be like Lord Beaconsfield to float that magnificent speculation before he retired. Let the scheme be considered by all means. That this great country can for ever remain in the present limbo between dependency and nationality, nobody ventures to assert. Everybody—Sir Francis Hincks and Sir Julius Vogel, as well as the rest,—avows or betrays his conviction that we shall some day have to choose between Imperial Confederation, Nationality, and Continental Union: as to Annexation, in the ignominious sense of the term, there will be danger of it only if Canada is brought on her knees by the consequences of reckless expenditure. The most extreme quietist pleads only for an indefinite delay, and for blindness to the future, which would be very well if, in the meantime, no Pacific Railway were being built, and no false direction were being given to our political character and institutions. The policy hitherto pursued has pointed in its whole course towards self-government, of which the consummation is nationality. Yet it is natural

that, as the goal comes in view, there should be a qualm and a desire on the part of some to reverse the process. Imperial Confederation, in a nebulous state, fills many minds; it is well that it should assume a definite form, and be brought at once under practical consideration. Are the people of Canada willing, for the sake of a nominal representation at Westminster, to bear their share of the military taxation of the Empire, and to pay for its repression of Balkan nationalities, for its South African and Afghan wars? Are they ready to resign their freedom of commercial legislation, and their power of regulating their own tariff? These are the first questions to be asked. Until they are both answered in the affirmative, it is idle to go further. When they are, the federationists may proceed to the details of the scheme, in which they are likely to find work enough for their diplomacy, considering the number of the communities, at present self-governed, whose consent is to be obtained. The French and Spanish Colonies are represented in the Parliament of the Mother Country; but they have not, like the great British Colonies, a political life of their own: they are mere dependencies. Algeria is not a growing nation; it is a barrack, a theatre, and a café. The destiny of Canada is being debated by a Council in London—will Canadians be guilty of treason if they debate it here?

—A notable omission in the Governor-General's Speech prepared us for the confession that, with regard to the primary object of all tariffs, the equalization of revenue with expenditure, the success of the New Tariff had been imperfect. Its friends have to fall back upon its secondary advantages as a mode of protecting and fostering native industry. It is not easy to distinguish its beneficial effects in this respect from those of the good harvest; though, if unseasonable weather lasts, that disturbing element in the calculation is too likely to be removed. A hope has been excited by the Boston move-

ment that the third object of the Tariff, the coercion of the United States into a renewal of reciprocity, may be accomplished; but it is not probably that this hope will be fulfilled: the weakness of partial reciprocity has been revealed: the set of American opinion appears to be decidedly against it; and it is unlikely that the greater country, with the tide of prosperity flowing, will allow itself to be coerced by the smaller.

—Before this comes into the hands of our readers a caucus will probably have decided the great question who is to be the leader of the Opposition. But let the caucus decide as it may, if Mr. Blake will only spread his sails, the wind is blowing which will surely waft him to the front. Nobody doubts Mr. Mackenzie's integrity, industry, or value as a departmental minister: but defeat sits upon his helm. It is his misfortune to be the too faithful organ of an influence narrowly personal, which, for the last twenty years, has marred the fortunes of the party. He is compelled to tread with measured steps the narrow path of Grit orthodoxy, while opinion is rolling past him on the open plain: and he is inextricably committed, though more by compliance than conviction, to the railway policy, independence of which is, at this juncture, the most essential qualification for leadership of the Opposition. His recent exhibition of courtly zeal with regard to the address of congratulation was not only an unconscious breach of the delicacy which leaves such matters to the Government, but a revelation of unexpected weakness.

—M. Girouard brings in the Bill to legalize marriage with a wife's sister, called in England the bill for the abolition of aunts. On this well worn theme we will only remark that no time need be wasted over the precepts of the Mosaic law. That law relates to Oriental and primeval marriage, and embodies the primeval idea of immortality, which was not individual life

in another world, but representation by posterity in the tribe. As to the practical question, it cannot be denied that there are arguments on both sides, so far at least as the widower and sister-in-law themselves are concerned; but the interest of the children seems clearly to point to the legalization of the marriage as giving them the best chance of a kind step-mother. In case of doubt liberty ought to prevail.

—There is certainly a growing opinion, on general grounds as well as on that of economy, in favour of abolishing the Lieutenant-Governorships, and setting the Provincial Assemblies to their proper work. That local self-government is an excellent thing everybody knows, but its excellence depends on its being local. Mix up the functions and attributes of a central with those of a local legislature and you produce a hybrid which, like other hybrids, will be unfruitful. A measure regulating the relations of law and equity is clearly work not for a local, but for a central legislature. The subject is one which taxes to the full the powers of the most eminent jurists. In a national assembly such men are found; and the body of the House, if it fairly represents the best intellect of the country, will be an appreciative and critical audience, though it may not be qualified to take part in the work. But in a local assembly this legislation, so important in its consequences to commercial and general life, must be conducted by two or three lawyers, not at the head of the profession, nor likely to be above its interests and prejudices, while a party of worthy farmers attends to make a quorum. Hear the plain-spoken Mr. Rosevear on the present Bill:—

For my part I don't understand one word about this Bill. I have asked gentlemen of the profession in the House if they understood it, and they said they did not; and I do not know that the Attorney-General does. (Laughter.) I believe the Attorney-General means well enough by the Bill; but he has been led away by some one or other who has been posting him up, and he has got wrong. (Renewed laughter.) I am not going to say one

word about the lawyers on one side of the House or the other; but I have often said that it makes no difference on what side of politics a lawyer is, they will always advocate the same thing, so long as it is in the interests of the lawyers. (Laughter and applause.) I am a politician, and will stick to my party as long as I think they are right; but the lawyers don't do that. They stick to their own party so long as their own interests are not at stake, and when their interests are at stake they leave it. It's my opinion that the laymen might as well go out into the lobby or into the smoking-room while the lawyers are passing this Act. (Applause.)

—Opposition amidst its depression has been filled with ecstasy by the publication of the Lieutenant-Governor's accounts for his trip to Manitoba. A poor Monthly comes in too late for the fun, and can only have a hand in the dull work of pointing the moral. In the name of common sense what can be the use of such Royalty as this? We fully admit the force of sentimental as well as of practical considerations; but what sentiment can be kindled by a delegated Majesty which is compelled to scuffle for its railway fares and its bath-towels, its theatre tickets and its drinks? What good purpose of any kind can be served by bringing down with pop-gun salutes and an escort of six men a figure in an antiquated costume to read a speech not a word of which is its own, one the exact opposite, perhaps, of that which it was made to deliver the session before? Where can be the use of having the Provincial Ministry nominally appointed by a potentate who, if he attempts really to exercise the power, as the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec did the other day, is immediately kicked out as a usurper? The hypocrisies of Constitutional Monarchy on a grand scale may be august; on a small scale they are ridiculous. As a political officer, the Lieutenant-Governor is notoriously nothing, and of nothing nothing comes. Fancy assigns to him and his lady high value as the heads of Provincial society. Fine pictures are drawn of a wealthy and hospitable pair, with the finest manners, making the Government House a social centre, and diffusing happiness and refinement around them. But where are such people to be found? Supposing they were



found, what should induce them to give up their pleasant home and their congenial circle for publicity without power, and parade without distinction? And supposing them to be both forthcoming and willing to take the place, what Prime Minister could afford to pass over the claims of men who had served the party in order to provide an agreeable *salon* for the Province? It is preposterous to expect that these appointments will ever be treated as anything but rewards for steady voting and reimbursements of money expended in elections. Sir John Macdonald is now peering under every bush for the next King of Ontario. Why cannot he take Nature at her word, and relieve us of an office which there is nobody to fill?

But if the Constitutional King is removed, how are the Provincial Ministers to be appointed? That this question should be asked, and asked as if it really admitted of no answer, shows how our minds, once set running in the strangest groove, can be made to take it for the only conceivable course. Why should not the Provincial Assembly appoint its officers as other bodies appoint theirs—by regular election? What real objection is there to this plan? Why should a Provincial Council, any more than a County Council, or a body of stockholders, be required to go through the strange process of telling itself off into factions, with a rope stretched between them, and choosing its executive by “tug of war?” If regular elections were substituted for the faction fight, there would be an end, of course, of a game to which the players have become accustomed. There would be an end of wirepulling, bribery, gerrymandering, and voting black white to keep a particular man or set of men in power. We should have no more compacts with Roman Catholic Archbishops, no more election placards promising a local expenditure of a million if the Minister gains the seat. But the best men in the Province would be eligible to the executive, without reference to their opinions on irrelevant questions; the electoral power, instead of being engrossed by the wirepullers, would be restored to the people; the members of the Assembly would become fair critics, instead

of being blind accomplices, or blind assailants of the Government ; and instead of the time being spent in the scuffles and wrangles of mock parties, the business of the Province would be done. It would be done much better, and in half or a quarter of the time. Perhaps, when reduced to its proper proportions, and divested of its frivolities, it might be done by public-spirited men without pay ; in which case, not only would money be saved, but the number of temptations to enter the evil trade of politics would be diminished.

Thanks mainly to the husbandry of Sandfield Macdonald, a man who, though his ways were sometimes queer, was loyal at heart to the public service, Ontario still has a surplus. When that has been spent, she will begin to think of economy. About the same time the mind of the Dominion will probably be turned by the stress of circumstances in the same direction, and general simplification of the machinery of Government will become the order of the day. At present, for a population of four millions, we have eight kings, one central and seven provincial, as many Parliaments, and sixty-five Ministers of the Crown ; while England is content with a single king, a single Parliament, the members of which are not paid, and a single Cabinet, seldom containing so many members as the Cabinet of Ottawa. We have also judges and chief justices as the stars of heaven in number. It may be doubted whether any country in the world has so much government as that which, of all perhaps, requires the least. The framers of our Constitution acted, and our people to a great extent still act, in a state of elation which prevents the voice of economy from gaining the public ear. We are possessed with the notion of boundless territories, to be filled to-morrow, or next day, with swarming millions, and of unlimited resources, warranting expenditure as unlimited, and making parsimony almost treason to our greatness. An eloquent Governor-General, in quest of popularity, serves out with his champagne indiscriminate flattery of the country, and extravagant predictions of its development, which intoxicate the people because they come from his lips. We

cannot agree with those who make it a point against the Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, that he did not in his trip emulate Lord Dufferin's speeches which, printed in a row, as they now are, form a collection of elegant flummery almost unique in literature, with hardly a syllable of sober truth from the beginning to the end. Politicians of both parties alike share, or affect to share, the illusion. Only in private does prudence venture to whisper that the resources of Canada are really limited, that her wealth must depend on her frugality, and that an unambitious happiness is her lot. Public debt is piled up heedlessly, because a couple of hundred millions can matter nothing to those who are about to enter into a fabulous heritage of opulence and grandeur. We are ready, for a mere freak of ambition, to spend a hundred millions on the incorporation of British Columbia. This will probably be the awakening; and we shall find that we have been forestalling not only the actual future of our country, but a magnificent dream.

—It is satisfactory to see that the Local Ministry of Education has at last mustered courage to deal with the Book Depository. The conclusive reasons for this step were before the Government six years ago, and all the waste of money and the additional accumulation of stock (probably of much the same quality as of old) which have been going on since that time might have been spared. Perhaps this saving may enable the Government to refrain from signing the death warrant of the Toronto School of Art, from which they have announced their intention of withdrawing aid to an extent that would be fatal to its existence. Without these schools, there can be no skill in design; and skill in design is the only passport to industries which enrich as well as refine, and which, if the agricultural importance of these Eastern Provinces should ever fall off, would become still more valuable to our people.

It is satisfactory to see that some members, at least, of the Legislature take an interest in the university question. That

subject is coming again to the front, and it will bring with it some cognate subjects of a kind solid enough to command the attention even of the most agricultural assembly. One of these is Practical Science, for want of which, as we have been told by the highest authority, our youth are missing golden opportunities, and which cannot be given effectively by a starveling appendage to a single college, as the experiment which, embodied in a form of loveliness, confronts Toronto University, seems to have proved. With the present requirements of science the resources of all our colleges clubbed together are barely sufficient to maintain such a department on a proper footing. Meantime, just over the line, there is Cornell University offering instruction in practical science of the best kind, and at the cheapest rate. The arguments in favour of University consolidation have been repeated to satiety. Students cannot be taught without an adequate staff, library, and apparatus; while that other, and perhaps higher, function of a university which consists in the advancement of learning and science, cannot be well discharged without the co-operation and interaction of a number of learned and scientific minds. The present system of isolation is the offspring of accident, for which nobody now living is at all to blame, saving perhaps those who, in face of experience and the general conviction, gave a charter to a seventh university at London. But among other bad consequences, a calamitous divorce is being produced between State endowment and private munificence. Queen's College is being built up by private munificence into a rival to the Provincial University, while Toronto engrosses the State endowment. If the different Colleges could be federated into a Provincial University, private munificence would enrich the several Colleges, as it does at Oxford and Cambridge, while the staff and apparatus of the common University would be appropriately kept up by State aid. All wholesome feeling of attachment to the College would, as in the cases of Oxford and Cambridge, remain entirely unimpaired. Let the Minister of Education reflect that procrastination is not only the thief of time but

of opportunity, and lay hold at once upon a problem which is difficult enough as it is, but which, if the present system of local Colleges once becomes rooted in large endowments, will be hopeless.

The School Book controversy, which has broken out with fresh fury, may find a solution when Consolidation, in any form, gives us a really Provincial University. The old Council of Public Instruction was abolished, under untoward though pressing influences, with a headlong haste which hardly permitted courtesy, much less discrimination. It had very weak points, the worst of which was the difficulty of assembling the country members; but for the selection of school books it was by far the best authority that we have yet had. It was competent; and it was above not only influence but suspicion. A board of School Officials may be competent; it may possibly be above influence; but it will never be above suspicion. The Senate of a Provincial University, or a committee of such a body, would have all the qualifications of the old Council.

Mr. Badgerow is to be commended for taking up University questions, but hardly for proposing to introduce reporters into the Senate. There are already ladders enough for aspiring orators and politicians. Let us have in one or two places a little quiet and practical deliberation.

—The clause in the Taxes Exemption Bill, taxing lawns and gardens at the same rate as ground occupied by houses, will probably act as a prohibition; for few can afford lawns and gardens at such a cost. Those who desire them, as most who rise in the world do, will go out of Toronto; the value of land in the city will at the same time be reduced by the quantity thrown on the market; and thus the financial gain is not likely to be very considerable, while injury will be done, both to the beauty and to the healthiness of the city. If the people really are persuaded that the possession of a lawn or garden is a public wrong, by all means let lawns and

gardens go : anything is better than that the bread of labour should be leavened by a sense of injustice. But if the cry comes only from the Aldermen, we may be permitted to use our privilege of grumbling so far as to lament that the necessity for abolishing the only luxury which is a benefit to the community was not obviated by integrity and frugality in the management of our municipal affairs. At least we may wish success to the Mayor of Toronto in his effort to improve the city government by making it less ephemeral, and at the same time less a prey to the petty influences of the separate wards.

That the Tax Bill is not extended in full force to ecclesiastical possessions is due, no doubt, to the pressure of a powerful Church upon the Government, both from within and from without. This question is the light cloud that flies before a storm. In every nation in Europe, even the most devoutly Roman Catholic, the devouring growth of Church property has at last brought on a crisis : the same thing will in the end take place here, devout Quebec leading the way.

—A new table of precedence has been put forth by the authority of the Governor-General for this aristocratic country. We accept with grateful reverence the revised gospel of our social life. Only in reference to one article will we venture to make a remark, or rather to repeat one made by an authority much higher than ourselves. Mr. Hallam says that the title of Lord Bishop, though the Puritans took exception to it, was not open to objection, being a consequence of the tenure of episcopal estates by barony ; but, he adds “this will not cover our modern *colonial* bishops, on some of whom the title has, without any good reason, been conferred.” It is curious to see with how much pertinacity, and with what success, the Bishops of the Anglican Church struggle to maintain the title and the social rank of prelates of an Establishment in a country of which perfect religious equality is now the law. They are a good deal more be-lorded here than they are in England. It is true their

Roman Catholic rivals do the same. Will a Bishop of the Episcopal Methodists be entitled to precedence?

—The community has been horror-stricken by a sanguinary case of lynching; for such evidently is the nature of the Lucan tragedy, though there is mingled with it something of the Tipperary feud. "There's Tipperary, bluidy Tipperary!" we remember hearing an Irishman exclaim with gusto, as he caught sight of the well-known hills. After all we are not so very different from that Publican; society, on both sides of the line, being identical in structure, is liable to the same maladies. Lynching is bad and must be rooted out; but it is not necessarily indicative of general lawlessness. It is necessarily indicative only of a weak police, which again may bespeak, and, in the case of the older States of the Union, certainly does bespeak, not general lawlessness, but that general respect for law which, under ordinary circumstances, renders a strong police needless. Life and property can not be more secure than they are as a rule in the rural districts of New York. But not many years ago, a gang of brigands established itself in one of those districts, and harried the country around, till the people, having no legal force to protect them, took the law into their own hands and destroyed the gang. There have been other instances of such irruptions of banditti into neighbourhoods similarly unprotected, followed by equally violent measures of self-redress on the part of the people. The Vigilance Committee of San Francisco was the same thing on a large scale. California had been flooded by a robber horde, which it was impossible to bring to justice, and society could preserve itself only by meeting war with war. Our proper remedy, as we cannot afford always to keep up a costly police, seems to be a small body of central constabulary, always ready to be thrown upon any point where violence has got the upper hand of local authority. With the aid of such a force the outrages of the Donnellys would have been repressed, and the neighbourhood would not have been

goaded to the act of lawless and bloody vengeance which has brought disgrace on Canadian civilization.

—The Toronto Theatre has re-opened well with Shakespeare and Neilson. Ultra-culturists, such as Mr. Matthew Arnold, are never tired of defiling the graves of the Puritans, for having shut up the playhouse. The playhouse which the Puritans shut up was a brothel, as any one may see, if he chooses, after providing himself with proper means of ablution, to look into the plays of the period. The playhouse now, in respectable hands at least, is not a brothel, but a school of pure and generous sentiment as well as a place of liberal amusement, and we may all rejoice to see it well filled. If the Puritan feeling lingers in some minds, it deserves respect; but it has outlived the state of things which made it reasonable, as may be said also of the feeling, similar in its origin, against dancing. On the other hand, the culturists expect too much: actors and actresses are not priests and priestesses: when they have given us an evening's innocent pleasure, and at the same time awakened right sympathies, they have done their part. There is a limit, though some rhapsodists seem not to think so, to the spiritual benefits of seeing Rachel or Sarah Bernhardt.

The influence of the drama proper has been a good deal curtailed on one side by the opera, which in London and Paris draws away by its combination of delights, perhaps also by its sensuousness, those who in former days were the best patrons of the theatre; on the other side by the novel, which, in fact, is to us what the drama was to the generation of Shakespeare. Life is far less dramatic now than it was in the time of the Tudors. Romance, vicissitude, pathos have not departed; the wheel of fortune still turns; diversities of character are perhaps more multiplied than ever; but the interest of action is more diffused, the play of emotion is less upon the surface; costume is dead; and social situations, however thrilling, are seldom picturesque. The narrator who can lift the curtain of



the heart has an immense advantage over the dramatist, who is confined to that which is seen or uttered. We are not likely to have a Globe Theatre again. If Thackeray had lived in the reign of Elizabeth, he would certainly have written plays. If Shakespeare had lived in the reign of Victoria, he would have written novels. As it is, he sometimes goes where the mere actor cannot follow him. All Hamlets are failures, because in that character, thought and feeling preponderate; perhaps also because nobody who had the sensibility to feel the part, would have nerve to act it.

—In watching the eddies of American politics there are two questions which we always ask. Are the people of the United States becoming conscious that faction is their great danger? Are they, or any of them, trying to break its yoke? There is still abundant motive power of reform; there are still ample grounds for hope. As yet despondency and cynicism are alike out of place. He who goes into any one of the better states of the Union, and visits the village and the farm instead of the city and the town will find such store, not only of genuine worth, public and private, but of political intelligence as he will not find in any other country in the world. Slow, too slow, to move, this saving power when it does move often betters the most sanguine expectations. But even this store is not inexhaustible. Maine has shewn that the perpetual faction fight, with the passions which it kindles, with the intrigue, the bribery, the electioneering trickery, the villainy of all kinds, which it sets at work, with the ever-increasing ascendancy of scoundrels which is its inevitable accompaniment, must in the end deprave the character even of the best of people. There is no salvation for the Republic, but in escape by some outlet or other from the party system. By what road an escape can be effected, it is not easy to say. Every year these two vast conspiracies strengthen their organization and carry to higher perfection their evil discipline. Every year

the fatal prize for which they contend grows more dazzling, the excitement of the contest deepens, the efforts of the factions grow more desperate and their practices worse. A direct attack upon the system appears almost hopeless. When it was attempted by the convokers of the Cincinnati Convention, intrigue got possession of the Councils of Reform, and a fiasco ensued which left matters worse than ever. Hope, however, dawns in another quarter. It seems as though Bolting and Scratching, though their names are homely, might be destined to open the way, at least, for the redemption of the commonwealth. In the State of New York the other day the Republicans who scratched Mr. Cornell, the Anti-reform Candidate of the Conkling Republican Machine, numbered not less than twenty-five thousand, and they would have beaten the Machine had it not been for a bolt from the other side which, while it counteracted their movement at the polls, testified to the action of the same disintegrating force. Butlerism in Massachusetts and Fusionism in Maine were both of them secessions from the regular parties, and partial victories of local and material interests over the regular issue of the Bloody Shirt. The Cincinnati Convention itself, though it failed, was a considerable fact, and indicated that there was a real force on the side of reform if it could find the right leaders and be directed to the mark. Grant was endorsed the other day as the Republican candidate for the Presidency by the Pennsylvania Convention, under the pressure of the local Machine worked by Don Cameron, the son and heir of that Simon Cameron who was expelled from Lincoln's first War Cabinet for treachery and corruption, of which not even the mortal peril of his country, in her darkest hour, could suspend the reign in his breast; and it is not unlikely that when the National Convention of the party meets in the spring the decision of the local may be confirmed by that of the general Machine. But it is evident that a good many Republicans will be inclined to bolt, either on the anti-dynastic ground, or because they see in Grant and his circle the arch-enemies of Civil Service Reform. What may be called an

Anti-Machine manifesto has already been put forth by a number of independent Republicans in Pennsylvania. These gentlemen say they want honourable contests for the Presidency, and no "cogged dice." When they have got to the root of the matter they will see that what they really want is no contests for a Presidency at all. The institution has turned out wholly different from that which was intended by the framers of the Constitution, who supposed that the President would be elected by the Presidential electors, while they had no conception of organized party. So long as it exists on its present footing there will be cogged dice, Camerons, and all that the manifesto deprecates, let patriotism protest as it may.

That in case of a re-election of Grant there may possibly grow up a national and patriotic opposition to the power of the Presidency itself, would seem to us, as we have said before, a redeeming part of that otherwise sinister event. Some of our American friends, for whose judgment we have great respect, tell us that we were wrong in surmising that Grant once re-elected would be re-elected for life. We reasoned thus:—If Grant is re-elected it will be through a Machine which by that victory will have proved itself stronger than all the elements of opposition, whether Democratic or Independent. Four years more of power and patronage will at once increase the strength of the Machine and bind the machinists more closely than ever to Grant; and this may go on, and is likely to go on, so long as Grant lives. That many loyal Republicans would be very indignant, there can be no doubt; but the question is whether they would be able to give effect to their indignation; and it must be borne in mind that if there is a strong anti-dynastic feeling among good patriots, there is also a good deal of dynastic feeling among the renegade rich. Imperialism in any shape always has attractions for the selfish wealth whose ideal is perfect security for the enjoyment of a trough full of dainties in a gilded sty. Even for better citizens, political repose would have its charms. That it is in Grant's character to be guilty of anything in the way of violent usurpation, we

cannot for a moment believe. Everything in his record, everything in his bearing as the victorious commander of the armies of the Republic, acquits him of such criminal aspirations. Besides he must know very well that the army would not obey him if he ordered it to fire on the Constitution. But he aims at a life-presidency and the men about him aim at it for him; otherwise he and they would not fail to set the mind of the country at rest by a distinct disclaimer. It must be owned, too, that he has shown rather an ominous amount of reticent astuteness in creeping to his mark. He somewhat reminds us of the sinister taciturnity of Monk.

Evidently the Grand Tour had its object. It was intended by Barnum if not by the Elephant as a political advertisement on the most splendid scale. To choose the head of the State by foreign suffrages would be like the Americans, who, though accused of excessive self-esteem, are of all people in the world, the most sensitive to foreign opinion, especially to that of old and aristocratic nations. But in the case of General Grant, America and Europe have been somewhat at cross purposes. America fancied that Europe was paying homage to Grant's greatness; in truth she was only paying a compliment to America, whose idol she took Grant to be. As a statesman Grant does not stand higher in other countries than he does in his own. As a soldier he is acknowledged to have been a potent sledge-hammer of war, to have shown the utmost courage, energy, tenacity, and a resolution approaching to ruthlessness in the use of the vast resources at his command; by those who are more intimately acquainted with his history he is allowed in all combined operations to have displayed a generous and magnanimous loyalty to his colleagues and to the common cause; but with strategic genius he is not credited; in that Sherman is deemed his superior, the highest praise of all being reserved for General Lee. The murderous battles on the Rappahannock were generally condemned by military men in Europe as a terrible waste of life which brought Grant no nearer to Richmond, while without such bloodshed

Lee might have been held at bay and prevented from detaching any corps till the march of Sherman had pierced the Confederacy to the heart. Whether this opinion was right or wrong, it is for soldiers to decide. What is certain is that the European ovation was not a personal tribute to General Grant. Afterwards, when a vague hope dawned that his armed hand might put down democracy, he became an object of personal interest in England, but to the Court party alone.

Of the attempt to supersede election by count in Maine there is an end; having lost, the conspirators will live only in infamy. But has the attention of the people of the United States been turned to a danger of the same kind, at the very heart of the Republic, against which there seems at present to be no safeguard? In England, during the dark days of political corruption, contested election cases were decided by a committee of the whole House; the consequence of which was, that barefaced partizanship put justice out of doors, and a minister finding himself hard pressed, did not blush to pass the word down his ranks that no quarter must be given in elections. The Grenville Act was thought to have wrought a great reform by substituting a select committee for a committee of the whole; but even into select committees partizanship found its way, and the integrity of elections was not secured till the trials were transferred to the judges, whose decisions command universal respect, and whose ermine has contracted no stain. But in the **United States** the system is still virtually that of England in the Walpolean era. We have ourselves witnessed, in the House of Representatives, the decision of an election case by a partizan majority, manifestly regardless of truth and right. When a faction wants to add to its strength, it calls up a contested election case and seats its own candidate by a strict party vote. Is there any limit to the fabrication of election cases, or the decision of them by the party in power? If not, where is the security for the fair representation of the people? Where is the security against the foulest malpractices on the part of a faction, which feels itself tottering, but has still a

majority in the House? Disastrous experience shows that it is not to be found in the morality of Party.

—It is announced that a female Croesus, following in the steps of "Baron Albert Grant," has bought of some needy European Government the title of Marchioness. Under the Stuarts the same thing might have been done in England: the price paid for peerages in those days was actually entered in the books of the Exchequer. But in these days the process is more tortuous; instead of paying the money to the Crown, you invest it in land, become a county magnate, get yourself elected to Parliament, vote steadily with the Government, and at last are made a peer. The "marchioness," however, if the report is true, will have done a service in two ways: she will have shown what titles of nobility mean; and she will have shown what are the tendencies of Shoddy. Beyond doubt, there are hundreds of wealthy men and women who would hold up both their hands for a court at Washington. Already they have imitations of the English "Court Journal," which, of course, outshine the original as the gorgeous flunkey outshines his master. The glorious fact is recorded that a New York lady has appeared with \$800,000 worth of diamonds on her person; it is a wonder her dresses are not trimmed with bank bills. Kearney is unattractive; but if he and the Marquis of Petroleum fight, civilization, and even conservatism, ought to pray that Kearney may win. The most dangerous class of all is that which, by its vulgar ostentation of wealth, excites among the people at once envy and contempt. There are, in the United States, in larger numbers, as we believe, than in any other country, rich men who keep their hearts above their wealth, who hold it really as a trust, who give their gold lavishly to every good object, and labour, which is more precious than gold, to every social improvement and to every righteous cause. The land is full of the monuments of their beneficence, and the world has no higher examples of the beauty and hap-

piness of a noble life. But it takes all their virtue and all their munificence to counteract the social mischief that shoddy fashion works.

It has been truly said, in connection with the Irish case, that Ireland does not suffer more from absenteeism than the United States. Every pleasure city in Europe now swarms with rich Americans, squandering and demoralizing wherever they go. How many of these tourists are really led to the old world by liberal curiosity or even by the pursuit of healthy pleasure? The expenditure in foreign lands of a vast amount of the fruits of American labour is the least part of the evil. Even the desertion of political and social duty is not the worst. The worst is the effect on political character. Rich Americans are thus taught always to sigh for lands in which wealth can command servility. They become apostates from equality and social justice. They are thenceforth bad citizens of the Republic. In grovelling before European royalty and rank they outdo everything that is most abject in Europe itself. Beneath the sun there was nothing less lovely than the American colony in Paris under the Empire. We remember reading in the French correspondence of an American paper a chuckling announcement that the American ladies in Paris had combined with the Russian ladies to exclude the Englishwomen from society for not dressing with sufficient splendour. Fancy Shoddy cutting Lady Ashburton, Lady Waldegrave, or Lady Theresa Lewis, for not bedizening herself like a kept mistress! A moderate absentee tax, if a way of imposing it could be devised, would be not less salutary than just, and the greatest gainers by it would be those whom it would compel to stay in their homes and attend to the social duties without which there can be no happiness or dignity in life, let Bidley be as mutinous as she will.

—Mr. Parnell has decidedly broken down. The different objects of his complex mission crossed each other; and what-

ever sympathy the Irish might have with the political or agrarian object, he might have known beforehand, if he had been well advised, that the Americans had comparatively little sympathy with the political object, and with the agrarian none. He lost his temper, and though from the decidedly landlordish composition of the Mansion House Committee, and the impossibility of getting anything done or distributed without party bias in Ireland, it is not improbable that his complaints on that subject may be partly warranted, he put them in the wrong form, and went far astray in his genealogical allusions. Fortunately for him he errs in thinking that the most terrific of termagants, Sarah Jennings, has transmitted her temper and nails to any living descendant. His scuffle with the *New York Herald* has given birth to what may be said to be in effect a grand pecuniary demonstration, under the auspices of the *Herald*, in favour of Conservatism and against the Home Rule cause. In spite of his honesty and courage, which nobody doubts, he is one more illustration of the luckless inability of Ireland to produce a leader. The chief result, so far, of his agitation has been an excitement of Unionist feeling in England which brought out a heavy vote at Liverpool. It is not easy to get a Spaniard or an Irishman to take the obvious course; but the obvious course is to act with the Liberals in Parliament at least till they refuse to take part in some reasonable measure of redress. They have just given Ireland religious equality and an extensive change in the land laws. To raise the banner of national insurrection, which is what Mr. Parnell's language suggests, would be mere madness; if for no other reason, for this, that the people are without leaders from the class above them, that class, since the Liberal system of conciliation has prevailed, having become almost entirely Unionist; and without leaders from the class above them, the people never win.



—An opening of Parliament by the Sovereign in person is about the best lesson in the refinements of the British Constitution. Yonder lady who, amidst the salvos of the cannon, rides to Westminster in the Coach of State, with her lords and ladies in waiting, and her glittering guard of cuirassiers, through a vast crowd all uncovered and huzzaing, is legally the mistress of the Empire, appoints all the ministers, all the bishops, all the judges, all the officers of the army and navy, makes war and peace, has an absolute veto on all legislation. Practically, it has been settled, that she cannot even appoint her own bed-chamber women, while her veto belongs to the mythical past. The powers legally hers are all really exercised by a man in the crowd of members of Parliament, whom no insignia distinguish, whose position as head of the Cabinet is not even known to the law, but who is the leader of the dominant party. He wrote the speech which Her Majesty, enthroned on high, reads or directs the Chancellor to read as her own to the assembled Peers. They told George II. that a vagabond had counterfeited the king's speech, but that he should speedily be brought to justice. "Pray," said the king, "leave the poor fellow alone; I have read both speeches and I like the counterfeit the best." A curious piece of constitutional machinery, this, and one not very likely to suit inexperienced nations!

Knowing that Royalty had no real power, English ministers heretofore have taken care to avoid involving it in responsibility, and to keep its dignity clear of party. Lord Melbourne was the young Queen's political tutor; it is well known that she regarded him almost as a father, and that it would have been easy for him, if he had chosen, to let the nation see that her heart was on his side. But Lord Melbourne, though lax in some things, knew the limits of an honourable ambition. Never did he misuse the Queen's name, whatever irresponsible partizans may have done. Sir Robert Peel was equally scrupulous. When he moved the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Prince Consort came down to hear the debate; Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, who were then conspiring against

Peel, pretended to believe that he had used Royalty to countenance his policy, and reviled him accordingly; though we have now positive proof that the Prince Consort came down of his own accord, led only by his interest in the subject. But under the present premiership, there has been a signal change. Lord Beaconsfield never loses an opportunity of identifying himself with the Sovereign, and the Sovereign with himself. He seldom makes a defence of his own acts without introducing the Queen's name, and suggesting that his opponents are her enemies. He let the Crown put forth what can only be called a pamphlet in support of his Anti-Russian policy, under the guise of a volume of the "Life of the Prince Consort." And now the Queen is drawn from her seclusion to deliver for him a speech, which is not so much a programme for the session as a special glorification of those acts of the Government in Afghanistan and South Africa which are most vehemently condemned by half the nation. Under this sinister inspiration, the Court is beginning to manifest a temper ominously like that of the Stuarts, which breaks out in demonstrations of marked sympathy with Bonapartism and contemptuous hatred of the French Republic. The fruits of this will appear in the reign. President Grevy, one of the shrewdest of European statesmen, when asked what he thought of Lord Beaconsfield's policy, replied "he has played tricks with constitutional monarchy from which it will never recover." Little cares Lord Beaconsfield, provided the game lasts his time.

—A report went forth that the Premier's stroke of policy, on the question of the suffrage, was about to be repeated on the land question, and that he would take the wind out of the sails of the Liberals by proposing the abolition of primogeniture and entail. The authors of the report forgot that the Tory party was induced to concur in the extension of the suffrage to the populace of the cities, as a last desperate move, for the very purpose of saving the privileges of which the most essential.

are primogeniture and entail. It was a drastic medicine and one which may yet prove fatal; but it was not a suicide, as the dose now supposed to be meditated would be. In the middle ages, the English aristocracy was an aristocracy of local judicature and military command; it is now an aristocracy of territorial wealth, without which the mere titles would soon be in the gutter; and the estates are held together, in the great families, by the law of primogeniture and the custom of entail. The law leads and consecrates the custom, though it takes effect itself only in the rare case of intestacy. On the marriage of the eldest son, and as the condition of providing his allowance, the family estate is resettled in trustees, on the principle of primogeniture; and this goes on from generation to generation. There are those who think that if entails were done away with, land, instead of being divided among more owners, would be concentrated in still fewer hands, because the only obstacle to its sale being removed, it would be bought up in great tracts by the colossal millionaires, of whom there are many in England, and with whom territorial aggrandizement and the political influence attached to it are always favourite aims. We happen to know that experienced land agents in England are not of that opinion. But, be this as it may, the permanent retention of estates by particular families would certainly receive a fatal blow: in a large percentage of cases wealth, idleness, and social temptation, acting upon the characters of the young nobility, would be sure to produce effects which would bring many a Stowe and Clumber to the hammer. With primogeniture and entail aristocracy stands or falls. Knowing this right well, the aristocratic government is preparing to conjure the gathering storm by a concession in the shape of a measure giving somewhat larger powers of leasing and improvement to holders of settled estates. The device will not succeed. In this, as in many other instances, that which political agitation might never have accomplished has been brought about by economical causes. By the immensely increased importation of food from abroad, English land has been so much reduced in

value that it is no longer capable, as a commodity, of bearing the burdens and the restrictions of the old feudal system. A good deal of it is already sunk under mortgages, jointures, and rent charges in favour of younger children, laid on it when its value was far higher. Some, even of the landed aristocracy, finding themselves commercially pressed to death between the depreciation and the settlements, are beginning to take part in what they would once have deemed the most revolutionary of all movements. Tenants at will, the delight of the aristocratic land-owner, are no longer to be had: there is not a single bid for farms for which there used to be a score; long leases will be demanded by farmers as the only chance of making a profit, and granted by landlords as the only chance of getting any rent: and upon the substitution of long leases for tenancy at will, the vassalage of the farmer, both social and political, and the landlord's sovereignty will come to an end. Ireland, with her Tenant Right, has led the way in this change, as it will probably prove that she has done in the case of Church Disestablishment. Cromwell used to say of her that she was like a blank paper, on which you might try innovations, which in England rooted prejudice would not let you try. He acted on that principle in the case of law reform.

—With the land system is closely bound up that country life of the English squirearchy which to foreigners and colonists seems a social paradise. But a great breach has already been made by non-residence. Formerly the English nobleman or country gentleman lived in his mansion all the year round—unless he had to attend Parliament—entertained his country neighbours, went every day among his farmers and peasantry, fulfilled in some measure, if he was good, the ideal of Sir Roger De Coverley, or Mr. Allworthy; and, if he was bad, was still the great man of the parish. But now, railways, combined with the growing appetite for pleasure, have made the squires restless like the rest; such as can afford it, whether members of

Parliament or not, spend the season in London, and often a great part of the rest of the year at fashionable watering places, in their yachts, or in the pleasure cities of the continent. My Lord, instead of gathering his country neighbours round his board, brings down a party from London for a *battue*. In some districts there can hardly be said to be a resident gentry. The servants are migratory like their masters, and rarely will you find one of the households of the olden time. The truth is, that however charming may be a country seat, country life is dull. For the men, the chief attractions are shooting and foxhunting, and these are now doomed. The holder of a lease, who has laid out capital on his farm, will not allow his crops to be devoured by game, or foxhunters to break his fences and ride over his crops. We recollect a sportsman, who, having grown old, being paralysed on one side, and living in a great house alone, found his only amusement in preserving rabbits, which eat up no small portion of the produce of his estate. He used to go out shooting them in a cart, seated on a music-stool, to enable him to turn his paralysed side. Other solaces for a vacant mind must now be found.

The life of an English lady in a country house is pure and healthy, contrasting favourably with Saratoga; especially if she is good to the poor. The squire is sometimes active in county business, and in the administration of rural justice—extremely rural justice in the case of poachers. But as a rule his existence is a proof that, if labour was a curse in the beginning, to be without it is a curse now. The lilies of the field which neither toil nor spin are beautiful; but the lilies of society which neither toil nor spin are commonly as unlovely as they are useless. Look in upon the squire when a long frost prevents his hunting, or when he is too old to get into his saddle, and see how much bliss he enjoys or diffuses round him. The best and happiest of the race are those who have not been born to the estate, but have come into it after having formed their characters and habits in active life. These men often improve and civilize; but the

ordinary squire walks in the ways of his fathers, agricultural as well as political, and having generally clean forgotten the very little which he learned at college, he has not much civilization to impart. The parson does more in that way than the squire, and it is often urged as a reason against Disestablishment that it would deprive the parish of its only resident gentleman; a singular ground, it must be owned, for maintaining a spiritual institution. As to the religion of the people, it is kept up mainly by a very mean-looking Methodist chapel, under the ban of the squierarchy and the hierarchy alike. But the squire and his family are the Corinthian capital of the column. The shaft is the "Lincolnshire farmer" of Tennyson. The base is Hodge, with three dollars a week to keep himself, his wife, and six children, a hovel for his abode, and the workhouse for the home of his old age. Every phase of humanity, as it passes away, calls for the tribute of a sigh; but if the place of the squierarchy should be taken by an independent yeomanry, combining, with industrial worth, any tolerable measure of education, Canadian experience proves that the change will not be much for the worse.

Another political consequence will almost certainly follow, if the land question becomes practical. The thread of connection between the Whig aristocracy and the Liberals, already frail and dwindling, will be severed. It is a mere historical accident. The Whigs represent the grantees of the monastery lands, who were bound by that pledge to Protestantism and its political alliances. Even the possession of the lands themselves was not perfectly safe before the deposition of James II. To this influence was added the jealousy felt by an aristocracy of such Court favourites as Strafford and Laud. After the Revolution, the Whig families engrossed the government under the name of the Hanoverian dynasty, which they had set upon the throne. George III., by the help of Pitt, shook off the yoke and for a while revived personal government. The Whigs were then driven back on the people, and almost on the Revolution. As leaders of the people, they rode back into

power on the wings of the Reform movement which commenced after the downfall of Napoleon, and carried the Reform Bill of 1832, with the line of Liberal measures which the Bill brought in its train. Then they began to remember that they were a land-owning aristocracy, and to obey the natural bias of their order. The secession of the late Lord Derby and Sir James Graham from the Liberal to the Conservative side was the first of a series which receives additions on one plea or another at every political crisis, and which is morally certain to be continued in the future. In fact, at the last general election, almost the entire Whig section deserted Mr. Gladstone, and the *Edinburgh Review* let fall the mask and avowed its hatred of Liberalism without disguise. A few great families, notably those of Russell and Cavendish, are so bound by tradition and connection that change for them is hardly possible: they enjoy, as their heritage, the leadership of the Party; and probably in their inner councils they justify to themselves their position, on the ground that it enables them to control Radicalism, and that it is safer for the aristocracy, when the democratic axe is gleaming, to have two necks than one. But the alliance between Whigs and Liberals is utterly hollow; and the progress of the land question can hardly fail to bring it to an end.

On the other hand, the same question will probably loosen the bonds between the Tory land-owners and their confederates in the towns. The townspeople have no affection either for the land laws or for the game laws; they would like to have a better chance of buying land, to the possession of which everybody in England attaches a fantastic importance, partly on social grounds. It would also suit their interests much better to have a prosperous yeomanry dealing with the tradesmen in the next town, than great proprietors who are not regularly resident, and buy most things in London. Thus we may possibly see a considerable alteration of the party lines, as well as an appearance of Liberalism as an aspirant to power under its own colours and with leaders of its own.

—Our surmise that Parliament would not at once be dissolved was correct. What the issue of the struggle when it comes will be, nobody, we repeat, who understands the balance of parties, and has watched the veering gales of English opinion, would venture at present to predict. At Liverpool, the Liberals have run their heads against a stone wall: it was impossible that they should carry that old Tory and pro-slavery constituency; but, as they reduced the Conservative majority by a thousand, the result was not a death knell to their hopes. Even Southwark is not decisive: the Liberals there were demoralized by a split, which, of course, would be accompanied by a quarrel, and what is more to the purpose, the metropolis, though traditionally Liberal, in a certain sense, is the very heart of Jingoism, to which the lower populace of the towns and the tavern-keepers, as one man, adhere. On the whole, the result of the bye elections during the last two years has been rather adverse to the Government. At the last election, some thirty borough seats passed by small majorities from the Liberals to the Tories: a slight turn of the tide would transfer them back again, and their recovery, making a difference of sixty on a division, would be almost enough to decide the battle. Any one of a dozen events, foreign and domestic, political and commercial, may turn the wavering scale. That the Tories have not hitherto felt sure of victory is certain; if they had, they would have gone to the country and got another seven years' lease of power. Again and again they have been evidently on the brink of a dissolution; but each time they have been warned by the election agents, of whom they have a first-rate staff, that the omens were adverse, and they have recoiled.

—To what a point English hatred of Russia has been inflamed the rejection by the Common Council of London of a vote of congratulation to the Czar, nearly connected as he is with the Queen, on his escape and that of his family from a fiendish attempt at assassination, shows. Sympathy with Nihilism and



Dynamite is sympathy with devils. The really patriotic and reforming party in Russia has no fellowship with the criminal madness of Bakunin's murderous sect. The emancipator of the serfs, though in the evening of his days he has fallen into a state of pitiable weakness, will ever deserve gratitude as the author of the greatest, the most difficult, and the most perilous reform of this generation, and one which was the indispensable condition of any progress in political liberty. This desperate feud will be a costly heritage to the next generation of Englishmen, unless they can persuade Fortune to guarantee them against all enemies but one. It has already committed England to the passionate pursuit of an object which is at once remote and chimerical (for no nation ever yet succeeded in permanently defeating the destiny of another), at the expense, as the next European crisis will show, of her practical influence over questions at her own door. In some men the feeling amounts to monomania. The Tories are circulating the Jingo speeches of Mr. Cowen, a Radical of the Roebuck type, as the utterances of a Daniel Come to Judgment. Mr. Cowen's motive for joining the Tories, he pretends, is a burning devotion to the cause of oppressed Poland. We remember a rising in Poland; but we do not remember any outburst of Tory sympathy: Toryism in those days was hand in glove with the Czar as the head of European reaction. But Mr. Cowen's logic is queer. Because a century ago, Poland was partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, he now joins Prussia and Austria in preventing, at the instance of British Toryism, the liberation of the Balkan communities, which had nothing to do with the crime. Such reasoning is, if possible, still stranger in its extension to the case of the Afghans and the Zulus. But if these transcendental Polophilists would only read a little history, they would, perhaps, reconsider their determination to keep the gates of justice shut against mankind, till the special wrongs of Poland have been redressed. Poland, at the time of the partition, was not a free nation, true to its own independence, nor were its spoilers uninvited or without excuse. It was a scandalous and pestilent relic of all that was worst in feudal barbarism; an

aristocracy as corrupt as it was anarchic, and as venal as it was corrupt, trampling on a people of wretched and degraded serfs. It invited foreign intrusion by hawking about among foreigners its elective crown. By persecuting dissenters from Roman Catholicism, it half justified Catharine in intervening on behalf of the persecuted. No community, if community it could be styled, ever more manifestly brought doom on its own head. Not that this justified the partition; or exempted the spoiler from the curse which waits on rapine. Poland is the Ireland of Russia, and like Ireland, an unhappy legacy bequeathed to the statesmanship of the present day by the iniquity of the past.

—In the Queen's speech the real objects of the Zulu and Afghan wars are frankly avowed. As to the first, the Queen is made to say that she "is determined to make the frontiers of her Indian empire strong;" in other words, that a quarrel was fastened on Shere Ali as a pretext for seizing on a scientific frontier. As to the second, she is made to say that "her possessions in that part of the world have been relieved from a danger which seriously impeded their advancement and consolidation," which is a virtual avowal that the Zulu territory was wanted to round off the projected African Empire. If a desire to increase your own strength, and to "advance your own possessions" is a sufficient warrant for rapine, there is an end of human rights. That such doctrine should be proclaimed from the Throne of moral and religious England is surely a serious warning against the tendencies of conquest. Upon such proceedings the speech solemnly invokes the blessing of Almighty God. Suppose, after all, there should be a God—how will it fare with filibusterism then? The real reason for pitching on Afghans and Zulus as victims of spoliation is that they are weak; the pretended reason is that they are barbarians. The answer to the pretended reason is in the first place that morality is the essence of civilization, and that

the man, calling himself civilized, who tramples it under foot is of all barbarians the worst; in the second place, that the difference in culture between the Jingo and the Afghan is not greater than between highly-educated members of any community and those who have not enjoyed the same advantages; in the third place, that you cannot do an act of wrong without depraving your own nature, and that it is in this way that retribution comes, and is now coming on the wrong-doer.

--Lord Derby, with his Lancashire influence, joins the Liberals amidst a storm of abuse from the ranks which he leaves, the *Times* now thoroughly Tory and Ministerialist, leading the hiss. It is alleged that the policy against which he is turning is his own. It is and it is not. He is a cold-blooded statesman and seceded not on the ground of morality or generosity, but of prudence: the massacres of Bulgarians and Cretans, the iniquities of Turkish rule, the cry of young nationalities struggling for freedom never touched his heart so long as he thought the course of the Government safe. But when he found himself being drawn into schemes for seizing Syria, or assuming the Protectorate of Asiatic Turkey, his discretion took alarm at once on his own account and on that of the country. He is a typical aristocrat and plutocrat, who thoroughly understands the real interests of his order, and knows that violent and demagogic courses, whether at home or abroad, must lead ultimately to revolution. He will carry with him in the coming contest a good many minds like his own. It is difficult to see how, if he thinks that the Jingo policy is bringing the country into mortal peril, he can do otherwise than oppose it, in common with others who think the same. A public man who wields great influence could hardly stand neutral in a struggle by which the fate of England may be determined. Lord Derby has not assailed his late colleagues, while one of them has called him Titus Oates, and Jingoism has emptied upon him

all the slop-pails of its wrath. Lord Beaconsfield dealt him the most malignant blow of all by inducing his brother, Colonel Stanley, to whom he was known to be greatly attached, to pass a tacit censure on his withdrawal by replacing him in the Cabinet. The Jingoës delighted to repeat that the Queen, in admitting Colonel Stanley to his office, said to him: "The honour of your family will, at all events, be safe in your hands." Any one but a scion of privilege would have shrunk from stepping into place over the honour of a brother.

—From Europe we have still the same news; general disquietude, and rumours of conspiracies between this or the other pair or trio of great powers against the rest. It is supposed that the decision of questions of peace and war has been transferred by political progress from the dark councils of kings to the open parliaments of nations; but there is still wide scope for personal influence, even in nations under Parliamentary government; and the history of the Crimean war shows how an intriguing minister may draw a nation to the brink and thrust it in. We cannot tell what is going on in the Cabinets of Berlin, Vienna, or even in that of London, much less in that of St. Petersburg. The statements cabled, though they look authoritative, are guesses; very improbable guesses if they point to an immediate war between Russia and Germany, though it cannot be said, in face of the growing entanglement of affairs in Central Asia, that there is no danger of a war between Russia and England. Enormous as the armaments are they are still being increased, while Socialism, Communism, Nihilism, and political dangers of all kinds, increase in proportion. In fifteen years the total debts of the European States have mounted from £2,626,000,000 to £4,324,000,000 sterling, and still there is no end. Now and then there come even from the Bismarcks expressions of alarm and faint whisperings of mutual disarmament. But these are at once followed by another increase "as a security for peace." Nor are the

waste of money, the loss of labour, and the perpetual danger all : to these must be added the demoralization of myriads of young men by garrison life and the consequences of their vicious habits to the national character and the public health. On this continent, nature has given us an exemption from war and from the military system, now that slavery, which was itself an intruder, has found its grave ; surely there could be no greater blessing ; yet, there are those among us who apparently wish to reject it, and do their best to inoculate us with the military spirit, that they may entangle us in European quarrels. Among other things they have made us set up a Military College on a costly scale, which will soon be sending out twenty-five officers a year ; and next they will want an army for these officers to command. If garrison life is to be re-introduced here, either in this way or by the renewal of military occupation, our social reformers will find more work on their hands. Of that, British legislation for garrison towns is the revolting and conclusive proof.

In France, moderate Republicanism seems still in the ascendant. The general amnesty for Communists has been rejected, happily for the Republican cause, which some of those men would certainly have compromised in the eyes of the people, who, if not alarmed and repelled by Red violence, are evidently disposed to support the Republic. A combination of Moderates, from different sections, has been formed in the Senate round Dufaure. In the Chamber, where it ought to be, this combination would be a tempering element : in the Senate it is not unlikely to be the beginning of another collision between the Houses, such as brought the Republic to death's door in May, 1877. Another illustration of the effect of the Bi-cameral system is being afforded in Italy, where the two Chambers having fallen foul of each other about the Grist Tax, Parliament is to be dissolved ; and, if the Government, which has now a majority in the lower House, wins, the Senate is to be coerced by a swamping creation of Senators. An institution which seems devised for the purpose of throwing

the State into periodical convulsions will, surely before long, be submitted to the investigation of common sense, aided now by a tolerably sad experience.

—One interesting result of the break-up of the Ottoman Empire seems likely to be the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. The restoration of Palestine to the Jews it will be, rather than the restoration of the Jews to Palestine; for few of the race are likely to desert the stock exchanges for the Courts of Sion. Students of Prophecy will hail its fulfilment; general sentiment will be gratified by the tribute to a nation which, in its better day, did great things for religion, and through religion for civilization. Perhaps some of the more stubborn Jews will be drawn off from western communities and leave the remainder more capable of assimilation. At all events the situation will be defined, and the anti-Jewish movements, such as that in Roumania, and that which has now assumed strange and startling proportions in Germany, will be seen as what they really are, not religious persecutions, but struggles of race.

The Jews are not a Church, but a tribe. Their God is a tribal God; he is the God of Israel, not of other nations. Out of his worship, which was higher and more moral than that of the gods of other tribes, was developed a universal religion, a religion of humanity, which proclaimed that the same God had made all men of one blood. But this religion the Jews rejected and persecuted. In so doing they made a fatal mistake, and they have suffered for their mistake like other races. A tribe they remain, with a tribal feeling, and a tribal idea of their moral duties towards other nations. They keep themselves a separate people by a tribal rite in contrast to the Christian rite of baptism which is moral and universal. They are all citizens, more of Jewry than of the land which is the place of their sojourn. The strict among them refuse, in the spirit of tribal exclusiveness, intermarriage with the people among whom they dwell. The Christian faith being universal, all Christians wish

to impart it; the Jew keeps his religion to himself, deeming it the heritage of his tribe; he no more thinks of imparting it than a Brahmin of imparting his caste. Those who refuse to mingle with humanity must take the consequences of their refusal. They cannot expect to enjoy at once the pride of exclusiveness, and the sympathies of brotherhood.

The dispersion of the Jews, and their peculiar commercial habits, are not phenomena so absolutely unique as is commonly supposed. We have something like them in the cases of the Armenians, of the Lombards and the Cahorsins, in the Middle Ages, and in that of the modern Greek before the restoration of Greece. But the Jew is the chief of those who, instead of tilling a land of their own, have spread themselves abroad to appropriate by usury and other commercial arts the fruits of the toil of others. For this purpose they have thrust themselves into all communities, and probably their presence has been everywhere an evil except in countries, such as Poland and Turkey, where the military spirit of the natives despised trade. Their wandering, and the commercial habits connected with it, commenced before the destruction of their city. In the Middle Ages they were the instruments and partners of royal extortion, and the cruel maltreatment which they often received was caused less by hatred of their misbelief than of their rapacity. When the risings took place, the rioters made not so much for the synagogues, as for the places where the Jews kept their bonds. The expulsion of them from England by Edward I, although its harshness is now justly condemned, was no doubt a measure of immense relief to the people. The best authorities assure us that the Roumanian farmers are principally moved, not by fanaticism, but by despair at finding their homesteads passing into the hands of a pitiless band of alien usurers; while, curiously enough, Lord Salisbury, who lectures the Roumanian on intolerance, himself excludes Jews on the religious ground from the House of Lords. We all know now that taking the current rate of interest for money is no more wrong than taking the current rate of rent for a house, or the current price for goods;

but there is still such a thing as the usury which gets a simple-minded peasant into its snares and eats up the people as it were bread. It is difficult to tell why a nation should allow itself to be disinherited in this way any more than by an armed invader. The idea that such practices have ever been necessary or useful to commerce is wholly baseless. Florence, Hamburg, Antwerp, London, were built up by the honest labour, and the thrift of Italians, Germans, Flemings, and Englishmen, not by Jewish usury or stock-jobbing, which has never added a grain to the wealth of any country in the world. The Jewish character is not European, but Oriental, and it has undergone for eighteen centuries a training which could not fail to sharpen the wits and enfeeble the moral sense. In politics and in the press it shows, like every other character, the effects of its training, whether it is subtly serving the policy of despots, or, with equal plasticity, bidding for the leadership of revolutions. This is no reason for treating Jews with the slightest harshness; but it is a reason for viewing their progress with anxiety. Germans, on religious questions, are tolerant and something more; but when they find themselves in danger of being turned by the patient craft of the Oriental into hewers of wood and drawers of water for a race that refuses to toil or spin, they can hardly be accused of very shameful bigotry in struggling to keep their fatherland for themselves. They will, no doubt, gladly concur in giving the Jew a land of his own. Had he never become a wanderer and an extortioner, but lived honestly by the sweat of his brow, like the rest of mankind, it would have been far better for himself and for western civilization, while many a dark page would have been torn from the book of history. This may be admitted without the slightest misgiving as to the wisdom and righteousness of the Liberal policy, which, by extending to the Jew, wherever he lives, the full privileges of a citizen, has given him a fair chance of becoming a citizen indeed, as in time he no doubt will.



—Metternich speaks from the grave; but it is little that the renowned shade has to say, for nothing is so dead as the diplomacy of the past. It is unlucky for him that Napoleon, for whose knowledge of man he avows his high respect, speaks from the grave at the same time. "M. de Metternich approaches to being a statesman—he lies very well." This a little spoils the Prince's flourishes about high principles of statesmanship and a society of nations based upon Christianity. In a characteristic passage Metternich describes history as made up of two factors, political events and cabinet secrets. Of the really great elements of history, the moral and intellectual forces which move the world, he had no conception, and the French Revolution seemed to him nothing but a revolt got up by the Jacobins. The consequence was that "the deluge" came not "after" him, but upon him; and he lived to see the wreck of his Holy Alliance and other conservative arrangements floating about like haycocks on its waters.

—A vigorous debate continues on the question Whether, if Religion falls, Morality can stand. The negative was not maintained by the writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* "On the Prospect of a Moral Interregnum," whose paper has supplied a text or rather, perhaps, a cockshy, for the discussion, on this side of the water. What that writer said was that, in the past, religion, though not mythology, had formed the support of morality; that the moral systems of the world so far had always assumed a religious form; and that the ages of religious unbelief had been ages of moral disintegration. This is an historical proposition which no one has yet attempted to confute. If it is true, there is reasonable cause for apprehension that the present break-up of religious belief may be followed by a corresponding disturbance in the moral sphere, at least so far as mankind in general is concerned; and the writer in the *Atlantic* pointed to symptoms of a relaxation of principle which seemed to show that something of the kind was at hand. He is not alone in his view. Some of the strongest of the European Agnostics,

M. Taine for example, "Cassandra" Greg, and the writers in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, are evidently alarmed by the near approach of the crisis which their own philosophy has helped to bring on ; and some of them, as we said before, are disposed to make compacts with the Clergy for the purpose of keeping up a salutary superstition among the people and averting danger from opulent and cultivated society. Wisdom and honesty alike condemn such a policy. There is but one hope for perplexed humanity—to push earnestly and fearlessly forward to the truth which, if there is a Power that speaks to us in the higher part of our nature, we shall not fail at last to find.

That without religion the fabric of society will hold together, and that a morality of a certain kind will be sustained by those daily relations of men which are necessary to their subsistence, is proved by the very instances cited from history of the passage of humanity through periods of scepticism ; nevertheless, it would be unpleasant to think that we were again approaching a condition like that of Greece at the end of the Peloponnesian war, or that of Italy in the age of Machiavelli. Agnostics point to China, which seems likely to be again exalted to the dignity of a social Utopia enjoyed by it in the days of Voltaire. In China, we no doubt have an example of a community existing on a vast scale, not perhaps absolutely without a religion, but with a religion almost reduced to a political superstition, of which the Emperor is the chief and fathers of families are subordinate gods. But China is proverbially unprogressive : it is a land of stagnation, and now, if we may trust recent observers, a land of decay ; while the moral habits of the people and the fiendish cruelties of their penal code are, to say the least, grounds for serious misgiving as to their state of civilization. Let us see a community absolutely devoid of belief, or lingering shadow of a belief, in a Power which upholds righteousness, in the divine authority of conscience, in recompense or retribution of any kind after death, in any consummation of the collective effort of humanity other than a physical catastrophe, yet in its moral

character high, aspiring and progressive: all misgiving will then be at an end. But the question is not settled by the continuance of highly-educated and exceptionally well-disposed men in the path in which they have hitherto walked notwithstanding their rejection of religion. We cannot be sure even that their minds are cleared of the lingering influence of Christianity; while it is certain that, as members of society, they are still supported by Christian influences on all sides.

Mr. Herbert Spencer himself speaks of the inauguration of that which he deems the right and final system of ethics as an event of the future, apparently of a distant future; and he betrays a significant fear of the premature demolition of religious systems, the close connection of which with the popular morality he, at all events, plainly enough discerns. In the same way an Agnostic antagonist of Mr. Malloch in the *Fortnightly Review* undertakes to comfort us with the assurance that "after some tacking" morality will again start forward on the right course. This period of "tacking," and the indefinite interval contemplated by Mr. Spencer, will, for the mass of mankind, be a time of danger. Mischief is not to be looked for from the philosophers and philanthropists; but supposing there should be a great war of classes—a war between those who have not and those who have, those who have not being convinced that unless they can get enjoyment here and now they will never get it at all—would Mr. Spencer's mechanical theory of social development and decay, in which we, for our part, must confess we can see nothing but a vast pseudo-physical nomenclature, control the passions of such a conflict? Not that this is the motive for religious inquiry. The motive for religious inquiry is the hope of gaining that knowledge of the Estate of Man, of the Power in whose hands we are, and of the will and character of that Power, without which other knowledge is of little worth. If Physical Science comes out of her laboratory or her dissecting-room, and forbids us to think of anything that does not fall within her cognizance, we must tell her that before we can obey her injunction, she will have to remake the highest of mamma's and unmake Man.

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