

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1896

	PAGE.
I. ECCLESIASTICISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. A. McLROD	81
II. BALFOUR'S "FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF."—III. JOHN WATSON.....	93
III. THE CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. G. M. GRANT.....	105
IV. EARLY LAW COURTS OF ONTARIO. E. H. SMYTHE.....	117
V. OUR ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE. SANFORD FLEMING.....	127
VI. PLANT LOCOMOTION. RICHARD LEES.....	142
VII. TENDENCY IN GREEK AND HEBREW RELIGION. JOHN MACNAUGHTON.....	145
VIII. CURRENT EVENTS	148

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ECCLESIASTICISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

HISTORY presents no other struggle so great as that between Church and State, none so bitter and interminable; it lives with the human race. From the first triumph of the people over the theocratic prophet-ruler Samuel, to the latest massacre of the Christian by the Turk, there have been centuries of conflict between these two forces, and the end is not yet. In every age, in every nation, has the conflict been waged. Sometimes the struggle has been for the supreme power in the State, such as that between the popes and the sovereigns of Europe, again each has occupied undisputed ground and has been engaged in the attempt to force back the other from the intermediate debatable ground, as in the case of the established Church and the civil power in Wales, or the Church and the State in Canada in relation to public schools. In some form or other it is ever present. In public estimation the day of clerical domination in civil matters has passed away, but this is true only to a limited extent. The Church no longer attempts by physical force to control government, but this is not owing to any change in the Church or its policy, but because the day of physical force is rapidly passing away and the Church recognizes that the struggle is now intellectual not physical. It strives as determinedly as ever on this new ground to harness the civil power to its own car; witness the contentions even now over Church and State in Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, the United States and in Canada.

We are too apt to believe that ecclesiastical domination thrives only under the shadow of the Roman Catholic Church, but that Church has only avowed the doctrine more openly than any other, and as its influence over governments has been greater, it has been enabled to exercise such domination to a greater extent than any other. But the Church of Rome has no monopoly in this respect; almost every church has at some time sought the aid of the secular power for the propagation of its own tenets. The Roman Catholic Church openly avows to-day that the power of government should be exercised to propagate its own peculiar doctrines; the claims of other churches are more moderate and certainly not so successfully maintained, but the difference is one of degree and not of kind. Wherever a church demands that the civil power be exercised to further its ends or promote its opinions, there is a claim of temporal power. The Hebrew prophet commanding the king under threats of the dire vengeance of Heaven, the Brahmin invoking curses on the head of the obstinate rajah, the pope excommunicating the rebellious sovereign, the bishop making laws for the payment of tithes, the Presbyter demanding that the State teach the doctrine of the Trinity, are all alike exercising or attempting to exercise temporal power. Let us, then, look at the grounds on which the claim that the Church and the State should be united, is based, or rather, to state it concretely, the grounds on which the Church claims that the civil power should be exercised in propagating religious truths. The ultimate proposition on which the claim is grounded, is that the religious concerns are more important than secular affairs, or, as it is stated in current phrase, that the spiritual life is of greater consequence than the temporal life; and the Government being the supreme power in the State should be employed in advancing the higher or spiritual concerns of the subject as well as the lower or temporal. It must be confessed that the argument is attractive at first sight, especially as it has an appearance of sanctity; but appearances are deceitful. The reasoning is based on a fallacious conception of the fundamental purpose of government. That purpose is the protection of the person and property of the subject. It may be that the terms of this definition must be used in their widest signification to include all the incidents

of government, but by no stretch of language can they be made to include the dissemination of religious doctrines. In order to justify a union of Church and State it is necessary to revert to another theory of government, for the fundamental thesis on which such a union must rest is that one of the ends of government is the propagation of religious truth. That the thesis is vicious in practice as well as in theory is amply borne out by the course of events in those countries which have actively engaged in propagandism, where in the days of physical force it led to the stake and the torture because men did not worship God according to the dictates of other people's consciences, and where to-day it leads to political and social hate not less deep or rancorous than in the martyr days though it does not find expression in physical torture. Men are yet placed socially and politically under the ban; the rack and the wheel are not in vogue, but men are still stretched on the political rack and broken on the commercial wheel because they hold certain religious opinions and practise them, or because they hold no such opinions and practise none.

The old-fashioned union of Church and State that still obtains in England and Quebec has at least the virtue of being out-spoken; its supporters know just what they want and they have it. There is no doubting the fact that in each case the State is a large See, in which government exercises not only secular power but ecclesiastical control. But the more modern advocate of temporal power for religious purposes lays his claims in a more insidious way; he does not ask that the State unite with a particular church and through that church propagate religious dogmas, indeed that would defeat the purpose of the latter-day propagandist. His method is to influence or control government through the electorate, and then to invoke the legislative power of the State to enact laws favorable to his own religious tenets, and through the operation of such laws to carry out his purpose without appearing above the surface himself as an active agent in its accomplishment. The role he plays before the public is usually that of an opponent of the temporal power of the church; he affects to scorn the idea of his church or any other church beguiling government into a co-partnership for teaching religious truth.....He points to the fact that his church has no con-

nection with the State as partner, principal or agent in such teaching, and concludes that there is no union of Church and State. If the term Church had no other application than to a religious denomination there would be some force in the reasoning, but it is clearly fallacious, because the essence of a union of Church and State is the relation of government as government to religious dogma, not the relation of government to a particular denomination. Granting for the nonce that the exercise of the temporal power in propagating religious truth is justifiable, it is evident that the mode of its exercise must be largely dependent on the circumstances of the State; that power may be and has been exercised either in connection with or independently of a religious denomination; it may be and has been exercised to further or to controvert the tenets of a particular denomination, and it may be and has been exercised to propagate the religious doctrines of either a majority or a minority of the subjects in the State.

In Canada we are familiar with many phases of this vexed question. It is the nightmare of the Federal politician, the skeleton in every Provincial cupboard. It is branded on the face of our Constitution, and it permeates the politics of every village. It is settled with an appearance of finality in one quarter, and it forthwith reappears in another. But it is over the relations of the Church and the State, respectively, to the public school that the greatest contention has been caused. The difficulty reaches back to a time beyond the formation of the Dominion. After a severe struggle the Roman Catholics had under the Separate School Act of 1863 and prior Acts acquired the privilege of establishing separate schools in Upper Canada under the authority of government. At Confederation this privilege was conserved by The British North America Act and a similar privilege was given to Protestants in Quebec, and it was declared in general terms that the power of making laws in respect to education which was assigned to Provincial legislatures was subject to the limitation that nothing in such laws should prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons had by law in the Province at the union. There was also a provision in that Act directed to the perpetuation of sep-

arate schools, if they existed at the time of the union or if they should be subsequently established. These schools are established and maintained under the legislative power of the State, their chief distinguishing characteristic being the teaching of denominational tenets by teachers employed under the authority of the State. This system of propagating religious truth under the authority of the State and at its expense is alien to the democratic principles of the Canadian people. In no country in the world are the social and political conceptions of the people more clearly based on the equality of man and man. By granting special privileges to certain classes by the Act of Confederation we imported into our national life at its very inception an element antagonistic to the fundamental principles on which our social and political economy is founded. Equality before the law is, in the thought of the people, axiomatic, but in regard to public education the converse obtains; inequality before law is the rule. This inequality is written in our Constitution, it is carried out in practice, and it results in class privilege, which like every other class privilege galls the neck of the people.

Without ecclesiastical influence it would never have found its way into our Constitution, and it would now speedily disappear, were it not that one class of ecclesiastics or another is constantly fomenting contention. The cry is that the dogmas of their church or of churches in the same interest are not receiving a fair share of public recognition in the State schools, or that the adverse interests are receiving too great a share. From the pulpit, the platform, the church courts, the conclaves, by pastorals and charges, they are constantly contending against other religious interests or demanding the adoption by the State of their own views. The result is perpetual strife and discord.

It is obvious that to dis sever the Church and State in regard to public education, it will be necessary to amend our Constitution by abolishing from it all recognition of class privilege in this respect. To do this at the present time is impracticable because the British North America Act is yet regarded as a finality, while in reality it is only one step in the formation of our Constitution. It is still treated to some extent as an agreement between the Provinces, as the Constitution of the United States was long re-

garded; but the original Provinces of the Dominion will eventually form but a small part of Canada, the centre of population and influence will move westward, and an Act of Confederation designed to meet the circumstances of the original Provinces must in the very nature of the case be changed to conform to the requirements of Greater Canada. The British North America Act is not eternal, its provisions were made to meet the conditions that then existed, it will eventually be changed, and when once the process of evolution begins, it must be changed to accord with the spirit of the people of the Dominion at large rather than to perpetuate the ecclesiastical feud of pre-Confederation days. But before any change can be made in this respect it will be necessary that there be an overwhelming sentiment in its favor, and that the prevailing practice be in accord with such sentiment in so far as it can be under the present Constitution. Our constant aim should then be to put the principle of separation of Church and State into operation as far as practicable under the existing limitations. The greatest difficulty in the way of establishing schools in which no religious dogmas are taught is sectarian prejudice, but the tendency to separate Church and State has been too strong for such prejudice in every struggle that has taken place in Canada since Confederation. In New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba there have been contests of such moment that the Provincial elections have been fought out on the question of the Church in the State school, and in every one of these contests the result has been to wrest from the Church some degree of temporal power that had been previously directed towards the dissemination of religious doctrines. But in these Provinces as well as in others the work of separating the Church and the State in education has not proceeded upon any well-defined principle; the results have been such as to show unquestionably the trend of public opinion, but there has not been any common definite aim in view. The aim should be the entire abolition of the exercise of the power of government in teaching religious truth as such. It is not less objectionable that government should teach a religious truth accepted by the majority of the citizens than when it is accepted by a minority only, indeed it appears rather to suggest a spirit of coercion on the

part of the majority when they decree that their religious beliefs shall be taught under authority of government.

It seems so clear as to be beyond dispute that if we admit that the Church and the State should be separated, this would include separation in respect to education; but many who give adherence to the general principle deny its application to the domain of education. This limitation of the principle is defended by some on the ground that the teaching of religious truth under State authority does not constitute a union of Church and State unless the religious truth so taught is peculiar to some church, meaning thereby a religious denomination. It is claimed by such, that if a religious truth is accepted by a number of denominations it is not objectionable that the authority of government should be exercised to promote the teaching of it. This claim is based on the fallacy already pointed out, that the union of Church and State is essentially a union of a religious denomination with the State. The absurdity to which this position leads is sufficient of itself to condemn it: given a religious truth which is accepted by one denomination, it should not be taught by government, if two denominations accept it the matter becomes doubtful; if three accept it the doubt begins to disappear, if ten accept it there is no doubt that the State may propagate it as a religious truth. But the question to be asked by government is not, how many denominations or how many individuals accept this as a religious truth; but it is, does this constitute a religious dogma? if the answer to this question is in the affirmative then government should not propagate it.

But it is answered by the anti-separatists that, even granting that religious truth should not be taught by the State, there are so many religious truths intimately bound up in our history, our mode of thought, and our customary morality, that it is impossible to avoid teaching religious truth in the school. This view arises from ignoring the difference between religious tenets as existent beliefs and as dogmatic truths. Let us exemplify this; our literature, our history, our social and political life are permeated with the belief in the existence of God. It is clearly impossible to educate a child in the lowest acceptation of that term without bringing him face to face with the fact that such a belief

is postulated by the majority of men. A person could not be said to be educated who did not know that belief in the existence of God is a moving cause in the moral, the social and the political world as well as in the religious life of men. The fact that there is such an existent belief must form a part of every education, but notwithstanding this it is manifestly unjust that the State should undertake to teach as a dogmatic religious truth that God does exist. Even this, the broadest and most catholic of our religious dogmas, does not receive the assent of all. The resurrection of Christ may be regarded as a religious dogma, as a historical fact, as a social problem, as a divine revelation. The fact of the belief in His resurrection is current in our books, in the newspapers, in our schools, the air is filled with it, and the existence of such a belief as a fact may be taught by the State in the same way that it teaches the existence of a belief in transubstantiation as a factor in making English history, but it is as unjust that the resurrection should be taught to the pupil by the State as a religious doctrine requiring his assent, as that transubstantiation should be taught in the same way. The existence of God as a religious belief is accepted by the most of our people, the resurrection of Christ is believed by a less number, transubstantiation receives the assent of a still less number; none of these religious doctrines can be taught under authority of government to the children of those who do not accept such without infringing on the liberty of conscience of the individual. But we all agree in recognizing the existence of this belief, and government may avow and teach this, not simply because we all agree upon it, but because the teaching of it does not in any event trench on the domain of conscience. Difficulties might arise as to the demarcation of the limit between religious and profane truth in the same way as they might arise in regard to history and literature in our schools. But no one has yet been found so illogical as to declare that history should be taught in the school because literature was being taught, and there was difficulty in determining whether certain facts were literary or historical facts. Yet it is solemnly declared that the State should teach religious truth because there might be some difficulty in determining whether certain facts are religious or literary truths. Even if there was

great difficulty in determining where profane truth ended and religious truth began, that would not constitute a good ground on which to base the right of government to teach religious truth, it would rather be a reason for government being more guarded in abstaining from doing that which it should not do. But as a matter of fact no such difficulty does arise in practice; there is no doubt whatever that history, literature, mathematics, morals, manners and the other elements which go to make up school programmes may all be taught without trenching upon the domain of religious truth. The best proof that this can be successfully done is, that it has been done and is now being done. In the schools of British Columbia for years there has been no teaching of religious truth and no difficulty whatever has arisen over it. In Manitoba, where there is no religious teaching whatever authorized by government and where even religious exercises are at the option of the trustees of each school district, a large part of the schools are entirely secular, and in them literary subjects and morality are quite as efficiently taught as in those that use religious exercises, and much more efficiently than the same subjects that were taught in the separate schools which existed in the Province until a few years ago. Indeed, the operation of the schools of British Columbia, and the schools of Manitoba using no religious exercises, is so manifestly just that there has been no objection whatever raised to them on this ground, except of course on the part of those who favor an overt union of Church and State.

A cant objection known as the conscience plea is frequently urged against the public school. The plea is rather an appeal to feeling than to logical objection to public schools, hence it is very difficult to state it in definite terms. It may be put in the following form: Government should not establish schools which are not in accord with the conscience of those who under the laws are required to aid in maintaining them. This objection is equally effective or rather ineffective against all classes of public schools. Those who oppose all religious establishment in the school, advance the plea against all State schools in which religious truth is taught; the ecclesiastic urges it against all public schools in which government does not teach religious truth, or which it

does teach religious truth not accepted by himself. But an argument that may be and is used with equal force against every kind of public schools must be either invalid in itself or destructive of all public schools. In this case it is invalid because government does not require the individual to send his child to the public school to be educated. If government by force of law compels the parent to send his child to a State school in order to be taught religious truth that does violence to the conscience of the parent, then there is good ground for a conscience plea, otherwise there is not. If government maintains schools but does not compel the attendance of children at such schools, there can be nothing contrary to the conscience of the individual in such a state of things. If the individual is required by law to aid in maintaining such schools it may seriously affect his purse, but the seat of conscience is not in the pocket. The objection to the public school based on the alleged violation of conscience receives whatever force it has in popular estimation from a misconception of the logical basis on which the public school has been established by the State. It is assumed that it is the duty of government to educate the young, and that State schools were established and are now carried on, in order that the young may grow up to be intelligent citizens. But it is the duty of the parent as a parent, not as a citizen, to educate the child, not that he may become a good citizen but that he may become a good man, in short, that all his powers physical, mental and moral may be developed. Being a good citizen is only one phase of good manhood. Parents performed this duty for centuries before ever a State school was established, they are doing it to-day and they will doubtless continue to perform that duty until government presumes to "take away the child from the mother, select the nurse, regulate the school, overlook the play-ground, fix the hours of labor and recreation, prescribe what ballads shall be sung, what tunes shall be played, what books shall be read, what physic shall be swallowed." Government always recognizes it to be the duty of the parent to educate his child, and public schools were not first established nor are they now carried on in order that the State may thereby perform its duty of educating the children of citizens, but in order that the parent may be enabled to fulfil his duty. Our

school laws invariably recognize the right of the parent to withdraw his child from the public school and to educate him wherever he wishes to do so. Government does not declare that children must go to the public school for their education or in default that they are liable to punishment; but it does say in unmistakable terms to the parent "educate your child, educate him where you will, but educate him;" if government stopped short at this mandate many parents would be unable to comply with the law, through poverty or other uncontrollable cause, but government recognizing this goes further and declares "you must educate your child—if you do not do so in any other way, then you must educate him in the public school." It is no more a duty of the State to educate a child than it is to nurse him. True, the State does provide many children with foster-mothers by means of orphanages and State homes, not because it is the duty of government to rear children, but because the parent is unable to fulfil that duty. The law requires the parent to rear his child, but it would be manifestly inefficacious to require the parent to do what he cannot do, therefore the State provides the means for him to do it. So in regard to the education of the child, government declares this to be the duty of the parent, and as a consequence it provides the means for the parent to perform this duty and prescribes a penalty if he does not do it. There is no connection between the State and the child in respect to education except through the parent. Where then is the ground for the alleged conscience plea? No one is compelled to educate his child in the State school, be it either secular or ecclesiastical. There are some who will not use the public school because the religious frame of it does not suit them, there are others who believe that their children will be better educated in some other way, and there are still others who cannot well use the public school because they have no children to educate. All these classes may feel that it is unjust to be required to aid in maintaining these schools, but this is a matter of taxation, not of conscience.

The State school in which no religious truth as such is taught is then a practical school, it is in successful operation, it does no violence to the conscience of any; it is the only school which

may be consistently maintained under authority of a government which disclaims a union with the Church.

The inevitable conclusion is that the State should free itself absolutely from the trammels of ecclesiasticism in the matter of public education. This in itself would remove one great barrier to peace and harmony in the Dominion and would tend greatly to hasten the complete separation of Church and State. Nothing short of such a separation will allay the discord that at present exists as a concomitant of our subsisting religious establishment. Our government is based on the equality of man, and it only brings it into disdain to have it engaged in promoting class privilege; our religion is based on the principle of peace on earth and good-will toward all men, and it only brings the Church into contempt to have it engaged in maintaining an unholy alliance that breeds strife and ill-will.

A. McLEOD.

LANGUAGE is called the Garment of Thought: however, it should rather be, Language is the Flesh-Garment, the body, of Thought. I said that Imagination wove this Flesh-Garment; and does not she? Metaphors are her stuff: examine Language; what, if you except some few primitive elements (of natural sound), what is it all but metaphors, recognized as such, or no longer recognized; still fluid and florid, or now solid-grown or colorless? If those same primitive elements are the osseous fixtures in the Flesh-Garment, Language,—then are Metaphors its muscles and tissues and living integuments. An unmetaphorical style you shall seek in vain for: is not your very Attention a Stretching-to? The difference lies here: some styles are lean, adust, wiry, the muscle itself seems osseous; some are even quite pallid, hunger-bitten and dead-looking; while others again glow in the flush of health and vigorous self-growth, sometimes (as in my own case) not without an apoplectic tendency.—*Carlyle.*

BALFOUR'S "FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF."

IV.—AUTHORITY *versus* REASON.

“IT is from Authority that Reason draws its most important premises And even in those cases when we may most truly say that our beliefs are the rational product of strictly intellectual processes, we have, in all probability, only got to trace back the thread of our inferences to its beginnings in order to perceive that it finally loses itself in some general principle which, describe it as we may, is in fact due to no more defensible origin than the influence of Authority.” . . . “It is Authority rather than Reason to which, in the main, we owe, not religion only, but ethics and politics; it is Authority which supplies us with essential elements in the premises of science; it is Authority rather than Reason which lays deep the foundations of social life; it is Authority rather than Reason which cements its superstructure. And though it may seem to savour of paradox, it is yet no exaggeration to say, that if we would find the quality in which we most notably excel the brute creation, we should look for it, not so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning, as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of Authority.”

Thus eloquently does Mr. Balfour reason against Reason. Are his conclusions as valid as they are plausible?

The “causes” of our beliefs, we are told, must be sought in the environment, and the environment “contains one group of causes of great importance, which may perhaps be best described by the term Authority” (202). The ordinary view is that Authority, though admittedly a cause, is not a “legitimate” cause of belief, the only “legitimate” cause being Reason. But no society could ever come into existence, or continue to exist, if all convictions were rejected which were not “the products of free speculative investigation” (208). In truth, Reason makes but a “slender contribution” to our beliefs. We live in a

"psychological atmosphere," which determines for us the greater number of our beliefs. "The only results which Reason can claim as hers . . . are of the nature of logical conclusions" (220). Reason is largely exercised in finding reasons for what we already believe independently of Reason. Loyalty, *e. g.*, is "essentially unreasoning;" it is only when its supremacy is challenged that men begin to cast about for reasons why it should be obeyed (225).

In separating the "causes" of belief from the "reasons" which justify belief, Mr. Balfour has already committed himself to an untenable dualism. He sets on the one side the "environment," and on the other side the individual subject, and he asks how the former acts upon the latter. But what is the "environment?" So far as Mr. Balfour takes it into account it is "that group of non-rational causes, moral, social and educational, which produces its results by psychic processes other than reasoning." The "environment," as so defined, is the whole spirit of an age, as embodied in its customs, institutions and accepted ideas. What is the individual, when separated from these? The answer must be, that he is nothing at all. What the individual is, he is in and through his participation in the spiritual life of his nation and age, and if an attempt is made to separate him from that life, a fiction is created which corresponds to no individual as we know him. It is thus obvious that Authority cannot act upon the individual so as to "cause" beliefs in him, for the simple reason that Authority cannot act upon that which has no existence. We must therefore deny *in limine* Mr. Balfour's account of the production of belief by the "non-rational" cause of Authority. That is the first objection to Mr. Balfour's account. "Authority" is *not* a "cause" of belief.

But, secondly, Authority, is not "non-rational." This becomes at once evident if we consider what it includes. By the use of such physical metaphors as "environment" and "psychological atmosphere," Mr. Balfour hides from himself the spiritual character of what he calls Authority. What, *e. g.*, are we to understand by "psychological atmosphere?" It is of course our old friend the "spirit of the age," which perhaps was too suggestive of reason to serve Mr. Balfour's purpose. Now, the spirit of

the age is not a product of "non-rational" causes. The "psychological climate" in which you and I live, is not determined by the terrestrial zone in which we happen to live, for obviously our Indian brethren, living in the same terrestrial zone, have a very different "psychological climate." Nor is it determined simply by the point of time at which we live, for our Indian brethren, again, live at the same point of time. Nor, again, is the "psychological climate" of any of us quite the same; it is in fact determined by all the experiences through which each of us has passed. But these experiences have been made possible for us by the labours and experiences of countless souls who have preceded us and passed away into the silence of the past. Nay, they have not passed away; for in the thoughts and feelings of each of us they live anew, changed, but in essence the same. Why is that possible? It is possible, because of the universalising activity of intelligence or reason. What is attained by the laborious efforts of one generation, including the highest efforts of ratiocination, becomes the immediate possession of the next. And of all the products of intelligence none are so precious as those forms of society through which man has secured for himself a fixed order of existence, the family, the civic community, the church, the state. We can trace with tolerable accuracy the process through which these forms have been attained. That they were attained by the expenditure of immense reasoning energy is manifest enough, and even from that point of view Mr. Balfour's characterisation of them as "non-rational" is palpably false. But that is not the important point; the important point is that man, as by his reason he has learned to understand the world and himself better, has gradually learned to invent more and more perfect forms of association. If these are not the product of reason, of what are they the product? Mr. Balfour would hardly say that they have been revealed to man independently of his reason. "No," he may say, "not independently of his reason, but by "psychic processes other than reasoning." I will not question this, though obviously "reasoning" was largely employed; but let me ask: are these "psychic processes" possible to any except a self-conscious or rational being? If so, how does it come that animals have not invented new forms of social

organization? Manifestly, although society is not the product of "free speculative investigation," it is none the less the product of reason. Mr. Balfour identifies two things that are widely different: reason and reflection. All the great products of the human spirit precede the reflective comprehensive of them. It is only when man has incarnated himself in objective institutions, and when these are no longer adequate, that he subjects them to critical analysis, and seeks to penetrate to the principle upon which they are founded; but without productive reason, they would not have been there; and it is therefore absurd to call them "non-rational." That they contain an element of imperfection is true, but they are none the less products of reason, and only in so far as they are rational will they survive the operation of the critical intellect. But they will certainly survive all criticism that does not bring to light a fundamental defect in their character. It is, *e. g.*, the vogue at present among a class of shallow and irresponsible literary critics to throw contempt upon the sacred institution of the family. The family, as it seems to me, is not so much on its trial as the critics who attack it, and I venture to prophesy that it will survive their attacks. There is, in short, something higher than the shifting opinions of individuals, and that something is the combined wisdom of the race as embodied in its objective institutions. Reason is not the work of the isolated individual but of the race, and to call its products "non-rational" is to invert the true order of things. It is no doubt true that from time to time men arise who go beyond their age; but they do so, not by the mere exercise of the logical faculty of drawing inferences from accepted premises (which is a very ordinary gift denied to no one but idiots) but by the origination of new premises. Mr. Balfour, as we have already seen, accepts the false doctrine of formal logic, that Reason is a purely analytic or formal faculty, a doctrine which entirely overlooks the real nature of Reason; for Reason is not the mere analysis of ideas already possessed, but the origination of new ideas, based upon a new comprehension of the meaning of the real.

Why is Mr. Balfour so eager to minimise the work of Reason? Obviously, because he imagines that he is thus preparing the way for the doctrine, that all our beliefs ultimately rest upon

convictions which we must accept without comprehension. He does not seem to see that beliefs which *cannot* be justified have no authority over a rational being. That this or that individual cannot justify them is nothing to the point; his doubt has no great practical significance, and is sure to provoke such an examination of them as shall bring out what is irrelevant, and reveal the essential truth which has commended them to the reason of the race. But, while individuals do accept beliefs which they cannot speculatively justify,—nay, while the majority of individuals always must do so,—it by no means follows that those beliefs have no justification. It is the duty of the speculative thinker to provide that justification, and when, instead of doing so, he falls back upon unreasoned convictions, he has virtually asserted that there is no objective truth, or, in other words, that the world is irrational. Having once adopted this conclusion, it is vain for him to appeal to our "needs:" where all is irrational, no one "need" has any more justification than another, and we are thrown into a weltering chaos of subjective feelings and convictions, in which one is as good as another, all being alike unprovable. It is time, however, for us to consider the "provisional philosophy" which Mr. Balfour, notwithstanding his appeal to Authority, seeks to commend to us by its reasonableness.

V.—THE "PROVISIONAL PHILOSOPHY."

The general impression left on one's mind by a careful reading of Mr. Balfour's book is that of disappointment, a disappointment which becomes acute when one discovers the character of his "Provisional Philosophy." We are entitled to expect from a defender of the Christian faith in these days, something more than a repetition of popular modes of thought, which the growth of knowledge and the progress of philosophical criticism have shown to be inadequate. That there is a God; that the world is the manifestation of his nature; that in the Christian faith, that nature was first adequately revealed: these are all propositions which would be accepted by many who differ widely in the precise meaning they attach to them; and surely it is incumbent upon any one who seeks to meet the difficulties which now press upon thinking men, to give an interpretation of them which is up to the level of the best thought of our age. Such an interpret-

ation Mr. Balfour cannot be said to have given ; and indeed, he seems himself to have an uneasy consciousness that he has not done all that might have been expected of him, for he shelters himself behind the plea that he is not seeking to construct a theology, but only to indicate certain points from which, as he thinks, a true theology must start. But it is one of the objections which I have to make, that the propositions which he sets up as the "Foundations of Belief" cannot be the starting-point of a genuine theology, because they can be shown to be inadequate. Nor, indeed, could it be otherwise, for Mr. Balfour's whole method is one which makes any adequate theology impossible. It is a plea for faith based upon the impotence of the speculative reason, and therefore it necessarily fails, not merely to give a complete system, but even to make the beginning of a system possible. We are told that scientific knowledge rests upon beliefs which cannot be justified, that the same defect applies to our ethical and religious beliefs, and we are asked to accept certain propositions of Mr. Balfour on the ground that they are "postulates" demanded by our "ethical needs." There is force in the retort of Mr. Spencer, that "the comforting character of a belief is not an adequate reason for entertaining it." No belief, we may be certain, will remain a permanent possession of the human spirit which cannot show itself to be rational. It is vain to appeal to what cannot establish its right to exist. Thus, Mr. Balfour has cut away the branch on which he was himself sitting. I confess to an entire disbelief in all defences of the faith, which are based upon the assumed impotence of reason to solve the problems which it has itself raised. Our author might have learned from the history of the Hamiltonian doctrine of the conditioned, and from other attempts to base faith upon nescience, that their end is death. Any attempt to show that reason proves its own impotence is essentially suicidal.

Let us, however, leave generalities and come to close quarters with Mr. Balfour's argument. Before doing so, I should like to make two preliminary remarks. (1) The first is that I shall have to record my dissent from Mr. Balfour, not so much because of the conclusions he reaches, as the method by which he reaches them. The whole history of ideas teaches us that nothing is

more fatal to truth than to rest it upon a false foundation. No doubt truth can ultimately take care of itself, but its reception may be delayed by unwise advocates. Hence, it is just because I am in sympathy with Mr. Balfour's conclusions that I think it more necessary to be severe upon his method of reaching them. Those who have made up their minds against the Christian view of the world are not likely to be moved by anything Mr. Balfour can say; but those to whom that view is something more than life, may suffer an eclipse if not a shipwreck of their faith, when they come to see the essential weakness of the method of defence to which they have unwisely trusted. (2) The second remark I have to make is that the Christian faith, like every living principle, must subdue all to itself, or confess itself a failure. In its first enunciation, Christianity did not take the form of a reasoned system; it was presented by its author as a view of the world which was essentially self-evidencing. This, indeed, is the manner in which every great idea first emerges. In the mind of its author, it appears as a new conception which proves itself by the power with which it takes hold of the whole man, and reveals all things in a new and more resplendent light. But what at first presents itself as an intuition, when it takes thorough hold of men's minds, operates as a transforming influence, which makes all things new. All their beliefs are touched by it. If it is universal,—and a religion must be universal or it is false—it must be applicable to all spheres of existence, for religion is the principle of the whole; and the whole has no reality when isolated from the parts. Hence, it must be not merely in harmony with nature and with man, but it must reveal the inner meaning of both. It is thus manifest that Christianity, if it is true, must be harmonious with science, so far as it is science, as well as with the moral and social nature of man. To talk of any conflict between science and religion, or between ethics and theology, is to admit that religion is not ultimate, and that theology is but a provisional hypothesis. Hence, he who seeks to defend Christianity must do so by showing that its principle is one which by its living energy and elasticity comprehends all the assured results of science, art and philosophy. It is just the distinction between a really ultimate principle and one that is only provisional, that its adaptability is infinite. If this is not so, it betrays its essential weakness.

Now, it is obvious that, on this view, a really living principle must be ever more fully comprehended as time goes on. Thus, on the one hand, the accidents of its first expression must be set aside as knowledge grows, and, on the other hand, it must, when it is grasped in its essence, exhibit an inexhaustible power of vivifying all the material presented to it. It need hardly be said that the founder of Christianity, in his striking image of the grain of mustard seed which was to grow into the greatest of all trees, made this claim for his conception of the world. It is thus obvious that, as time goes on, the principle of Christianity must present itself in an ever purer and richer form. Now, the labours of the first Christian teachers were largely devoted to defining the principle itself, and trying to prevent it from being narrowed down by the pre-conceptions of an earlier faith. But it was only later, that it began to transform society and the State. This was the great work of the middle ages, and it was a work accomplished not without loss. The task of the modern world is much more complex, though it can hardly be said to be harder; we have to bring the Christian idea into relation with the vast and growing body of scientific truth, and to determine the social and political forms which it demands. If this work is to be satisfactorily accomplished, we must be absolutely serious with the principle that the world is the expression of divine Reason, and that divine Reason is essentially self-manifesting. Any attempt to defend Christianity by a theory which makes the world unintelligible is a virtual denial of the Christian conception of life. That Mr. Balfour has not avoided this snare will become evident as we proceed, and is of itself a proof of the essential weakness in his essential nature is not rational, or if the life of man here is incompatible with the Christian idea that the world is rational, it will be vain to contend that somehow and somewhere Reason is realized. This of course is very different from saying that any given theory of the world and man is true; but at least we may safely say, that only by a theory which is consistent with itself can Christianity be defended at all.

Mr. Balfour maintains that, if we assume (1) the truth of Theism, and (2) the truth of the Christian doctrine of the Incar-

nation, we get a fairly satisfactory theory of the world and of man.

(1) Science rests upon a belief in the uniformity of nature, but this belief cannot itself be *proved*; "we must bring it, or something like it, to the facts in order to infer anything from them." And we have precisely the same guarantee that the world is "the work of a rational Being, who made it intelligible and at the same time made us, in however feeble a fashion, able to understand it."

Now, Mr. Balfour has already told us that the objects with which science deals are not identical with what is given to us in sense-perception or experience. Hence, those objects exist for us only because we cannot get rid of the conviction that there is a real world distinct from our sense-perceptions. But, if we do not *know* this real world, how can we tell what is its nature? Must it not, as lying beyond our sense-perceptions, be of a nature unknown to us? Is it in space and time? How can we tell, if it lies beyond the circle of our knowledge? But, if we cannot tell whether it is in space or time, what meaning can there be in affirming that it is uniform? Uniformity implies a temporal process, because it implies change, and for aught we can tell, the real world may be destitute of change. Thus, we can only say that we are convinced that there is some reality we know not what. This conclusion prevents us from speaking of any "system" of nature: whether the purely indeterminate reality—indeterminate so far as our knowledge goes—is a system or not, we could only tell if we knew something about it, and, by hypothesis, we know nothing about it except that it *is*. Now, Mr. Balfour's reason for affirming the existence of God is that "the ordered system of phenomena asks for a cause," and that "our knowledge of that system is inexplicable unless we assume for it a rational author" (310). But if the real lies beyond the "ordered system of phenomena," by what right do we assume that it requires any "cause" to account for it? There is no need to posit a "cause," except to explain that which comes into being, and whether the unknown reality comes into being or not, we cannot tell, because we know nothing about it. For anything we know, it may never have come into being, and may therefore be self-sub-

sistent. On the other hand, if the "ordered system of phenomena" is not identical with the real world, it is an illusion, and it cannot be maintained that we require a rational author to account for a mere illusion.

The source of these difficulties has already been indicated. Mr. Balfour cannot get rid of the assumption that experience consists of a series of sense-perceptions, which are the data out of which science has to build up its beliefs in an "ordered system of phenomena." From this point of view, no doubt, the principle of the "uniformity of nature" is a belief for which we can furnish no other warrant than that we do believe it. Thus, we are at the mercy of the first thinker who, like Hume, points out that we are making an assumption which our facts do not justify. Unless we can show that there cannot be a consciousness of the so-called 'facts' of sense-perception, without the consciousness of a system of nature, we are helpless to meet the sceptical objection which resolves our belief into the blind operation of 'custom' or 'authority.' No doubt we cannot justify the belief from experience, if experience is simply a number of particular sense-perceptions. But, as I have already argued, such an interpretation of 'experience' has no warrant but a false theory of knowledge. See, then, the extraordinary straits to which Mr. Balfour is reduced. We have to assume (1) that there is a real world corresponding to our sense-perceptions; (2) that this world exhibits changes; (3) that the changes take place in accordance with the principle of uniformity. Every one of these assumptions must be questioned by anyone who will follow out to its consequences the false assumption that experience may be resolved into a number of sense-perceptions. But, unless every one of them is granted, Mr. Balfour's argument for the existence of God as a 'cause' of the world, has no foundation.

It is no better with the second form of the argument, viz: that a God is required to account for the fact that "in however feeble a position," we are "able to understand" the world. For, on Mr. Balfour's own showing, we are not "able to understand" the world, either 'feebly' or thoroughly. The 'phenomena' that science claims to understand are not to be identified with the 'world' as it really is. What that world is we do not know,

and that of which we know nothing we cannot be said to understand. We do not, therefore, require any 'cause' to explain knowledge. What we call the "system of nature" is not the real world, and if any cause is to be postulated, it must be a 'cause' which has so made us that the world is unintelligible to us, or, what is the same thing, that we have no faculty for comprehending it. If Mr. Balfour were to say that we have an actual knowledge of the real world, and find it to be an intelligible system, one could understand how he should go on to say that as our knowledge and this system are adapted to each other, we must postulate a Being who has made the world intelligible, and made us able to understand it. But this would not have suited his device of appealing to unreasoned conviction, and therefore he seeks to prove the intelligibility of the world and the rationality of man by postulating a Being who is supposed to do what it is affirmed he has not done.

Let us, however, waive these objections; let us admit that "Theism . . . is a principle which science . . . requires for its own completion;" what is the nature of the Being so postulated? How is God to be defined? He is a "rational" Being, who "has made the world intelligible, and has made us able to understand it." But, we cannot "form . . . any tolerable idea of the mode in which God is related to, and acts on, the world of phenomena . . . How He created it, how He sustains it, it is impossible for us to imagine."

Mr. Balfour, in other words, has no other idea of the relation of God to the world, than that of a Being, who has brought "the world of phenomena" into existence, and who sustains the world he has thus created. Now, until it is recognized that the whole idea of a world independent of God is unthinkable, we may admit that we cannot "form any tolerable idea of the mode in which God is related to, and acts on, the world of phenomena." Nor is our difficulty lessened when we find Mr. Balfour also speaking of God as "immanent in the world of phenomena." How He can be both, Mr. Balfour does not explain. But then it is not incumbent upon one who finds that we can base true conclusions upon false premises to explain this or any other contradiction. On Mr. Balfour's view, indeed, it would not be wise to get rid of contra-

diction: the greater the number of contradictions in which we are entangled, the more likely we are to be nearer the truth, for it seems to him an axiom that we should "disbelieve what is simple." On this principle one might suggest an improvement. Why not maintain that, though there is but one God, there yet is a vast number of gods; that God created the world, and yet that the world had no creator; that there is no world apart from God, and yet that the world is complete in itself? If a contradiction is a good thing, we cannot have too much of it; and the more we accumulate contradictions, the less likely is anyone to impeach us for violating the axiom that the 'simple' is to be disbelieved.— Seriously, has not Mr. Balfour in this brand-new axiom of his confused two entirely distinct things? The 'simple' may be either the 'superficial' or the 'rational.' The former is simple because it neglects the whole complexity of the problem; the latter is simple because it grasps the principle which reconciles apparent contradictions. In this latter sense, the Christian idea of God as the Being who is not beyond the world, but manifested in it, while yet every form of existence has its own reality, is simpler than the Jewish conception of God as the Lord and Creator, who stands outside of the world and acts externally upon it; but the simplicity is one that does not exclude, but includes the greatest complexity. Mr. Balfour has, therefore, violated his own axiom when that axiom is not interpreted in a sense which makes it merely the formulation of a conglomerate of unresolved contradictions. That God is "Spirit" is a much more complex idea than that He is Creator; for Spirit, and Spirit alone, enjoys a fuller and richer life the more it goes out of itself, and finds itself in what is distinguished from itself.

JOHN WATSON.

(Concluded in next number.)

THE CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

CARLYLE begins his "Chartism" with the "Condition-of-England Question," which he regarded as "the most ominous of all practical matters whatever,"—the wrong condition or the wrong disposition of the working classes being an indubitable fact, though Chartism might be only a temporary embodiment of it or a "Chimera." Carlyle's description of the condition of the people and of the remedies that were prescribed at the time for their desperate state, makes melancholy reading. He himself seems to think that the immediate remedy was emigration, seeing that only a small portion of "this inconsiderable Terraqueous Globe" has yet been properly tilled and delved; but to the question, where are the men who should lead and guide "these superfluous masses of indomitable living valour" to the peaceful conquest of new lands, he gives the winged, scorching answer—"where are they? Preserving their game!" Well, during the last sixty years millions have emigrated, with or without national leaders, from the island home of our race. They have made the United States; have colonized Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, the Australias; and yet the old land is more crowded with people than ever. Instead of less than thirty they now number forty millions. Surely their condition must be more desperate than it was then? Is it so? That is a question which should be answered by an authority like Carlyle. I offer, as a contribution to an answer, some impressions that were made on me by the pictures of life and work that passed before my eyes during a recent visit to England, Scotland and Ireland.

My brief paper does not deal with statistics. These would tell too flattering a tale. So far as I have looked into them, they are wholly on one side. They speak of population growing steadily, of revenue expanding, of debt diminishing, and taxes taken off, until it has come to this that the average working man, unless he drinks or smokes, pays nothing to the enormous British revenue of over a hundred millions sterling: of more children in

the schools every year, and striking improvements in college, university, normal and technical education; of a larger out-put from manufactories; an increasing commerce; more money in Banks, Benefit and Savings Societies, and a steady rise in the standard of living; of decrease in the numbers of the pauper and criminal classes, not only relatively, but absolutely; of a more humane criminal code, and of much legislation passed in the interest of the toiling masses and of women and children; in one word, of up-grade development all along the line. How much of this apparent progress is genuine and how much of it is due to Carlyle and to other men of genius and spiritual passion like unto him, I do not consider at present. I propose merely to give a few impressions.

To begin, no signs indicate that the vitality of the race is exhausted. Whether you watch the mighty current of life that pours ceaselessly along the thoroughfares of London, or the crowds at a cricket match or at Henley, or the operatives streaming to or from the ship-yards or factories, or holidaying with their wives and children, or the people who attend the great religious conventions, or rural labourers at work in the fields, or the students and ladies who crowd the Sheldonian Theatre at Commemoration, or flock to tennis tournaments and garden parties, or processions of trades-unionists, or the thronged railway stations, you see a robust, virile and good-humoured people. Comparing them, not with France, whose sun has reached its zenith and is beginning slowly and reluctantly to decline, but with the masses in the great centres of the United States, there is less of the strain of life, less of anxiety about the morrow, with more of lustiness, of freedom from care, and of enjoyment in living apparent, than in America, in spite of the resources of a virgin Continent only just opened and which yesterday seemed to be illimitable. The spirit of the people is fresh as ever. With a more sensitive conscience and an increasing pride of race which makes them shrink from a quarrel with their American kinsfolk as they would from a civil war, and makes them refuse to entertain suggestions about parting with the self-governing Colonies or breaking up that mysterious unity called the British Empire, they were never before so ready, in time of peace, to vote money for the Army and Navy, or to go into a quarrel in which their interest or honour

or conscience is involved. When they thought last New Year's day that Germany had thrown down a gage of battle, which meant a coalition against them of unknown magnitude, they accepted it with almost frantic eagerness. They were rather glad to have the opportunity of letting their kin across the ocean see that it was not fear which made them with one accord give a soft answer to the wild defiance of Congress. Had Lord Salisbury decided to dare the venture of going to war with united Europe for the sake of Armenia, they would have thought him mad, but none the less they would have been at his back. He actually lost credit for refusing to take the risk, and he only regained credit when they learned, early in August, that he had stood out against the other Powers and utterly refused to coerce Crete or bring pressure to bear upon Greece.

Again, there are scarcely any signs of the existence of a revolutionary spirit, or of that dislike of the rich which is general on the Continent, and making its appearance in the United States. The popularity of the Royal Family is greater than ever, and what Byron said of Moore—"Tom dearly loves a Lord"—may be said generally of the British public. If it is desired to raise a large sum of money for a hospital, a church or a park, all that is needed is to get the Queen or some member of her family to take it up. Even a review at Aldershot failed to draw the public, when the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Wolseley, instead of the old Duke of Cambridge, was to be chief Inspector. After the Queen, the Prince of Wales is the prime favourite, and next to him, the Duke of York; and every one takes a lively interest in a marriage, a birth, or in much smaller incidents affecting the Head of the State. Peers are elected Mayors of great cities and of the greatest county councils. In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Lord Balfour of Barleigh, has more weight than any clerical leader; and when Lord Hopetoun spoke on the Report of the Colonial Committee, he was free to go on as long as he liked. If a little noise was caused by members coming in or going out, a general subdued cry of "hush!" silenced the most reckless. The Earl of Moray, though not to be compared in presence or speech with either of those Peers, is greeted with similar respect in the Free Assembly. When Lord

Rosebery entered St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, to give the address at the centenary of Burns, the whole of the vast audience rose and cheered him. Canadians may see evidences of flunkeyism in these things, but they have to admit the absence of servility. If a Lord should presume on his rank to violate tradition or usage, or to lessen the smallest privilege of the people, he would soon find out his mistake. Should a Duke persist in driving on, in disregard of the uplifted hand of a policeman, an instant summons to Scotland Yard would vindicate the insulted majesty of the law. If a member of "the privileged classes" is charged with an offence, he is certain to be dealt with, more strictly than if he were a poor man. It is felt that *noblesse oblige*. A gentleman is expected to act like a gentleman, and thus to pay for any little honour that may be extended to him. The same feeling makes servants respectful. They wear caps, touch their hats, address you with "Sir," and accept tips for small services rendered. I have heard tipping denounced, but there is much of reason as well as mutual advantage in the practice. Better to give a small coin—if you can spare it—to an obliging porter, guard or other official who is on hand to help you along, than to have no one about, to whom to apply for information or assistance! Arriving at the Union Station, Toronto, last week, two little girls seized hold of me and showed me cards indicating that they were destined for Hamilton. Crowds were passing to and fro, but not one of them had official cap or buttons. In vain I asked the likeliest looking people for the Hamilton train. Five minutes passed, but I was unable to "move on," though in a great hurry, because of the two waifs, when fortunately a man who had been looking for them appeared and took them off my hands. The experience made me appreciate the number and politeness of the porters at a British Railway Station. If an old traveller found himself so helpless, how would it be with an old lady! Officials are sometimes visible about stations in Canada and the States, but as a rule they are too dignified for use. On the plea of the equality of man, Jack is not only as good as his master, but he assumes to be master, and there is no servant. Service there still is and always must be, but with somewhat of a mutinous, envious spirit, instead of the spirit of self-respecting obedience.

The British people have at bottom a genuine love or liking for their Monarchy and Peerage, with gradation of ranks, and orders of merit. They thus secure that some colour shall be given to life, instead of insisting that all classes shall wear drab. An American friend, who hailed me on the High Street of Edinburgh, was greatly distressed at the amount of colour connected with the procession of the High Commissioner on his way to open the General Assembly. He was especially pained at seeing Highlanders and Lancers or Hussars "prowling around" as he phrased it, when a Court of the Lord Jesus Christ was about to meet. I asked him if he would object to policemen in uniform lining the streets and keeping order in connection with the function. Not at all. Was the sin then in the tartan or the scarlet? No; but the swords seemed "incongruous." I reminded him that the police in New York carried revolvers, and that the armed force of every nation was behind the ermined Judge and plain policeman, just as truly as behind a Corporal's guard. But what had "the world" to do with the General Assembly? Not a little, was my rejoinder; and I expressed the hope that the Assembly would have something to do with the world, by fully establishing in it the Kingdom of God. Officers and men in those glittering ranks might be quite as unworldly as the moderator, or a clergyman of a grudging or cankered spirit. God's world has abundance of colour. Quakerism itself gives a touch of picturesqueness to life, but all are not called upon to be Quakers.

It may be more disputable to say that there are few signs that religion has lost its ancient hold on the British people. Evolution is now accepted by the man on the street, and it is changing the point of view from which all doctrines are regarded. The forms of religion are indeed changing, but so it has been from the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. A member of one of the Assemblies spoke feelingly last May of the change that was coming over the Highlands. In his early days, "if children saw the minister, it put the fear of death on them," and he sadly intimated that it was otherwise now; that a visit from the minister was rather welcome than otherwise to the lambs of the flock. Church attendance is not so obligatory, nor sermons so long, nor sacramental services protracted over so many days; but if a minister has anything to say he is listened to with respect, every

appeal for funds or personal ministry for a good cause is responded to with reasonable liberality, and the services of the sanctuary are conducted with reverence that was deplorably lacking in the good old days. Remote parishes are to be found where the churches are still as dirty and the service conducted in as slovenly a fashion as could be desired ; and in other parishes the pendulum has swung to an opposite extreme. There are Presbyterian Churches where boys lead the singing, instead of ladies with loud head-dresses ; the clergy and choir may enter the church in procession, after devotional service in the vestry ; there may be a chancel, with stalls for the assistants and the choir ; the Communion table may be in the centre and the pulpit on one side ; the church may be open always for worship, and for a daily service ; the minister may magnify his office, perhaps letting fall expressions that to alarmed ears smack of medievalism ; there may be prayers in common with souls who have departed in the faith and are waiting in hope for the accomplishing of the number of the elect ; but the mass of the good, honest, patient laity suffer and even approve these things, provided that the minister works as a man in earnest should work, and that they can look up to him as a man of God. To them, "the fundamentals" mean life rather than the old dogmas. They recognize that life is the only adequate expression of doctrine, and life is more and more looked at from the point of view of evolution. This prevailing, if somewhat inarticulate or confused conviction, explains the wide popularity of "the Kail-yard school" of writers. People read and approve Ian Maclaren's "Mind of the Master," though theologians denounce it as unsound and illogical. As the prophets were by no means logical, and the Church systematically put them aside or put them out of the way, it is felt that a true interpreter of the greatest of the prophets may be more in accord with the essence of His system than was Calvin, or Turretin or even Hodge. In England, the Established Church is gaining upon Dissent, just because it has been forced by the laity to become tolerant, and because it is more comprehensive of the various phases of religious thought and feeling than any or all of the Nonconformist Churches. The latter, it is thought, are slightly Pharisaical and sectarian, besides being rather aggressively political ; but it is also clear to me that the chief danger of the Established Church is in

the political attitude that some of its leaders are urging it to take, especially in connection with the Education question. John Bull likes variety of colour in Church as well as State. He prefers his ancient Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons and Canons to a vast mob of Presbyters, uniformed alike. But he will not tolerate clerical aggression, and he instinctively detests religious discord. Should the Bishops succeed in organizing the clergy to press for more public money to be given to voluntary schools, without conceding public control, they may endanger the Establishment, irresistibly strong though it now seems to be. In Scotland, too, the Established Church has gained in strength, but more from the mistakes of the principal Dissenting Churches than from its own wisdom or merits; and it should use the present season of calm weather not in organizing for Defence, still less in irritating or even standing aloof from its sisters, but in giving full proof that it affords a good practical as well as historical basis for a reconstructed, truly national Church. Scotland is the one country in the world that has the opportunity of proving that Presbyterianism has within it the promise and potency of being a Church coextensive with the nation; but it is doubtful if the leaders—lay and clerical—of the three Churches have the faith and the statesmanship that the opportunity requires. But, apart from all questions of organization or ritual, the British people seemed to me truly religious as of old. Wealth has not corrupted them. There is a general sobriety of thought in all classes. The home is pure. The councils of the nation include not a few wise men. In the Councils of the working classes, cranks and faddists are good-humouredly listened to rather than followed, and the public conscience responds to every strong and right appeal. Gladstone is still a power because he is believed to have a conscience.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the United Kingdom during the last half-century than the strides which have been taken in Common School Education. Scotland had its parish schools for centuries; but England and Ireland were in deplorable case. While all three Kingdoms have done well, the greatest improvement has been in the two that were in greatest need. Even the religious difficulty has not troubled them over-

much. Ireland,—that uniformly inconsistent country where everything happens that is least expected—there has been less trouble than anywhere else. On this continent the knot has generally been cut. Religious instruction has been turned out of the public schools: for reading a few verses of Scripture, without note or comment allowed to the teacher, can hardly be called instruction. In Scotland, the Board Schools are denominational as well as national, for in most of them the Shorter Catechism is taught by the teacher, as well as Bible lessons according to a prescribed syllabus. The teacher, it may be argued, is not paid for giving religious instruction, because the Government Inspector does not examine on it; but most of his salary comes from the rates or local taxes, the rate-payers elect the Board of Trustees, a Committee of the Board—generally including one or more Presbyterian clergyman—see to the religious instruction that is given and also examine on it, and the teacher who fails on that subject is not likely to commend himself to his paymasters. Of course there is a conscience clause; but it is taken advantage of by a quite insignificant number of scholars, Jews or careless or irreligious parents generally not objecting to half an hour of religious instruction being given to their children.

Two things struck me as singular. First, the attitude of voluntaries to this very practical question. The U. P. Church takes strong ground concerning the sin or impropriety of making public provision for religious teaching or worship; and the Free Church has now definitely committed itself to union with the U. P's. But, surely the sin of accepting old endowments for the maintenance of public worship must be less than the sin of imposing new rates upon all the living for religious education in the common school. The inconsistency would be palpable to the logical French mind; but the Scotchman gets out of it somehow. So does the Englishman, though he has to face a more complex situation. More than half of the schools in England have been built, and are controlled by the Churches, chiefly by the Established Church, which has shown great activity in this direction since 1870. These, like the few voluntary schools in Scotland, receive a certain annual Government grant per scholar, according to the Inspector's report on their efficiency. The Board Schools,

supported by Government grants and by rates, are declared to be undenominational, but in most of them very efficient Bible instruction is given. Logic points to either the one extreme that the Voluntary Schools should also get from the rates, according to their efficiency, or to the opposite extreme that the Board Schools should be "secular;" but John Bull prefers precedent to logic. The present Government is considering the whole situation and has promised to do something for the Voluntary Schools, but its measure will have to be more or less ambitious than the Bill it withdrew last June. With regard to the present educational condition, as compared with the previous state of things, there is every reason for satisfaction. The schools are well taught, the teacher's position is more secure than with us, improvements are being made all the time, and there is no practical religious difficulty, although the scholars in nearly ninety-nine schools out of the hundred receive definite religious teaching and have a much more accurate knowledge of the Bible than I have found to be the case in Canada or the States.

Secondly, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Clergy to the Board Schools in Scotland. In view of the facts that these Schools might be called Presbyterian as well as national, and that the R. C. Church elsewhere insists strongly on its right to separate education or gives its strength to Voluntary Schools, it might be thought that this attitude would be one of hostility or indifference. Very far from it. Everywhere, so far as I could learn, the priests take a healthy interest in the Board Schools, they are elected to the Boards, and, by means of the cumulative vote they are often at the head of the poll, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and elsewhere. They work cordially on the Boards with the other members and take their full share of Committee work, the Department of religious instruction always excepted. They make no claim for a share of the rates, being satisfied apparently with the small Government *per capita* grant, though their people have to pay the rates levied for the Board Schools, and to contribute, in addition, out of their poverty to build and maintain Church Schools. The only explanation I can offer for this attitude, so admirable in itself, but so opposed to what is practised elsewhere, is the strength and unanimity of the popular sentiment in favour of education and the real religious unity of the Scottish people.

The old Parish Schools, though inadequate latterly to modern conditions and the growth of great cities, were rooted in popular necessities and affection. The people, consequently, would tolerate no other system than one thoroughly national. At the same time, they recoil from excluding religious instruction from the school programme, and, although outwardly divided into Old Kirk, Free Kirk and U. P., they are all Presbyterian and therefore see no reason for departing from the "use and wont" text-books, as the Bible and the Shorter Catechism are termed. The present condition of things is an impressive illustration of the homogeneity of the people and of their real religious unity. Even a hierarchy feels it to be useless to contend against such forces, and therefore its wise men do not waste their strength in vain contentings, but accept the inevitable and give their own contribution to making the educational system as good as possible. The work of John Knox has not been in vain. Carlyle's estimate of the man and of the work he did for Scotland may be accepted as on the whole true. He had a lofty ideal, and though he did not see it realized, it has been ever since an inspiration to the land for which he prayed and suffered, and it is perhaps nearer realization to-day than ever before. For, it is not merely the Common School that has benefited by the forward movement of the last fifty years. High School departments are connected with the largest of the City Schools, in which excellent secondary education is given. Manual training, sewing, cooking, and technical instruction of various kinds are also included in many places, while large private endowments add to the completeness and richness of secondary education. The Universities, too, have not been neglected. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the first half of the nineteenth, little or nothing was done for them. Our day has atoned for this long neglect, and now no Scotchman need be ashamed of the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrew's. Graduates go from them in increasing numbers to Oxford, Cambridge and Germany, but they go so well prepared as a rule that they take high honours. In consequence, Scotland is no longer isolated from the current of European thought, but contributes to it, and may be said to do its full share in guiding, deepening and enriching it. Somewhere about half a century ago, when the Evangelical Alliance met in

Berlin, there was scarcely a British clergyman able to take part in the conferences, in German, save Dr. John Cairns. The English papers called attention to the extraordinary facts that a Scottish Dissenting minister had to be chosen to represent the British delegates, and that he discharged the duty with such singular ability and force that the King and Queen asked that he should be introduced to them. Now, every Scottish student who intends to write makes a point of mastering German and becoming personally acquainted with German Professors. It is only necessary to glance at the Table of Contents in the *Critical Review* to see how completely British and German criticism accept the same Canons and so stand on one foundation, how vast and varied is the volume of German Scholarship, and to note too how important are the contributions that Scotland is making to philosophical and theological inquiry.

Besides educational improvement, signs of social improvement are to be seen on every hand. There is still far too much drinking, but drunkenness is less prevalent. The sums spent by the working classes on strong drink and tobacco are enormous, and it is impossible to avoid making the reflection that there is more room for Reform here than anywhere else, and that this Reform must come, not from legislation but from a change in the habits and customs—and that means ultimately a change in the whole tone and temper—of the people. This change is slowly taking place. Fifty or sixty years ago, only a rich man could afford to drink heavily. "Drunk as a Lord," was the expression which indicated the custom of the time and the heaven to which the poor man scarcely ventured to hope he might attain. But a Lord now would at once lose caste if he drank to excess. In good society, to drink heavily means that you are sent to Coventry forever after. I attended a public dinner on Dominion day in London, and out of the two hundred and fifty guests only one appeared to be the worse of liquor at the close of the function. It was not one of the Lords or Honourables, but a poor, silly student, and he was felt to have disgraced himself and in a measure the whole company. This changed sentiment with regard to the use and abuse of beer, wine or spirits, is finding its way down through all ranks, and it—with the moral and educational forces at work—will accomplish the desired Reform, unless well-mean-

ing faddists check its operation by forcing on the people prohibitory legislation which—as an encroachment on personal liberty—ought never to be tried save as an expedient of desperation. We license the sale of drugs, dynamite and drink, for licensing means regulating. We do not prohibit, and if we did the chances are that we should be blown up, unless something worse happened to us.

Another sign of improved social conditions, is the almost universal use of the third-class carriage in travelling. The second class has been abolished on many lines, and the first is used by so few that people with third-class tickets are shoved into them when there is a crush or a hurry. Formerly third-class passengers were generally ill-dressed, evil-smelling, often drunk and unmannerly, and the carriages were made as uncomfortable as possible. Now, serene highnesses, such as Professors, Principals, Bishops, Clergymen's wives, and still more exalted personages use them freely, and the carriages are kept so clean that they compare favourably with our first. On every line, some third-class carriages are reserved for smokers and others for "ladies only." The remarkable thing in Britain is the constant improvement and the cheapening of commodities that is taking place in the interest of the people. In Canada, fares are as high as they were when Railways were first introduced, and the poor are made to suffer. A second-class passenger cannot with us get a return ticket, except by paying two fares. He is often shoved into a dirty carriage, defiled with saliva and tobacco juice. He cannot get a cup of tea or coffee for less than ten cents, instead of the two cents it costs at a Railway Station in Great Britain. Excursion tickets discriminate against the city poor, and the higher rates charged at non-competing points discriminate against the country poor. Railway Directors declare, in answer to complaints, that their sole duty is to secure dividends. Might they not reflect that they have received public franchises, and that all history shows that selfishness is blindness? If they must be selfish, may we not plead for enlightened selfishness? If the pleading is in vain, some other way may have to be tried.

G. M. GRANT.

EARLY LAW COURTS.

I regret to say that in committing myself to an address on the early history of the Local Courts of the Midland District, I was essaying a more formidable task than I had anticipated.

Very little is known of the early Judicial History of this Province by the legal profession and still less by the public at large. There are records of a Court of Quarter Sessions in the Mecklenberg District, extending from the mouth of the Gananoque River on the East to the River Trent on the West, before the Provincial Act of Upper Canada passed in 1792, renamed it the Midland District. The old minutes beginning in the year 1789 are somewhat imperfectly kept.

In the Quarter Sessions the leading Magistrates assembled and the Chairman on almost all occasions for the first decade or so was Richard Cartwright, Junior. It not only tried petty offences such as larceny, assaults, trespasses, etc., but exercised a Municipal jurisdiction, regulating the assize of bread, the issue of tavern licenses, opening roads, making the assessments, collecting the taxes, building bridges, repairing the highways, etc., etc.

A Grand and Petit Jury were summoned at its four principal sessions and in addition to trying such prisoners as might be brought before them, the Petit Jury also tried questions as to the compensation due to the owners whose lands were expropriated for highways, and also heard disputes respecting them.

The criminal law, which was administered in this early tribunal, and the procedure which governed were based on that of England, and certainly borrowed somewhat of the sanguinary features of the law as then administered in the British Courts; for whilst the punishments of the Court were for the most part very mild, and usually fines, there were instances where they were very severe.

The earliest entry I have been able to find in these records is dated Tuesday, 14th April, 1789, and is headed :

District of Mecklenberg—Town of Kingston.

The Court of Quarter Sessions.

Magistrates present { Richard Cartwright, Jr.,
Neil McLean,
Richd. Porter,
Archd. McDonnell, } Esquires.

The first case was the King on the prosecution of
Joseph Desaver

v.

Alexander McDonnell,
Jean Mignon,
Michael Lemer,
Jean Chaudreau, } Assault and battery.

The Grand Jury found a true bill. On arraignment the first three prisoners pleaded guilty.

Jean Chaudreau pleaded not guilty.

The Jury sworn to try the case were

George Galloway,	Arthur Orser,
John Wartman,	John Ferris,
Barnabas Day,	Gilbert Orser,
Robert Graham,	Malcolm Knight,
Peter Wartman,	George Murdoff,
Solomon Orser,	William Bell.

The Jury acquitted the prisoner Chaudreau and the three others were fined ten shillings each. There were three other prisoners tried at the same sittings, two for assault and one for larceny, all of whom were acquitted.

Two Grand Jurors, Peter Vanalstine and Gisbert Sharp, were fined thirty shillings, and four Petit Jurors, David Flynn, Charles Bennett, John Carscallen and William Smith were fined twenty shillings each for absenting themselves. This is important as showing that at this early period, before Toronto was thought of, and whilst the present site of the Ambitious City was a wilderness, we had the machinery of a court, exercising all its wonted functions, and that for the summoning of jurymen, precepts were regularly issued.

The Court sat again in July. A prisoner named James Carmahan, convicted of trespass and assault, was sentenced to receive "thirty-nine lashes on his bare back at the public whipping post of this town,"

On Monday, the 12th of October, 1789, there is the following minute :

“A Court of Oyer and Terminer having been held for the District of Mecklenberg on the 28th of September last, at which all business for this District was settled, the Justices having taken into consideration the great inconvenience that would arise to the good people of the District on being again called together at this time, and the little necessity there was for calling them as no business appeared to require it, they therefore declined issuing any precept to summon any jury to attend at this Session.”

This Court of Assize, as we should call it now, must have been presided over by a judge of the old Province of Quebec, and was probably the first Court of its kind ever held in this Province. The Province of Upper Canada was not set apart until the year 1792, by Imperial Act 31 Geo. III c. 31, 1791, and according to Mr. Read the learned author of the “Lives of the Judges,” the first record of Chief Justice Osgoode, the first Superior Court Judge of the Province, is not till the year 1792, when he presided at Kingston on the 23rd of August of that year.

In a letter written me recently by Mr. Read, he says “the first Court” (*i. e.* of Oyer and Terminer) held in Mecklenberg, must have been between 1788 and 1792, and when it was in old Quebec. I can't give you the date of holding that date. I think it can only be got in the Ottawa archives, or in Montreal or Quebec.” He was not aware what a valuable mine the old Quarter Session's minute book of Mecklenberg is to delve in.

At the Court held on the 14th of April, 1790, I find the following minute :

The King on the prosecution of
Conrad Sills
against
Fred Keper.

Indicted for feloniously stealing a shear, coulter and bolt of the value of 10 shillings,—found guilty.

After consideration the Court sentenced the prisoner to receive “thirty-one lashes on his bare back at the public whipping post, to suffer one month's imprisonment and shall be set in the stocks one day of each week in that month with the label “Thief.” Where the Public Whipping Post stood or the stocks were erect-

ed I have been unable to learn from the oldest inhabitant. It was probably somewhere in the present Hay Market, for the present Market was not established until the year 1822. It will no doubt be news to the young Kingstonians of this age to know that we ever had a Public Whipping Post, or that that archaic instrument of punishment, the stocks, was ever in vogue here.

At the Sessions in July, 1790, Sheriff Philip Lansingh, Esq., made complaint that Richard Bond, late gaoler, had been conveying spirituous liquors to a prisoner under sentence of death, but the latter on trial was acquitted by a jury of this charge. This prisoner was one who must have been convicted at the Court of Oyer and Terminer which sat in September of the previous year, as the Quarter Sessions did not possess the power of inflicting capital punishment.

At a special Session held on the 3rd of May, 1794, it was ordered that the Assize of Bread for the 4 pound white loaf of Wheaten Flour, marked with the initials of the baker's name, be five pence currency.

Monday the 12th of September, 1796. "The average price of flour being 20 shillings, it was ordered that the Assize of bread for a four pound loaf of fine Wheaten flour be 9 pence, and that a brown loaf weighing 6 pounds be 9 pence currency. The bakers were ordered to mark their loaves with the initials of their names."

As 9 pence would be equal to about 15 cents of our money, making no allowance for the difference in the value of money which was then much greater than at the present day, this would make a baker's dozen \$1.95, a much higher price than we pay just a century later. The Court in attempting to regulate the price of the staff of life was doubtless animated by philanthropic motives, but proceeded upon theories, which in the view of an illustrious descendant of the Chairman in common with all enlightened politicians was erroneous. However its members were no worse than their contemporaries.

At the Sessions held in September, 1796, there is the first minute of any lawyer being employed; the following being the entry:

"William Ramback and Peter Detlor indicted last session being set to the bar and charged on their indictment, on motion of

Charles Peters, Esquire, Attorney for the defendants, the said indictment was quashed for informality."

On Thursday, the 12th of October, 1797, William Newbury and Caleb Williams being convicted of larceny, were sentenced to receive 40 lashes at the Public Whipping Post in Kingston, and Nicholas Tudor for a misdemeanour to sit in the stocks for two hours.

At the Court held on the 23rd of April, 1799, James Cannon, a bound apprentice to Emerson Burley, a Hatter of this town, prayed on motion of Mr. Peters, his Counsel, that he be discharged from his indentures for want of sufficient food and that he is employed as a servant and not at the trade of a hatter.

Mr. Hagarman appeared as Counsel for Burley and the following day the Court discharged the apprentice from his indentures who gave full proof to maintain his complaint, it appearing that he was employed by his master rather as a domestic drudge than learning his trade.

After this date the name of Mr. Nicholas Hagarman frequently appears. He was the father of Mr. Christopher Hagarman who subsequently became a Judge of the Court, of Queen's Bench of this Province, and was father of the wife of the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, the late Lieut.-Governor. After Christopher was called to the bar the father and son both practiced here, and were often employed as opposing Counsel.

To show how versatile the duties performed by the Sessions were, and how far its duties extended, such entries as these frequently occur :

Fifteenth of October, 1800.

"It is ordered by the Magistrates that the sum of £23 10/ be levied from the Counties of Lennox, Hastings and Northumberland for members wages for the year 1800."

This is explained as the duty was imposed on the sessions by an Act of the Legislature, 33, George III, to provide the indemnity of its members, or members' wages as it was then called. The sum frequently allowed a member was £11 10/, but sometimes it was much larger. Thus John Ferguson, M.P., for Frontenac was awarded £26 10/ for the year 1801. I suppose he was like all members elected from this part a heavy weight, and paid according to his services.

In January, 1802, Samuel Hitchcock was authorized, under a statute of 37, George III, to run a ferry from his house on Grand Island opposite Kingston, and the rates were fixed being five shillings for a single person.

At the Court held in April, 1809, it was ordered that in future every day, Sunday, Christmas Day and Good Friday excepted be market days.

The Court sat regularly during the War of 1812, and beside trying a large number of cases of assault and battery there is nothing recorded in the minutes to show that the state of the country was at all disturbed.

In July 1818 the Sessions ordered that the Wesleyan Chapel in the Town of Kingston be registered according to the statutes in such case made and provided.

I had supposed that the stocks had been discontinued after the close of the last century, but I find in the Sessions held in April, 1818, William Schuyler found guilty of Petit larceny was set in the stocks for two hours, and in January, 1822, Daniel Baker, for a similar offence was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, during which time to be exhibited for three days in the stocks, the time for exhibition to rest with the Sheriff, but Samuel Ryckman was let off more easily, having only to sit one hour. I find one more record of its infliction a year or two later, and then it seems to have fallen into disuse.

During the years 1818-22 inclusive, smuggling must have been largely indulged in. Such entries as these frequently occur.

“ The King on the prosecution of
Chas. A. Hagarman, Collector,

v.

Thomas Parr.

Seizure of three barrels of whiskey.

It appearing to the Sessions that the Claimant, Thomas Parr, having been duly summoned and not appearing, the Sessions order condemnation and sale of the said three barrels of whiskey.”

The goods seized and condemned include every variety, such as liquors, teas, leather, boats, oxen, beef, hogs, hats, gun-powder, sleighs, stoves, shoes, etc.

In 1822, the Sessions ordered, (1) That the Square in front of St. George's Church, between King and Front Street, shall be the

Market Square, and that persons bringing hay, wood and straw, shall range the waggons or sleighs in front of the Market House, the horses heads facing the river ; the waggons or sleighs containing butcher's meat, butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, flour and grain, to be ranged on each side of the Market House, the horses heads to be towards the buildings opposite each side of the Market, and that persons arriving from the Country bringing articles in baskets or wheelbarrows should range themselves on each side of the pavement leading to the Market House.

The Court seems to have sat alternately at Kingston and Adolphustown. There was a Court House at the latter place, but apparently no gaol. An order occasionally appears, allowing compensation for the bringing of prisoners from Kingston for trial.

In August, 1830, there is the following entry : " It appearing to the Court that there are two Streets in the Town which are not designated by any name, the Court order that the Street on the east side of the Market Block from the water-side to the front of the Park of Selma, be called Brock Street, and the Street on the west side, and running past the gaol and the Court House from the water-side to the intersection of Brock Street, be called Clarence Street. It was further ordered that the cross Street running from Store Street, between Lots 307, 313 & 319, and Lot G. and C., be called Montreal Street, and that the Street between Lots 337 and 381, on the west boundary of the Town, be called Colborne Street ; the cross Street in rear, Barrie Street ; that the Street between Lots Numbers two and three, to the intersection of Quarry Street, be called Queen Street, and that the continuation of said Street be called as heretofore, Grave Street, and that the continuation of the cross Street past the new Burial Ground, be called Cross Street.

At an adjourned Session held Monday, 29th of August, 1831, Captain Raynes applied to the Court to repair the building occupied by the Military as a Guard House in the front of the Market House, but upon a vote the Court determined it ought not to be repaired at the expense of the District.

Upon the question being submitted whether a main guard was necessary for the Town, it was determined in the affirmative as follows ;

Yeas.—J. Sampson, H. Smith, A. Pringle, C. Anderson and J. McCauley. Nays.—W. H. Gray, J. McFarlane, H. C. Thomson.

But the same Court decided that it was unnecessary to maintain any longer the Town Guard as the building was out of repair. From these entries it appears the Guard House in front of the Market House was the Town Guard. It was maintained there until the year 1870, when the City finally ceased to be an Imperial Garrison. At the same Sessions the Magistrates asked the Commandant to continue the two sentries who were posted at the Court House and Gaol.

It was provided that the key of the Fire Station should be left with the Guard which was allowed 2/6 each time there was an alarm.

It appears that the maintenance of order and the security from fire was largely due to the assistance the Civil, received from the Military authorities.

On the 28th of August, 1830, the Magistrates in Sessions assembled, petitioned the Lieut.-Governor for all the land between the Market Square and the water's edge to be set aside for public purposes. The petition stated it was a narrow strip along the precipitous bank of the harbour which they thought was intended in the original survey of the town in 1784 to be attached to the Market and left vacant, but that it had been occupied as a Military Reserve since the War of 1812, and complaining that the shore in front of the bank was used as a nuisance ground to the detriment of the general health, and if handed over to the civil authorities this would be stopped. They also demurred to the retention of the land as a Military Reserve.

Only Clergymen of the Church of England were allowed to perform the ceremony of marriage at first. In 1793, in districts where there were not five Clergymen, the Magistrates were allowed to do so. In 1796 this privilege was extended to the Ministers of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans and Calvinists providing one of the contracting parties shall have been a member of such congregations for at least six months before. The Minister himself required to appear at the Sessions and take the oath of allegiance and obtain a certificate. In 1830 the provision was extended to the Clergymen of all other denominations.

On the 14th of July, 1831, the following quaint entry occurs :

"A certificate, No. Nineteen was ordered to be issued to John Prasto Hetherington, of Kingston, as a Minister of the Gospel in connection with the Conference and Societies of the people called Methodists, established by the Rev. John Wesley, A.M."

As many marriages had been contracted before the year 1793, of which no record had been preserved, and at a time when it was impossible to obtain the services of a Clergyman, by an Act of that year, such marriages were validated and the parties were to appear before any Magistrate and make oath of the marriage and the Clerk of the Peace was to register it and it was sufficient evidence in all the Courts of Law and Equity.

I find at the end of the Minute Book for the year 1794, the following entry which seems to have been made in pursuance of the provisions of this Act :

"I, David McRae, do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I did publickly intermarry with Eric Smyth at Michilimachinac, on the 13th of October, 1783, and that there is now living, issue of the said marriage, one son and three daughters (giving their names).

Sworn before me at Kingston in the Midland District and Province of Upper Canada, this 29th day of May, 1794.

(Sgd.) Rich. Cartwright, Jr.,

C. P.

And Eric Smyth made a similar affidavit which was sworn on the 18th day of June, 1794, before Geo. McBeath, J.P.

Doubtless this man and woman had been members of the little community which constituted the Garrison of the Fort built at the Straits now known as the Straits of Machinac.

In July, 1832, the Court in Session at Adolphustown "decided owing to the present excitement respecting the cholera to take up no new matter and considered it best to discharge the Grand Jury. Several prisoners in custody for larceny were discharged, the witnesses against them not appearing, they were Sergeants in the Royal Artillery and could not be allowed to leave Kingston, the Commandant having ordered that no Military men should go from the post during the prevalence of the cholera."

In October 1833, the Court decided that the practice long es-

tablished to allow private prosecutors to give evidence and address the Court and Jury should be discontinued, citing *King vs. Lancaster*, 1 Chitty R., 602 and 2 B. and A., p. 606.

In July, 1836, a communication was received from the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject of the Incumbents in the several Rectories which stated that five Clergymen of the Church of England were now resident within the District, and that the powers of Justices to solemnize matrimony weae at an end. This communication was read and approved.

There are only two referenees to the Rebellion of 1837 in the Minute Books that I could find, one in July 1838 when on the Petition of Augustus Barber, who acted as Crier of the Court at the special commission for the trial of the rebels for compensation, when the Court ordered him to be paid the sum of £2 5/.

The other entry is as follows: "The Treasurer submitted a statement from 25th of April to the 9th of July, 1838, by which it appears that the sum of £372 15s. and 9½d. had been disbursed on account of the Rebellion and other disturbances, and it was resolved to make application to the Executive Govt., to learn if the same could not be refunded to the District from the Provincial Funds."

The Sheriff was ordered to give an account of his disbursements on account of the State Prisoners, who are now, or have been lately in his custody, and that the same be also forwarded to his Excellency with the request of a refund of the same.

E. H. SMYTHE.

NOTE ON OUR ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

THERE have been various proposals before the public for several years back, having in view the improvement of the steamship service between Canada and Great Britain. The subject has been discussed frequently in the press, it has engaged the attention of Parliament, and large subsidies have been voted in order to secure a Canadian line of steamships, not inferior in build and speed to any on the ocean.

The means of communication between Canada and Great Britain is a national question, and every individual who has a word to say, who has a fact to produce or an opinion to express, should not hesitate to give expression to it in some form. It is surely of high importance to the Dominion and the Empire that we should take the fullest advantage of the geographical position which Canada occupies on this Continent.

In common with every Canadian I feel a lively interest in this question. My interest is not lessened by the fact that I have crossed the Atlantic a great many times, at all seasons of the year, in every kind of weather, and by every route usually travelled; that I have witnessed, throughout a period of more than fifty years, the development of transatlantic steam navigation from very small beginnings to the magnificent passenger-ships of today; that I have myself crossed the ocean in all kinds of craft, from the old Quebec timber ship up to the Great Eastern; that I have made the voyage in the first half of the century at an average speed from port to port of less than three miles an hour, and within the present year at more than twenty-two miles an hour, the voyage in the one case occupying six weeks, and in the other less than one week.

It having been my privilege to enjoy opportunities of becoming familiar with the ocean voyage, I feel it my duty to submit the views I have formed, in order simply that they may be added, as my contribution, to what is known on the subject.

We all recognise that the river and estuary of the St. Lawrence

is the great natural highway of the Dominion. The St. Lawrence during the summer is reached from the ocean by two channels, the Strait of Belle-Isle to the north of Newfoundland and Cabot Strait to the south and west. The gulf and river St. Lawrence admit the passage of ocean steamers to Montreal, a distance of 900 miles inland from Belle Isle. Of the two routes to the open ocean that by the Strait of Belle Isle is the most direct from the cities on the St. Lawrence to Europe. It is not used by the shipping of other nations unless they are engaged in Canadian trade; it is therefore practically and essentially a Canadian route of immense value to Canada and Great Britain.

We cannot correctly estimate the value of the Belle-Isle route without referring to certain peculiar climatic conditions which impose a limit to its utility. During the winter the St. Lawrence is not available as a means of communication. Navigation closes by the end of November, and when spring returns, although the river and gulf may be sufficiently free from ice in May to admit of ships entering by Cabot Strait to ascend to Quebec and Montreal, Belle-Isle remains practically closed until a later date. The more northern entrance is not generally available for ships until the last half of June, and the regular mail steamers do not attempt to pass before July 1st.

The explanation of this late opening of navigation by Belle-Isle is well known. It is due to the fact that in the spring months the Arctic current descends from the north along the Labrador and Newfoundland coast, laden with innumerable icebergs which extend a long way to sea and drift into the Straits in the earlier months of summer so as to impede navigation. The ice-drift varies from year to year. It may leave its source at an earlier or later date than usual, and as a consequence its arrival opposite Belle-Isle varies a few weeks: but late or early, vessels cannot enter the Straits until the icebergs have become sufficiently reduced in number to admit an easy passage in open water between them. The Arctic current gradually carries the ice southerly into warmer latitudes where it is melted, and hence it is, that as the summer months advance the icebergs largely disappear. In clear weather steamships have seldom much difficulty in finding their way through the Belle-Isle passage, but it is not so easy during fog. All winds from the southward bring

up fog, and during its prevalence the greatest caution has to be exercised in order to insure safety. For a distance of 200 miles east and 100 miles west of Belle-Isle, the icebergs may be looked for; occasionally they have been seen much farther to the east and west of the Straits. Within these limits the track of steamers is rarely entirely free from icebergs, although their number greatly diminishes in the later months of summer. Fog and foggy weather is, however, the serious difficulty to be encountered in the ice belt. When fog appears, as it often does, every captain who has a due regard for life and property, at once "slows" his ship. If the speed be 13 knots it will be reduced to one-half; whatever the ordinary speed of the ship, it must be reduced according to the density of the fog; in the densest fog the engines must be stopped altogether in order to insure safety. Capt. W. A. Smith, of the Marine and Fisheries Department, to whom I am indebted for much information, gives it as his opinion, the result of long experience in command of the Allan steamships, that "in dense fog or snow, storm, when a ship is within the limits of the ice track, the only method to adopt is to stop the engines entirely, and station extra men around the vessel's deck to look out for ice drifting towards the ship from windward, or the ship being set towards other masses to leeward." Unlike rocks and shoals, icebergs drift with the ocean currents, and their exact position cannot be shown on charts, hence the great anxiety they cause navigators in thick weather.

Icebergs are often very numerous in July. By September the conditions are generally improved both with respect to fog and icebergs. In October few icebergs are usually seen and sometimes none whatever. In clear weather, which nearly always prevails with a north wind, a steamship may then pass at full speed with safety. In November there is an occasional northeasterly snow-storm, otherwise the Straits are about as easily navigated as in October. Fog is not always absent, but it is not so common in these two months, and generally there is less cause for anxiety. Before the end of November, navigation by the waterway of the St. Lawrence is practically closed.

With respect to the duration of fog on the Belle-Isle route, some judgment can be formed from the records kept at the steam

fog alarm stations. I have been unable to obtain returns for the station on Belle-Isle, but I have been favored with copies of the records for three years at Greenly Island, Forteau, Cape Norman and Cape Bauld. These stations are in the Strait, the two first near the western entrance on the Labrador side, the two last near the eastern entrance on the Newfoundland side. According to the returns the duration of fog at each station in each month of the season open to navigation for 1892 '93 and '94, was as follows :

FOG TABLE.

Giving the maximum, mean and minimum duration of fog at four steam fog alarm stations in each of the five open months of 1892, '93 and '94 :

MONTHS		GREENLY ID.	FORTEAU.	C. NORMAN.	C. BAULD.
		Hours.	Hours.	Hours.	Hours.
July	Max.	234	245	219	309
	Mean	192	225	173	167
	Min.	159	212	149	93
Aug.	Max.	142	320	200	262
	Mean	126	251	164	203
	Min.	113	170	112	106
Sept.	Max.	137	244	110	110
	Mean	122	184	90	99
	Min.	105	120	53	80
Oct.	Max.	115	193	123	215
	Mean	61	121	114	155
	Min.	22	70	107	110
Nov.	Max.	35	59	89	105
	Mean	27	49	41	68
	Min.	22	12	6	32

The facts adduced show that there is the greatest possible necessity for vigilance and prudence in navigating these waters in thick weather; that the comparatively slow vessels (from 12 to 14 knots) which have heretofore passed through the Strait, have frequently to go at half-speed, and under certain circumstances to stop altogether until the weather clears. It follows that if swifter steamers were placed on the route, they would be compelled to reduce their speed to the same requirements. Such being the case, it is obviously impossible for fast steamers under ordinary circumstances to maintain a high rate of speed. With perfectly clear weather, when the icebergs borne by the Arctic current have been dispersed, it might be possible for a 20-knot steamer to make a "record passage," but such an event would be

at rare intervals. Experience goes to show that there is small probability of making such passage in the first half of the season and seldom in any season. A 20-knot steamer could easily maintain her speed on that part of her voyage between the iceberg region and the British coast, but through the 300 miles or more, in which ice and fogs prevail, the average speed could scarcely be reckoned at a higher rate than 6 or 8 miles an hour. For the remaining 800 miles to Montreal, I fear it would not be possible to maintain full speed on much of the distance. In day-light and clear weather there would be nothing to prevent a 20-knot steamer running at full speed; but it is not always clear, and in a river with rocks and shallows in each side, with steamers and sailing craft passing frequently, with intricate turnings in at least portions of the channel, the speed would very often have to be reduced, and indeed it would be fortunate if at times the engines had not to be stopped. For these reasons I am inclined to think that a considerable reduction from full speed must frequently be expected. It is quite true that steamships constructed to run swiftly would always have the advantage over slower vessels, and that whenever an opportunity offered they would have it in their power to proceed at the height of their speed, and in part make up lost time. I have already said that, with a combination of favourable circumstances, rapid passages could be made on this route. With no fog, no ice, no snow, with fair weather and a clear sky, the swiftest steamer could run at full speed, and it would under such circumstances be possible to make wonderfully quick passages.

The conditions of the route from the St. Lawrence to Great Britain by way of Cabot Strait are not in all respects the same as those referred to. This route is available nearly two months earlier in summer than the Belle-Isle route, but it is considerably less direct. There are from five to six months when the navigation of the St. Lawrence is practically closed. In May the field ice which has since February accumulated on the banks of Newfoundland begins to disperse, and icebergs appear in considerable numbers, the advance guard of the stream of icebergs borne south by the Arctic current. These icebergs drift some distance westerly after passing Cape Race. In occasional years very few are seen. Fog is not uncommon. Steamships can avoid much ice by taking a southerly course across the banks, but field ice may

be looked for early in May on the approach to Cabot Strait, and in some years in the Gulf. In June very little field ice remains, but during this month icebergs begin to appear off Newfoundland in numbers, rendering it necessary for ships to proceed with caution in foggy weather. In the Gulf, as elsewhere, southerly winds invariably bring up fog, and ships for Quebec require to observe caution and reduce their speed according to the density of the fog.

The reasons given for reducing the speed of steamships on the Belle-Isle route apply to the Cabot Strait route, although in a less degree, as there is on the latter route more sea-room on much of the distance, but the length of the voyage from Quebec to the United Kingdom by way of Cabot Strait is considerably lengthened.

It will be obvious that the two routes from the St. Lawrence to Europe are closed for half the year; and that when they are open, the navigation for more than one-third the distance from Montreal to Great Britain is frequently unfavorable to rapid steaming. On some portions of the distance, great speed if attempted would be a perilous proceeding.

The act confederating British North America extended Canada to the sea and created a new Dominion, with physical as well as political features entirely different from the old Province. The St. Lawrence was the only highway to old Canada, but on the day that the Confederation act became law, provision was made for creating new highways from open harbours on the Atlantic coast line. We cannot easily estimate the importance of these ocean harbours. Their value is priceless, providing as they do, the means of communicating by steamship with all parts of the world at all seasons of the year. What would Russia exchange to-day for a harbour like Halifax in any part of Europe? Would not the Czar risk a great war and expend millions to possess a port on the Atlantic coast, equal to any one of our Canadian harbours?

St. Andrew's, St. John, Halifax, Louisburg and Sydney are the best known harbours on our seaboard. They are each connected by railway with nearly all the Provinces of the Dominion. Sydney and Louisburg are the nearest ports to Europe, but both are open to objection as terminal points for trans-Atlantic steam-

ers. Sydney is liable in the early spring months to be blocked with drift ice. Louisburg has a limited capacity for large vessels, and its entrance is somewhat exposed. Moreover, both ports are situated on the island of Cape Breton, separated from the mainland by the Gut of Canso. To cross the Gut a ferry involving more or less inconvenience would be necessary.

Halifax comes next in order. This is the most easterly available harbour in Canada, indeed on the Continent. Nautical men are united in the opinion that Halifax is "one of the best in the world," and that it is "easier of access and egress than any other large harbour on the coast." From this harbour steamships of any class may leave, at any condition of the tide, to cross the ocean every day of the year. Fogs are not unknown on the coast and are frequent at some seasons. Fog is a difficulty experienced by navigators along the whole of the North American coast; it is a common accompaniment of southerly winds. The approaches to Halifax are however of such a character that the largest steamships can gain access to or egress from the port with greater ease than at New York or Boston. With additional automatic buoys, electric lights and signals, the approach to the harbour of Halifax can be still farther improved. Unlike New York the entrance channel is not tortuous and winding, and the passage across the bar does not depend on the condition of the tide. indeed, at Halifax there is no bar to obstruct the entrance. Ships of any size can enter or depart at any hour by day or night.

The direct course to Great Britain passes Cape Race. This course would be followed by steamships for eight months in the year, but in the spring months, when navigation on the banks of Newfoundland is more or less impeded by ice, it would be best to follow the southerly course, taken by the New York steamers, until the banks are passed. The deflection would somewhat lengthen the voyage and make the passage about half a day longer, but it would obviate danger and all possible delays.

A question has from time to time been raised in the United Kingdom as to the most eligible port in the British islands for the arrival and departure of trans-Atlantic steamers. The question is not without importance, and it should be considered not in the interest of localities but in the general interest. Many steamships now make Liverpool the terminal port, some go to Southampton,

others to Scottish and Welsh ports. The New York mail steamships touch at Queenstown, the Canadian mail steamers at Moville. Those of us who have travelled by the latter vessels are familiar with the detention at Moville and the loss of time to both passengers and ship. As far as can be seen, there is no sufficient reason for the delay, which in some instances is nearly half a day in the case of outgoing steamers, and any supposed advantage can be more than gained in another way without any detention. If the chart be examined it will be noticed that there is a harbour on the track of the steamers to Liverpool, named Loch Ryan, which possesses every advantage claimed for Moville without any of the drawbacks. The chief reason given for steamships calling at Moville is to accelerate the forwarding and delivery of London letters; with this object in view the mail bags are transferred from the incoming ship to the Irish railways and forwarded *via* Dublin and the Irish Channel to Holyhead, thence by the North Western Railway to London. By landing the mails at Loch Ryan in place of Moville, London letters could be delivered five hours sooner, and other advantages would be obtained. Loch Ryan is on the coast of Wigtonshire, Scotland, a well sheltered inlet from the North channel; it is about seven miles in length to the town of Stranraer, where railway connection is made with all the trunk lines of England and Scotland. The best water for large ships is found at no great distance from the entrance, where it would be quite possible to bring the trans-Atlantic steamship and railway side by side. Compared with other well-known sea-ports now used or proposed as terminal ports, there would be a reduction in the length of sea voyage in favour of Loch Ryan. The actual distance from Canada to Loch Ryan is:—

	30 miles less than to	Milford Haven.
81	" "	Holyhead.
90	" "	Southampton.
125	" "	Liverpool.

Loch Ryan is in fact the nearest eligible harbour in the island of Great Britain to the American Continent, and to my mind presents great possibilities in connection with trans-Atlantic travel. The following table will show that, with a single exception, by no other port could Canadian letters be carried to and from London in less time than by way of Loch Ryan. The ex-

ception is the harbour of Blacksod Bay in Mayo on the coast of Ireland. A mail route by Blacksod Bay would however be open to the same objection as the Moville route, that is to say, the inconvenience inseparable from the packet service between Dublin and Holyhead with the double transfer on the crossing.

ROUTES BETWEEN LONDON AND HALIFAX.	SEA VOYAGE.		TIME TO LONDON.		
	Distance, Sea Miles	Hours at so knots	Hours via Dublin and Holyhead.	Hours, rail only	Total hours between Halifax and London.
<i>By Irish Ports :</i>					
Moville	2264	113	17	....	130
Blacksod	2114	106	17	....	123
Valencia	2155	108	18	....	126
Queenstown	2225	111	17	....	128
<i>By other Ports without calling at Ireland :</i>					
Liverpool	2465	123	....	4	127
Holyhead	2421	121	....	6	127
Milford	2370	119	....	6	125
Southampton	2530	127	....	2	129
Loch Ryan	2340	117	....	8	125

In the table the speed is reckoned at 20 knots an hour at sea, and the time between the several points and London is estimated on the basis of the speed at present attained by railway trains on land, and by steam packets between Dublin and Holyhead. A lower speed than 20 knots at sea would obviously give a somewhat greater difference in time in favor of Loch Ryan than above stated.

The table brings out the fact that mails from Halifax could be delivered in London via Loch Ryan in five hours less time than by the Moville route, and in two hours less than by direct steamship to Liverpool. If such be the case it is perfectly clear that the establishment of a trans-Atlantic mail service by way of Loch Ryan would be the means of accelerating the delivery of letters to every portion of England and Scotland, more expeditiously than by any existing route. Manufacturing centres in Yorkshire for instance, would gain from 3 to 5 hours; other parts of England 6 hours, while Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Scotland generally, would gain 10 hours in connection with every outgoing and incoming trans-Atlantic mail.

Although Loch Ryan is in Scotland, it is in close proximity to Ireland; the sea passage across the North Channel is less than half the distance from Holyhead to Dublin. Belfast, the most

important centre of Irish industry and commerce, is the nearest city in the United Kingdom to Loch Ryan, much closer in fact than the nearest Scottish city. There is at present an excellent steam ferry across the narrow channel between Ireland and Scotland, by which Belfast is brought within little more than two hours of Loch Ryan. By this ferry the trans-Atlantic mails could be delivered in Belfast from Loch Ryan in considerably less time than they are now delivered from Moville, and thus, paradoxical as it may seem, Ireland would share in the general advantage which would accrue from transferring the mail service from Moville to Loch Ryan.

The foregoing remarks bear on the practicability of a fast Canadian steamship service more than on the policy of establishing one. The evidence adduced goes to show that the great river of Canada with its affluents penetrating so far into the continent, is, and always will be of immense value as a highway for conveying under certain limitations, the staple products of the country. But our national waterway is, I fear, but ill-suited for a fast service. We find in the western half of the voyage between Montreal and Liverpool natural and unalterable conditions which forbid the running of ships at a uniform high rate of speed with safety. If we had no ice, no fog, no snow, if we had always daylight or clear nights, there would be no difficulty in maintaining at full speed on the route the fastest steamships now or hereafter to be constructed. To every Canadian, it would be no little gratification to have, on our St. Lawrence route, the fastest mail service between the two continents, but we must recognise that the essential conditions to attain it are wanting. If the ocean is to be crossed rapidly with any degree of regularity from the Dominion to the Mother country and at the same time with safety, every fact and all experience goes to show, that it will be expedient to leave the St. Lawrence to its proper functions, and seek a more suitable route for a fast service from one of the splendid open harbours on the Atlantic seaboard.

In considering this phase of the question, we must recognise certain underlying principles which to a large extent govern the transportation of the two great divisions of traffic. In passenger traffic, *speed and regularity* are held to be primary considerations, while in the transportation of freight, *economy* in transit is the first

consideration, and speed takes a secondary place. These principles have long been recognised on railways, and they are now beginning to be considered in steamship navigation. Rapidity of transit is not attained without enhancing the cost, and the ratio of increase is greatly enhanced as the speed is accelerated, especially at sea. There are few articles of merchandise that can profitably be transported at express passenger train rates, and few persons, when they can avoid it, desire to travel by slow freight trains.

That these principles will in the end govern in the Atlantic steamship service, there can be no doubt. Hitherto it has been the practice to combine passenger and freight traffic by the same ship, but all the circumstances point to the desirability of a change of system. The combination is not necessary for speed or the comfort of passengers, and it in no way lessens the cost of transporting merchandise. A ship constructed for the combined traffic is a compromise; as such it is either too slow for passengers, or too fast for freight, or it suffers from both objections and consequently is unprofitable and unsatisfactory. So long as passengers were content to travel at the low rate of speed suitable for freight, the combination was justifiable and ship-owners had no incentive to improvement. Travellers are no longer satisfied, and there is a pressure to have the speed increased, but to accelerate the speed and at the same time continue to carry freight with passengers would obviously be a mistake.

In the ferries between Holyhead and Dublin, between Dover and Calais, and between many other points, the traffic is properly classified. Passengers and mails are carried in one steamer,—goods and merchandise in another. The Atlantic crossing is every year partaking more and more of the character of a ferry, and the same reasons for classifying traffic as carried on in the smaller ferries apply with equal if not greater force to the ocean ferry.

It is of the first importance that we should have on the St. Lawrence route, steamships for the transportation of freight at the lowest cost. As in vessels trading with the sister colonies in the South Pacific, these steamships should be provided with the best means of carrying perishable products, such as but-

ter, fruit, beef, mutton, poultry, game, so that they might be placed in the British markets in perfect condition. Our geographical position would give us an immense advantage over Australasia in respect to the transit of all such products. No tropical region has to be passed through, the voyage would be comparatively short and there would be no necessity for carrying such products at extraordinary speed; their preservation in good condition would be as easily secured in a slow as in a fast steamship, while the slow steamship would offer the advantage of admitting their conveyance at a minimum expense. We have no product which requires to be conveyed at the speed demanded by passengers. If Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania can send enormous quantities of fresh butter, mutton, beef and fruit on a six or seven weeks' voyage across the torrid zone, there should be no difficulty in sending similar products on a voyage of two weeks or less across the North Atlantic.

If the principles laid down are recognised as sound, and we consider them in connection with the fact that the conditions imposed by nature are unfavourable for rapid transit by the St. Lawrence route, we are irresistibly led to these conclusions:—

(1) That any attempt to establish on the St. Lawrence route a line of fast trans-Atlantic steamships to rival those running to and from New York would result in disappointment.

(2) That our great waterway will always be employed to the greatest advantage in conveyance of staple products and all ordinary cargo merchandise at the lowest possible rates, and that to secure low rates, it must be carried in steamships of moderate speed.

(3) That steamships suitable for the trade of the St. Lawrence in summer, would at the close of navigation find an open harbour at St. John, New Brunswick, the nearest eligible Canadian seaport for the cities on the St. Lawrence.

(4) That if we desire to establish a Canadian line of passenger steamships, equal in power and speed to any on the ocean, it will be necessary to make it an "all year round line" from one of our best Atlantic sea-ports.

(5) That there is no more eligible harbour on the western side of the Atlantic than Halifax in Nova Scotia, or on the eastern side

than Loch Ryan in Scotland ; and that between these two points will be found the shortest available route across the ocean, which can be used by fast steamships at all seasons of the year.

It is our common interest that the freest intercourse should take place between the people of Canada and our fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom. One of the best means of attaining that end, is to have fast passenger steamships, good accommodation and the lowest charges. In my view, a person in Winnipeg, Toronto or Montreal, should be able to purchase a passage ticket by the Canadian line, which would enable him to reach England, Ireland or Scotland, at any season of the year, in less time and at less cost, than by any other route. This important object can be attained by establishing a line of steamers specially designed for passengers and mails between Halifax and Loch Ryan. To secure speed, regularity, accommodation, and low charges, a subsidy would be required, and it must be generally admitted that there are few objects for which public money could be more wisely expended. It is not necessary that the steamships should be richly appointed or profusely provisioned. Everything should be done to secure safety ; there should be reasonable comfort ; and the passage tickets should be reduced to a uniform standard price ; those who desire luxuries, should be required to pay for them, precisely as travellers on railways pay extra for Pullman or parlour cars.

The trans-Atlantic passenger and mail traffic has acquired enormous proportions, and it is increasing yearly as improved facilities are provided. Estimates by well-informed authorities, place the number of persons travelling between the two continents, so high, that if evenly distributed through the year, it would give an average of about 7000 each way weekly. The best, the safest and the swiftest steamships, invariably attract the best traffic. The steamships running from New York draw Canadian passenger traffic away from the St. Lawrence route, because these vessels are much better than our own. Scarcely a steamship leaves or arrives at that port without having many Canadian travellers, both first and second class, on board. The condition would be changed if we had a good service on the route, between Halifax and Port Ryan ; and I am satisfied the passengers by this new Canadian

route, would not be confined to our own people; large numbers would be attracted to it, by the reduction in the sea voyage from 3004 to 2340 nautical miles, and a corresponding reduction in the time at sea.

In general passenger traffic, minor circumstances, considered by all but railway managers as of no great moment, often turn the scale in favor of a newly established route. The shortening of the sea voyage by 664 miles would, with a 20-knot ship, give 33 hours less at sea, itself an important consideration to not a few, to whom sea travel is a continuous time of suffering. It is quite true that Loch Ryan is further than Liverpool is from London, the great objective point of most travellers. But London can be reached by way of Loch Ryan sooner than by way of Liverpool. Moreover, London is not the only point of attraction; there are historic places in all parts of the United Kingdom of deep interest to very many from the United States, as well as from Canada. Loch Ryan is centrally situated; it is connected with Ireland by the shortest steam ferry; it is in close proximity to the English lake district; it is within the sphere of scenes made memorable by deeds of valour, and by the literary works of gifted men. Loch Ryan is on the margin of the land of Burns, of Scott and Carlyle, to which travellers make their pilgrimages in increasing numbers year by year. Then the fact, that Loch Ryan is already connected with the great railway systems of the three Kingdoms, will give it more than ordinary importance as a terminal port for trans-Atlantic steamships. The principal railway companies will each be interested in a proposal, which, if realized, would considerably augment their traffic; and it need scarcely be remarked that if it benefited the railways, reciprocal traffic advantage would be conferred on the steamships.

The St. Lawrence is of the highest value to Canada as a great national highway for the transportation of merchandise of all kinds, and it would be a wise policy to develop it as a freight route to the fullest extent. Investigation has satisfied me, however, that it would, be unwise to incur a large expenditure in attempting to establish a fast passenger steamship service by this route. I have formed this view, I confess, with great unwillingness, and only from the conviction that such an attempt

would most certainly be disappointing, and if persisted in, would be attended with no small peril.

No one disputes the necessity for abandoning the St. Lawrence as a maritime highway for traffic in winter. Equally its climatic conditions will prevent this route being used by fast steamers in summer. I am fully in sympathy with those who are reluctant to take this view, and, unwillingly abandon the hope of securing a successful fast service on the St. Lawrence route. The facts, however, are uncontrovertible, and the climatic conditions are unalterable.

The Canadian Government has constructed one railway, and assisted in constructing a second railway to Halifax. The expenditure on both lines has been for national purposes. Is it not in the public interest that these railways should be utilized to the fullest extent for national needs? Would not a line of fast steamships constituting a regular ferry from the shores of Canada to the shores of Great Britain so utilize them? May we not correctly view such a line of fast steamships in the light of a corollary to the railways? Is not the ocean ferry wanted to complete the means of communication and make closer the connection between the Dominion and the Mother country?

SANDFORD FLEMING.

PLANT LOCOMOTION.

A division of vegetable physiology that has received much attention of recent years, is that dealing with plant movement. The power of movement exhibited by plants is so varied in its character and manifests itself in so many different ways, that no very satisfactory classification of movements has yet been suggested. In many cases where plants exhibit power of movement, the motion extends to a part only of the plant body, and so results in change of form. Of this character are the movements of mature members either automatically or under the influence of external stimuli, and are called movements of variation. Movements of growth are of a similar character inasmuch that they usually affect parts only. It is not the purpose of this paper to consider either of these, but to call attention to a few well-marked cases of movement of a plant body as a whole, which may appropriately be termed plant locomotion. It will be at once obvious that this power of locomotion or entire change of position can belong to plants of the lower orders only, or to what may be called embryonic conditions of higher plants. It is exhibited by many spores of different kinds, and by a number of mature plants all of which are found among the lower forms of algae.

Plants that possess power of locomotion may be divided into three classes. (1) Those that have an amœboid movement. They are plants without cell wall, and exhibit the ordinary flowing or amœboid movement, by means of pseudopodia, which is a characteristic of all naked, unorganized protoplasm. They are not numerous, and are confined to one class of plants, the Myxomycetes. (2) Those plants that possess distinct and easily observed organs of locomotion. These organs are generally in the form of cilia, and produce motion by their rapid vibratory motion in the water. (3) Those plants which possess no discernible organs of locomotion and whose method of producing motion is not yet understood.

Of the first class nothing further need be said. Of the se-

cond, a good example is furnished by an organism often found in stagnant rain-water in warm weather, and known by the name of *Hæmatococcus*. If a drop be taken from a vessel in which rain-water has stood for some days in summer, and placed under a microscope, a number of bodies may be seen gliding backward and forward across the microscopic field. Their motion is too rapid to permit their structure to be observed, but if a little solution of iodine be run under the cover glass very gradually, their motion becomes slower and soon stops altogether. It can then be seen that the bodies are pear-shaped with two very fine, transparent hairs (cilia) projecting from the pointed ends. These bodies are not now thought to be mature plants, but only a stage in the development of the low form of Alga known as *Protococcus*. Their motion is produced by the vibration of the cilia, and by observing carefully as they gradually come to rest, it may be seen to be of two kinds, a forward or progressive motion, and accompanying this, a rotation about the longer axis.

It frequently happens that if a bottle of water be dipped up from a clear pool with a weedy bottom, and looked through towards a bright light, small, spherical, green bodies, about as large as a small pin-head, may be seen. They move about with a revolving motion, are evidently vegetable in their character, and are known by the name of *Volvox* (Latin *volvo*). On examination under the microscope they are found to be hollow spheres made up of cells, each of which is almost exactly like a *Hæmatococcus*. They have their pointed ciliated ends out, and by the lashing of the cilia produce the rolling motion. These two plants furnish good examples of the kind of motion due to the action of cilia.

The *Oscillatorias* furnish the best type of the third class. By the sides of dirty stagnant pools, along streams containing large quantities of sewage, or sometimes on decaying wood where water is dripping, may often be found a dirty-looking scum, deep blue-green or almost black in color. When viewed under a high power of the microscope (400 to 500 diameters) this scum is found to be made up of slender blue-green filaments, most of which are not more than .01 of a millimetre (.0004 inch) in diameter. These filaments are composed of numerous cylindrical

cells joined end to end, the articulations being more or less distinct. The most remarkable thing about them is the fact that when fresh and growing they are always in motion, so that when seen for the first time by one who is not accustomed to such things, they are invariably supposed to be little green worms. They have a three-fold motion. One end of the filament vibrates from side to side with a very regular motion, while the other end remains almost motionless, hence the name. One is at first very naturally led to look upon the ends as being anterior and posterior, especially as there accompanies this oscillating motion a forward movement of the whole filament in the direction of the vibrating end. Attentive observation for a few minutes, however, shows that there is really no difference of ends for the motion of a filament, may frequently be seen to change from one end to the other. The end which is so situated as to possess, for the time being, the greatest freedom seems to be the one that moves. The third motion is a rolling one and is much harder to recognize than the other two. The writer first became aware of it while watching a filament, a part of which had been broken off. There remained at the end a torn part of the wall of a ruptured cell which was broken across obliquely. This projecting part could easily be seen to be alternately on opposite sides. A plant belonging to the same order is *Spirulina*. It has a similar power of motion, but differs from *Oscillaria* into being twisted into a spiral instead of being a straight filament. If a quantity of mud containing either of these plants be placed on a watch-glass and kept moist, the plants work their way out of the mass and form, all around, a beautiful layer of deep green, in which it is possible with the naked eye to detect the radicate structure produced by the filaments.

Nearly every one who has done anything at the study of microscopic forms has frequently seen in the field of the microscope, small boat-shaped bodies, usually of a brownish color, gliding along with a zigzag motion. They belong to that little understood class of organisms called diatoms. Whether they be plants or animals they are not highly organized, but consist of a protoplasmic cell enclosed in a delicate flinty wall or shell, consisting of two parts which fit over each other like a pill-box and its lid. No sign of any organ of locomotion has ever been seen.

The question as to how locomotion is effected in the Oscillarias and diatoms is one on which several different opinions are held by physiologists. Some think it is produced in some way not yet understood by the mucilaginous substance which invests the organism, and which is believed by those who hold this view to be protoplasm. Others think that cilia are protruded at some point or points of the body, but that they are so delicate and transparent that they have thus far escaped detection. Others again contend that the movements are the results of osmic action in the cells.

There seems to be little that can be said in support of any of these theories, and they may be regarded as mere guesses, which may be correct or may be very far from the truth. It is probable that the last mentioned has the greatest number of advocates among those competent to form an opinion.

RICHARD LEES.

REMARKS ON THE MAIN LINE OF TENDENCY IN GREEK AND HEBREW RELIGION.

THIS much at least may be said with truth as to the evolution both of Hellenism and of Judaism, that it tended towards an elimination of anthropomorphic conceptions of God and issued in an uncompromising assertion of His transcendence. This is conspicuous in Greece. In Homer the Gods are merely men raised to an indefinitely higher power, immortal, joyous, beautiful and strong, feeding on nectar and ambrosia instead of bread and wine. A man may become a God simply by eating their food. Odysseus chooses not to do so; he rejects the offers of Calypso to that end and prefers, in his love for wife and native land, to remain a man. The Gods partake of human banquets; visibly present in remote times and places—among the Æthiopians for instance—and in the disguise of men among the heroes in the actual day-light of the tale. The charm of the Epic is

largely due to this close and living communion with the divine. It is a prophecy of what meets us again on a higher plane in the Pauline word; "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

But this approximation of the divine and human is effected quite as much by the depression of the divine to the standard of the average sensual man, as by the elevation of man to the god-like possibilities of his nature. The Homeric fellowship with God is premature; too cheaply purchased. It is a familiarity which breeds contempt. Before such close intercourse with the Gods could profit, the Gods themselves had to undergo purification; the sense of sin had to be deepened, the infinite exigency of the divine holiness had to be felt. Hence the process in Greek religious thought is clearly seen to be a separation of God to a remoter distance. It is the growing conviction so strongly marked in Æschylus and Sophocles of the awfulness of the divine. It culminates in the profound and awe-struck sense which is the burden of Greek Tragedy, of that majestic order of the Universe to which man must conform or perish. The joyousness of the old Homeric faith is conspicuously wanting here. Stern resignation and submission is the key-note. The last word of this light-hearted sunny Greek religion is the fear of God. Its most characteristic symbol is found in the terrible Erinyes. Essentially the same movement is seen in the abstract remoteness which is so striking a feature of Plato's and Aristotle's conception of God. These philosophers only unfolded into a clear and reasoned expression what was implicitly contained in the best religious feeling of their time.

The very same process in substance may be seen in Israel. The tribal God Iahveh is to begin with practically on a level in the eyes of his worshippers with the Gods of the surrounding tribes; that is, he is confined like them in his jurisdiction to the limits of the tribal territory. There is, however, a vast distinction. He is above all the God of Righteousness. Hence he could and indeed must become the God of the whole earth. The prophets see clearly that he is not the God of Israel only, but that Cyrus and all kings are his servants. The book of Jonah shows in the clearest way the controversy with the old narrow

conceptions and the transcendence of them. Jonah thinks that if he can get outside the bounds of Palestine, the Lord will have no more to do with him. He finds that he cannot flee from His presence; and that His care extends not only to the wicked and distant Ninevites, but also to their children and cattle.

Similarly the naive anthropomorphism in other respects, many traces of which still remain in the earlier books of the Old Testament, in spite of their having been worked over by redactors inspired with the prophetic spirit, gradually gives way to more spiritual conceptions. The parts and passions freely ascribed to Jonah are eliminated. This process is carried so far in the Alexandrian school, that God becomes the abstraction of pure Being. Even in the Palestinian schools, where there is really little suspicion of Greek speculation having exerted any sensible influence, reflection had reached nearly the same point. The very name of God became too sacred for utterance. He had been etherealized almost into nonentity.

It was in this extreme and one-sided expression of the transcendence of God that the religious thought of the ancient world culminated. Jesus restored His immanence, retaining all the lofty spirituality and awe-struck sense of the divine holiness which had been worked out in the long course of the centuries. He combined with that the living and joyous sense of the omnipresence of God in all nature and in the heart of man; in the sparrow which falls not to the ground without the Father's care, in the beauty of the lilies of the field, in the indestructible yearning after good which He found even in publicans and sinners. Thus Jesus brings back once more the youth of the world. In Him we find again that intimate consciousness of fellowship with the divine, which is so sweet in the fair humanities of old Religion. But how much enobled and purified! The joy of this communion is secured from all sensuous taint because it is based upon a deep sense of the awfulness and holiness of God.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

CURRENT EVENTS.

IN Europe the eternal Eastern Question takes precedence of all others, but it begins to look as if it would be settled in our day. The death struggles of a nation or race extend over a long period, and when the peculiar history of the Ottoman clan and of the Sultan's Government, and the momentous interests involved, are considered, it is not wonderful that the struggles should have been protracted beyond the usual term. As long as Turkey had to fight only against neighbours like Hungary, or Austria, or Russia, wars went on with varying success; but when, seventy years ago, Britain and France, influenced by zeal for Greece, took sides with Russia and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino, the beginning of the end came. Twenty or thirty years later, the Czar Nicholas told the British Ambassador that they had, in Turkey, a sick man on their hands, and that the time had come to dispose of his effects. He was willing that Britain should have Egypt and Crete, at the very least, as her share; and he professed himself to be not very anxious to possess Constantinople. In the interest of the long-crushed nationalities, Roumania, Bulgaria and Servia, not to speak of other Christian Provinces in Europe and Asia Minor, as well as in her own interest, the Czar's bribe was rejected; and the Crimean war pressed Russia back for a generation, and gave Turkey a breathing-time. Now, it is the turn of Britain to declare that Turkey is hopelessly sick; but Russia is determined not to permit the creation of any more buffer-nationalities on either side of the Bosphorus. France, unfortunately, can no longer afford to listen to the promptings of her best heart or her old chivalrous feeling for the oppressed. She can think only of Alsace and Lorraine. As she can hope to regain those palpitating parts of herself only through a Russian Alliance, her support is given to Russian policy in the East and the farther East, no matter how much opposed to her own ideas or even to her ultimate interests that policy may be. Germany is too much overshadowed by Russia to throw the colossus entirely into the arms of France, and thus it happens that simply because of the Franco-Prussian war, the three great military powers of the world are practically united, under the leadership of Russia, for evil, if not for good. The British people are stirred to the depths by the atrocities of the unspeakable Turk, but single-handed they know that they are helpless. They could force the Dardanelles with their fleet, shell Constantinople, and depose

the Sultan. An army of occupation would necessarily follow, and the great war would commence. Would it be right to assume such a responsibility? Certainly not, unless they acted under a mandate from humanity. The other "Christian" nations would repudiate any title in Briain to make such a claim. The bombardment of Alexandria necessitated the occupation of Egypt. But, although the blessings of peace, justice and ordered government have come to the fellaheen, and of security and prosperity to the bond-holders of the Egyptian debt in consequence, the only thanks she receives from the rest of the world come in the form of denunciations of her "greed." Her advance up the Nile will rescue the Soudan from the atrocities of the dervishes, but even Americans see in it only another proof of her rapacity. The one-eyed might see that it is in the common interest that civilization should replace barbarism, especially when the civilized country asks no special privileges for her own exporters or importers, but throws the doors open to all alike; but this free trade policy has brought with it amazing wealth, and it has always been the fate of the wealthy to be envied or hated. Both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain have publicly invited the co-operation of the United States in effecting the deliverance of Armenia, but the great Republic made no sign. Kind-hearted people, having subscribed money—enough to build perhaps one gunboat—sent it to the missionaries to buy bread for the starving, and they are now taking credit to themselves for their generosity. We, in Canada, did a little along the same line. It is doubtful if we acted wisely or well. We gave a certain amount of relief to our own tortured feelings, but that was about all. If we cannot enter upon a real crusade to deliver an ancient Christian people from unutterable outrage and massacre, is it well to prolong their tortures? If we can do nothing to prevent what Professor Ramsay calls "this last most gigantic crime in the history of the whole world, a crime in comparison with which everything that was hitherto most accursed in history sinks into insignificance", then, as he bids us "let us remember this time that the kindest way is to let the almost naked, quite-starving people, die quickly, and not dole out again enough bread to preserve them for longer misery." Let us cease, at any rate, calling upon Britain to dare everything when we dare nothing. Britain, backed by the United States, would do anything for justice and liberty in any part of the world; but our willingness to sacrifice is like that of Artemus Ward who would freely offer up all his first wife's relations to save the Union, and the humanity of the United States is circumscribed by the Monroe doctrine. The country that was willing to go to war rather than see Venezuela suffer a fancied wrong, is shocked at the idea of striking a blow at the Turk! Why? The one matter

was cis-Atlantic the other trans-Atlantic. There we have the all-sufficient explanation. Principles are bounded by locality. Washington's farewell advice not to make "permanent alliances" with European powers was the utterance of wisdom, in spite of its being denounced at the time by the organs of Jefferson. But even the utterances of prophets must be read in the light of their times; and besides a union with Britain to save the Armenians need not be a permanent alliance.

There being no hope in the direction of the United States, is there any in the direction of Russia, now that Prince Lobanoff is dead? Is a change of Russian policy likely to be one of the results of the Czar's visit to Balmoral? The royal family shares the feelings of the British people, and their influence with the young Czar ought to count for something. The Duke of York was his great friend, and he looks up to the Prince of Wales with respect and confidence. The influence of the Queen and of his wife must tell on the same side. To all this, it is answered, that Russian policy is independent of the feelings or will of the Czar. That I take leave to doubt. The personality of even a constitutional Monarch counts for something, and in Russia where autocracy is the great reality, the will of the Czar must mean almost everything, except when it runs counter to national convictions, traditions or passions. But what could be more acceptable to the sympathies and longest cherished desires of the Russian people, than the possession of Constantinople. That prize is at last within their grasp, with the good will of the power that has, at least on two historic occasions, said them nay. With this as a basis of agreement and with the moral force of Christendom on their side, a reasonable settlement ought not to be beyond the resources of wise and strong men.

This at any rate, is clear, that no British Ministry will in future trust the word or the treaties of the Turkish Government. For a long time it was reasonable to believe that it would be easier to extort concessions from a dependent power than to substitute for it an irresistible despotism; but when the concessions were only on paper and the forms of government have been used only to rob, to forcibly proselytise, to outrage, and to murder by wholesale, then, to bear longer is to become partaker in the crimes. Some solution must and shall be found. The probabilities are that before long the reign of the warlike Ottoman clan in Europe will be over, and that even in their Asiatic dominions effectual guarantees for their good behaviour will be taken. One Province has been wrested from their horrid rule this summer, thanks in great measure to the attitude of Britain. The fair Island of Crete is henceforth to have much the same autonomy as the Lebanon. For this, thanks to Lord Salisbury.

Not only has Britain rescued Crete from barbarism, but she is doing the same for the Soudan by means of the Anglo-Egyptian army and her gunboats on the Upper Nile. Contrary to General Gordon's advice, Mr. Gladstone abandoned the whole of a vast region once Egyptian to the Mahdi. The delusions of Mahdism were fostered by our retreat, and the ferocious warriors of the desert were let loose to prey on the wretched people. Gordon foretold that we would be forced to intervene, sooner or later, and the hour has come. A partially regenerated Egypt was becoming a temptation to the dervishes. Rapine would not have confined itself to exhausted lands. Slatin Pasha's report of popular discontent and of the shaky condition of the Khalifa's power, as well as the Italian defeat by the Abyssinians, indicated that now was the time to strike. In General Kitchener, an Engineer officer thoroughly acquainted with Egypt, Lord Wolseley has apparently found the right man for the work. So far, although he has had to fight cholera, cyclones and sun-baked deserts, besides well-armed, death-defying warriors, he has made no mistake, and his losses have been trifling. No one will be satisfied, if he is ordered to stop at Dongola. Every mile of advance must be secured, but the final objective must be Khartoum, the key to the whole Soudan. It gained, our way will be clear to Uganda, where the work of civilization is progressing wonderfully. Egypt will then, for the first time in history, control "the river which is her life," from the mouth to the source.

It is extremely difficult to forecast the issue of the electoral contest now waging in the United States. It is conceded that the North and East will be solid for McKinley. He is a man of no original force, but any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and as there were enough war-Democrats to reelect Lincoln in 1864, so there are now enough sound-money Democrats to give the North and East to a commonplace politician in preference to a crude revolutionist. It is also conceded that the South will be solid for Bryan. The old poor white trash of *anti-bellum* days are ignorant as ever, and they constitute a majority of the voting population. There is a "New South," but it is questionable if it can carry a single State. But what will the mighty Western States do? The future of the Country is with them, but the contending forces are on so vast a scale, that thoughtful and well-informed men feel unable to predict the result of the voting on the 3rd of November. International bi-metallism is plainly practicable, and eminent thinkers in every country do not hesitate to express a preference for it; but it seems inexplicable that a sane man should think it possible for any one civilized country to make the experiment of coining all the silver that might be offered and making it legal tender, at al-

most double its commercial value. Advantageous it would be for men owning silver mines or silver bullion; but for the wage-earning masses, for the honest and thrifty farmer, for all who have saved and invested sound money, it would mean loss amounting in many cases to ruin. If the Government can turn fifty-three cents into one hundred by its fiat, it can turn one-cent into a dollar. As well "use dynamite to split a pumpkin," or a Nasmyth hammer to crack a nut, as use serious argument to dispose of such a claim. But none the less, Mr. Bryan is certain to command millions of votes, and among these are thousands of intelligent men. He depends, however, not so much on intelligence as on popular delusions, which have been long fostered and which nothing but bitter experience will dissipate; and on popular discontent which, he should remember, makes more noise on the street than at the polls. The protectionist delusions which his opponents cherish are not likely to be dissipated in any other way, save by nature's old plan of making men suffer for their folly. It therefore seems to me that no matter which side wins, the result will be bad for the masses of the people. They are restricted to Hobson's choice, and the victory of either candidate means for them a brief season of more or less extravagant indulgence, to be followed by a long and bitter repentance.

But, which side is likely to win? It seems incredible that Bryan should succeed. Giving him the solid South, is it likely that neither Kentucky nor Iowa nor Illinois, nor any State south of the Potomac or west of the Wabash, can be kept on the side of common sense and common honesty? If not, then the experiment of unrestricted popular Government by English-speaking men ends for the States in failure, for no Government can endure that tries to dispense with "Thou shalt not steal." The notion that universal suffrage and the ballot-box are panaceas for all societies, is of course a delusion; but a limited experience indicated that the Teutonic and kindred races could use them as means of popular education and government. To submit difficult fiscal and economic problems to the judgment of a whole people, is indeed a strain on the modern system; but, it was said, not too great a strain in a country so favourably situated as the United States, where the democracy is territorial or land-owning, where the voters listen and read, where there is a church to every five hundred souls, and where traditions and literature exercise strong conservative influences. We need not surrender hope until it is certain that Bryan has captured the solid West. As yet there is no proof of that. The capture of the Democratic machine was a wonderful achievement; but then the Democratic party always included many of the worst elements in the State; and on this occasion a variety of circumstances combined to

make the worst predominant. The good elements have acted wisely in organising themselves and getting a ticket in the field that combines sound money and sound views on the tariff. When the debauch of the majority is over, they may be glad to find a saving remnant of the old party round which to rally again.

We must remember that many causes contributed to the capture of the Chicago Democratic Convention by the Silverites; and also that the great mass of the voters who support Bryan have no intention of repudiating their own obligations or of advocating a general repeal of the Decalogue. The solid business men and the cultured classes who constitute the old Guard of the historic Democratic party, were paralyzed by the action of the Senators who forced the Gorman bill down the throat of Congress, and still more by Mr. Cleveland's message on Venezuela. As *The Nation* put it, they felt like soldiers whose general has gone mad on the eve of battle, and they relapsed into something like the apathy of despair, and surrendered the reins into the hands of Tillman, Altgeld, Bland and other leaders of what, in the language of the French Revolution, would be called "the Mountain." Then, popular oratory goes for much in U. S. politics. The people have fed on highly spiced talk at political conventions for generations, almost from their youth up; and oratory has to become more and more spiced to stir their jaded palates. This is the explanation of the red-hot language habitually used towards Britain by both parties. Not one-half, perhaps not one-quarter, is meant. The orator's tongue is often in his cheek. But the tail-twisting relieves the meeting from dulness, and it gives a dash of excitement to the monotonous lives of the many. Leaders who would lead must talk the language of the people. The demand creates the supply, and the supply does as little towards extinguishing the thirst as brandy does. The inevitable cry is for "more brandy!" But, it leads to intellectual confusion to tamper with the current coin of thought. Words are sacred. They should be used to express exactly what we think. And when newspaper articles, and speeches delivered to conventions, crowds or Congress, are mere "bluff," that is, not only not truth, but not even the honest expression of opinion, Nemesis is sure to follow, in the form of a people given over to strong delusion to believe lies. That Western farmers should entertain a grudge against the allied forces of Gold and Protection, of Eastern manufacturers and omnipresent combines, is not to be wondered at. Dimly they see that there is no possibility of protecting them, and that their only salvation is in absolute freedom of exchange, unhindered by tying their currency down to a basis, which they believe has led to the appreciation of gold. Why should a country which exports far

more than it imports, be kept in dread of demands for gold to export? That, they think, is the reason why, instead of being able to pay interest on a mortgage with one hundred bushels of wheat, as when the loan was contracted, they have now to pay two hundred bushels. We are in bondage to "the gold-bugs," they cry, and for them to talk to us about honesty is to add insult to injury. They are certainly in bondage to the Manufacturers, and when Mr. Bryan says, "I am for free wool, in order that the vast majority of the people who do not raise sheep, but who do want warm clothing to protect them from the blasts of winter, may have their clothing cheaper," ten must agree with him for one who disagrees. As to what combines can do, they and we are having an object lesson. Eleven coal Barons have decided to levy \$50,000,000 on the consumers—and who is not a consumer—of coal, by limiting the out-put and raising the price of anthracite. The Barons have chosen a bad time to show their power. Their little finger is thicker than the loins of the robber Barons of the middle ages. Again, the Railways discriminate against the farmer, and though he has tried for years to force them to treat him fairly, by means of the Inter-State law, masterful managers evade the law and laugh at his efforts. These causes have bred an immense amount of discontent in the West. Though not enough to insure Bryan's election, for the social pyramid has a very broad base in every great State, the discontent is there, it is travelling East, and it will have to be reckoned with, as a permanent factor in the situation. It portends sooner or later, a struggle, taking the form of socialistic schemes enforced by law, between the "Haves" and the "Have nots," in the land where the proud boast, "Uncle Sam has a farm for every man," once sounded out from the house-tops.

All This and more must be clear to the men of wealth in the States. Should then Mr. Bryan come at all near winning, what will they do to avert the threatened Deluge? History tells us that in similar circumstances they have stirred up a popular war, as a sufficient excuse for having a strong standing army. In 1861, Mr. Seward proposed in writing to the newly elected President, to plunge into foreign, in order to avert civil war. Men much less scrupulous than Seward would not hesitate to attack others in order to save themselves. May the great common sense of the American people spare capitalists from being tempted overmuch! A duty devolves on us also. We must take out of the way everything that provokes anger, hold out the hand of friendship to our neighbours, strengthen all that makes for peace and righteousness on both sides of the line, and at the same time act as a self-respecting people, instead of living in a fools' paradise.

The General Election of 1896 is likely to mark an epoch in

Canadian history as distinctive as that of 1878. It is not merely that one party has taken the place of another. That happens in all democratic countries, for as yet the people have discovered no other instrument for giving effect to their will but the clumsy party system. As each party includes about half of the people, there is really no way of giving the whole people a share in the work of government save by allowing an innings to each party in turn. Eighteen years was an innings of exceptional duration, especially compared with the Australias, where the life of a Cabinet averages scarcely eighteen months. A number of causes contributed to strengthen one party in Canada and to weaken the other. But at last the tide turned, and it looks as if it would flow steadily in the opposite direction for a good while. Prophecies are freely indulged in that the Government will break in pieces during the present Parliament, but signs point the other way. It is composed of able men, and if they had not learned by their own experience that the indispensable condition of success, under our system, is loyalty to their leader, they have surely been taught it by the instructive object lesson exhibited by their predecessors, who fell, neither on the tariff nor the Manitoba question, but because they would neither follow their leader loyally nor conceal their disagreement with him and with one another. So strong was the political combination that had been built up by Sir John A. McDonald, that, in spite of twelve Cabinet resignations in twelve months, it would have retained power had it not been for Quebec. Whether the result there was due to race sympathy for Laurier, or to resentment at clerical dictation, or to the failure of the National Policy, or to disgust at the dissensions of the Cabinet, or to quarrels about patronage, or to all combined, may be disputed, but it is clear that the hierarchy is not so omnipotent as is sometimes assumed, or at any rate that it cannot pit itself with safety against racial feeling. The true policy for the Conservative party in these circumstances would be to rest on their arms and allow the influence of time to heal their schisms and to disrupt their opponents forces. Instead of this, they challenge divisions which range against them the independent members, who represent a force in the country immensely greater than their voting power, and which knit the supporters of the Government together. The Liberals are not at one on the tariff question, and yet it is by their trade policy that they must stand or fall. Some of them are protectionists, others urge a policy of thorough Free Trade, and others are commercial unionists; others see that though Free Trade should be kept in view, the goal can be reached only by eradicating suckers and other monstrous growths and by a series of piecemeal and tentative efforts. This last is evidently Mr. Laurier's position, and the members of his Cabinet will have to

adopt it or resign. He is quite right in demanding time for investigation and decision. Possibly he may be able to arrange for a fair Reciprocity Treaty with the States, and that would be a great stroke. In the interval, the policy of the opposition must suit him admirably, for everything that rallies his followers more closely round him makes his success more assured with the present Parliament. His hope must be that during the next five years, sufficient liberation will be given to trade to convince the country that on that path only is abiding commercial prosperity to be found. The difficulty of framing a tariff that will give the maximum of relief to the great body of the people with the minimum of disturbance to soundly established industries is of course considerable, but it is one of detail and not at all beyond the grasp of men like Cartwright, Fielding and Patterson, provided only that they are allowed reasonable time for the work. To taunts about the inconsistencies of previous utterances, their sufficient answer is that the people knew all that and yet entrusted the Government to their hands. The people assumed that the new Cabinet would pay more regard to the present business condition of the country than to the old speeches of this or that individual.

The discussion on obtaining money for necessary expenses by Warrants signed by the Governor-General was a pure waste of time. What else could the Government do, in the circumstances? It was idle to plead against them that the difficult circumstances were of their own creating, because that was one of the points submitted to the electorate for judgment, and the judgment was given in their favour. Mr. Foster made an able technical speech on the subject, but it was wholly technical, and—just because of his earnestness—it seemed to indicate a mind of that order rather than the mind of a statesman.

In both of these discussions the brief addresses of the member for East Toronto showed a downright "horse sense" that was refreshing, and that showed how advisable it is to have genuine independents in the House. The House never goes to sleep while he or McCarthy is speaking, and the country reads everything they say. Dr. Weldon was a member of the same class, and he distinctly elevated the tone of every discussion in which he took part. It is to be hoped that neither he nor the Honourable Mr. Dickie has decided to retire from public life, for the country cannot spare the services of either.

As he did not intend to submit a motion, Sir Charles Tupper might well have spared the House his speech on the refusal of the Governor-General to accept his advice concerning appointments to the Senate and to other places. The discussion of constitutional law is not his forte, and besides he had stated his case in the correspondence, not only with sufficient fulness but to the

verge of lecturing His Excellency. The Conservative party is supposed to be the great defender of the prerogatives of the Crown, but it makes all the difference whose ox is gored. The *Mail-Empire* and the *Globe* must have wished, when discussing the question, that they could change places for two or three days. Both would have written more eloquently than they did. It is a good thing that the Liberal party should have had an impressive lesson on the value of the Crown or the Crown's representative, in maintaining the substance of popular Government in opposition to its mimicry. The Crown, said the ex-Premier, took Messrs. Angers and Desjardins out of the Senate, therefore, when they were defeated, the Crown owed them something. If we substitute the first personal pronoun in this sentence for "the Crown," the facts of the case would be stated exactly, and we thus see that in his opinion, there is really no such thing as the Crown. There is only the acting premier. That amounts to rather a startling revolution, and as members of the Liberal party have also sometimes talked in this strain, it is just as well that they should see clearly what a hole it would have landed them in, if their ideas had been acted on. Every independent man now justifies the action of Lord Aberdeen, and it is refreshing to see a thorough-going party paper like the *Ottawa Citizen* taking the same line. Critics indeed challenge the reasons he gave for his course, some of them expressing what sounds very like mock indignation at what they style his "reflections on our Judges." Now, there were no "reflections." On that subject there was only one sentence, and it stated a fact in very carefully worded language. But, even if the reasons stated had been as excellent as the action, it may be admitted that it would have been better had no reasons been given, save that it was not in the interest of the people of Canada to accept the advice offered. It is for the Crown to command, not to bandy arguments. Even should only one of the correspondents lose his temper, the dignity of both is apt to suffer.

The Labour Unions intend to press exclusion of Chinamen on the Government, or at any rate, to make it more difficult for them to enter Canada. Extreme speeches were made in the House of Commons on both sides, for the question is one that easily lends itself to rhetoric, but, as Mr. Laurier said, it calls for serious consideration rather than for summary action. The Geary law, which excludes Chinamen altogether from the United States, is a burden on the consciences of the best people. They feel that it is high handed and opposed to international comity and to the spirit and even the letter of treaties with China. A proposal to tax every Chinamen \$500 does not go so far, but it is more inconsistent with the claims and assertions of the anti-

Chinese advocates, and inconsistent with the dignity of labour, inasmuch as it discriminates against the poor simply on the ground of their poverty. But, on the other hand, the Chinese are the product of a civilization so entirely different from our own that probably many generations would pass away before they assimilated with us, even if they brought their wives and families to Canada, instead of coming as transient labourers. The social and political difficulties resulting would be very serious, and only theorists would care to risk the experiment. Most people will admit that it was a misfortune for the black and the white populations that negroes were imported in great numbers into the Southern States. Some good results there have been, but the balance is greatly on the other side; the future of several of those States is imperilled by the existence in the same society of great masses of people who can never be expected to coalesce and between whom there will always be friction, possibly ending in a worse civil war than the last. We intend British Columbia to be Canadian, and of the Caucasian not the Mongolian type, and there being abundance of room in China for double its present population, and its Government not being anxious to have its people expatriate themselves, no injustice need be done to anyone, provided only that the matter is arranged, not by simple brutality, but by international agreement. We should ask nothing from China that we are not prepared to accede to, on our own part. British subjects ask to be allowed to visit or reside in China only in the interest of trade, commerce, science, teaching, preaching or diplomacy. They do not desire to settle in the country, to become subject to its laws, to share in its government or its industrial life, or even to acquire property, outside of a strictly defined boundary line in the treaty ports. We do not intend to fuse with them, and they have no desire to fuse with us. There ought to be no difficulty then in securing a treaty which would throw the responsibility on China of granting passports only to similar classes to the above-named, and these passports would be *vised* by the British Consul at Hong Kong. Efforts should be tried along this line in the first instance. Should the Chinese government assume an unreasonable attitude, after explanation of the reasons actuating us, it would always be in our power to fall back on the inherent right of every nation to guard its own well-being. This should be done, however, not by insulting any one people, nor by imposing on them exceptional fines, light or heavy, nor by making them travel in bond through the country, as if they were cattle or goods, but by a treaty—stating what classes of Chinese might enter Canada, and requiring these to get passports before starting from Hong Kong. A similar law would be called for, if negroes from Africa were coming, or being brought,

in great numbers to our shores ; with this difference only that the responsibility would in that case be thrown on the steamships engaged in the traffic, there being no African civilized government with which to treat. Of course, the question has still to be settled whether a certain amount of Chinese labour is not still required for the development of British Columbia. That question has two sides, but as capitalists mainly are on one side and labour unions on the other, the government would probably have to yield to votes. The Unions look at the whole question purely from the narrowest Protectionist standpoint. They dread, not the vices but the virtues of the Chinese, especially their industry, sobriety and frugality, old fashioned virtues, but none the less important on that account in the formation of character. The reckless statements made regarding the vices of the Chinese have not been proved by competent authority. The last report of our own Minister of Justice shows that a smaller proportion of those resident in Canada are convicts than of the adherents of the Church of England, the Universalists, the Jews or the Roman Catholics, even though "Pagan Indians" and "infidels" are included in the same column with Chinamen. But the question, as has been indicated, has a far graver side than that simply of labour, and now that it is up for settlement it should be considered calmly, in the light of the true interests of the nation. Even if Chinese exclusion is desired, there is a right and a wrong way of seeking the end. Every nation must be treated with courtesy, and in dealing with no nation is scrupulous regard to good manners so indispensable as with China. In China, etiquette ranks with morality, and if "manners maketh the man," there is something to be said in favour of the classification. There can be little doubt that bad manners are a sign of barbarism and a bad heart.

G.

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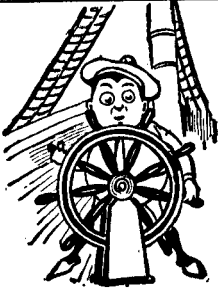
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