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CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

TOPICS—

	PAGE
Adams-Coleridge Case	61
Afghan Settlement, The	565
Agrarianism in Picardy	109
Agrarian Question in Ireland, The	337
Agricultural Conjectures	725
Agriculture in England	644
Alaska Seizures Case, The United States Brief in the	757
Alabama and Wyoming Award Cases	836
Alliance, Austrian	401
Alliance, Rumoured German and English	485
Alliance, The Central European	740, 773
Alliance, Indo-Chinese	741
American Conservatism	9
Ancient History, McLennan's Studies in	236
Anti-Coercion Resolutions	368
Anti-Rent Movement in New York	199
Annexation	336
Annexation and the American Press	368
Arbitration Treaty, A Permanent	661
Atkinson's Proposal, Mr.	836
Atomic Theory	692
Bait Bill, The Newfoundland	644
Balfour, Mr.	724
Balkan Question, The	433
Balloon Ascension, The Recent	645
Bees	821
Beecher's Biography	417
Beecher, Death of Henry Ward	236
Beecher, Mr., and the Character of his Preaching	286
Behring's Sea an Inland Sea? Is	557
Behring's Sea Fisheries Question	645
Behring's Sea Seizures, The	564
Behring's Sea	836
Benton, Mr. Roosevelt's Life of	222
Bible in Schools, The	124
Blake's, Mr., Rumoured Retirement, Opposition Leaders and	268
Blake's, Mr., Suggested Amendments	352
Board of Trade, The	140
Board of Trade and Reciprocity	205
Boulton Letter, The	172
Brabazon, Lord, on the House of Lords	142
Bright, Mr., on an International Arbitration Treaty	677
Bright, Mr., and Lord Randolph Churchill	94
Bright and Wolsley on the Army	237
British Army, The	126
British Parties	548
British Race Types	281
Bulgaria	45
Bulgarian Question, The	533
Buller, General Redvers, in Ireland	253
Burial Reform	725
Bye Elections, Lesson of the	589
Campbell, Sir Alexander, The Appointment of	220
Canada in Fiction	757
Canada and Ireland	190
Canada, The Mining Industries of	268
Canadian Advantages, Some	467
Canadian Club, The	596
Canadian Living Poets of the First Rank	285
Canadian Lumber and Americans	486
Canadian National Character	596
Canadian National Park, A	269
Canadian Obligations in England	772
Canal, The Nicaragua	677
Carlyle's Early Letters	110
Carnegie, Mr., and Mr. Blaine	549
Chamberlain, Mr.	660, 772
Chamberlain, Mr., and the <i>Globe</i>	804
Chamberlain, Mr., in Ulster	788
Chamberlain, Mr., and the Fisheries Question	836
Channel Tunnel, The	173
Charlton, Mr., on Rings	821
China, The Great Wall of	661
China, Population of	773
China, Trade in	837
Chinese Pig-tail, The	677
Churchill, Lord Randolph	126
Churchill's Resignation, Lord Randolph	142
Church in Wales	805
Christmas	60
Christian Unity, Lack of	11
Cleveland, Mr., and the Grand Army of the Republic	548
Cleveland, Mr., on the Tariff	43
Cleveland, President, not College Bred	9
Cleveland, President, on the Press	9
Coalition Ministry, A	724
Cockburn's Retraction	172
Coercion Acts	25
Coercion Bill, The	303
Coercion Laws, General	25
Coleridge, Lord	10
Colin Campbell Case, The Lord	11
Colin Campbell Scandal, The	25
Colonial Conference, The	321
Colossal Fortunes	108
Commercial Intercourse with the States	236
Commercial Tax, The Quebec	564
Commercial Union	336, 708, 740
Commercial Union, An Objection to	676
Commercial Union and Absorption	548
Commercial Union and American Parties	628
Commercial Union and Annexation	756
Commercial Union and Free Trade	676
Commercial Union and Prohibition	516
Commercial Union and the German Zollverein	644

TOPICS—Continued.

	PAGE
Commercial Union and the Liberal Party	756
Commercial Union, The New Form of	856
Commercial Union and the Sovereign Power	660
Commercial Union, Congressman Butterworth on	269
Commercial Union Club, The	804
Commercial Union, Mr. Chamberlain's Attitude on	820
Commercial Union, Mr. Charlton on	820
Commercial Union, Mr. G. Baden Powell on	516
Commercial Union, Mr. Wiman's Pamphlet on	466
Commercial Union, The Board of Trade and	416, 448
Commercial Union, The Discussion of	804
Commercial Union, The Farmers and	448
Commercial Union, The French-Canadians and	516
Commercial Union, The Hon. James Young on	302
Commercial Union, The Inter-Provincial Conference and	820
Commercial Union, The Political Effect of	756
Commission and the Maritime Provinces, The	660
Commission, Possibilities of the	788
Compensation, Mr. Blake on	42
Compromise Between Germany and France	577
Confederation, French-Canadians and	676
Confederation, Natural Obstacles to	676
Conference, Functions of the	321
Conference, the Inter-Provincial	772
Congress	221
Constantinople	126
Constitution, Danger to the	580
Constitution, Revising the	236
Convention, Democratic State	741
Convention, The Egyptian	549, 581
Corporations	108
Corrupt Practices, Sir Henry James on	772
C. P. R., The	156
C. P. R. and Cotton Goods Trade, The	900
Cricket	303
Crimes Act, The	789
Crimes Bill	432, 565
Crimes Bill and the Lords, The	533
Crime in Ireland	580
Criminal Justice in the States	25
Crucifix Bill, The	352
Customs Revenue, United States	548
Cyphers, Donnellian	805
Czar and the Nihilists, The	369
Darling's, Mr., Address	140
Debating Club, The Farringdon	92
Democracy of Reason	61
Destination of the Rent	10
Dilke, Sir Charles	10
Disallowance	346, 400
Disallowance, The North-West and	236
Disallowance and the Need of Upper Chambers	820
Dissolution	24, 86
Dissolution of Parliament	8, 124, 140
Dissolution, The Catholic Vote and	92
Direct Taxation	820
Divorce in France	173
Domestic Service	11
Dominion Budget, The	400
Dominion Elections, The	25, 156, 172, 189
Dominion Government, Programme of the	336
Early Britons	661
Early Wheat	661
Eastern Affairs	110, 190
Eastern Question, The	10, 158, 468
Education, The Ministry of	42
Education Question, The	60
Elections, Consequences of the	221
Election in Haldimand, The Dominion	269
Elections in the North-West Territories, The	268
Elections in Ottawa County, The	692
Elections, Sir Charles Tupper, and the Nova Scotia	236
Elections, The Coming	124
Elections, The German	221
Elections, The Provincial	92
Elections, The Result of the	76, 204
Electioneering Clergy	188
Electoral Corruption	221, 692
Emigration, State Aided	221
England and Egypt	517
England and India	725
England's Loss of Prestige	353
English Crisis, The	94
English Music in Germany	433
English Parties, The Break Up of	485
English Politics	26
Ennis Meeting, The	661
European Armaments	353
European Politics	385
European War Cloud, The	303
Evolution	61
Exhibition, The Dominion	644
Faction Fights	140, 156
Failure of Justice in Quebec	820
Fair Trade and the Land Question	837
Famous Pamphlets, Collection of	92
Farms, Large and Small	189
Farmers, American and Canadian	467
Farmers and Manufacturers	516
Farming and Trade	580
Farming in New England	368
Fish, The French and Newfoundland	253
Fishery Act, The Retaliatory	302

TOPICS—Continued.

	PAGE
Fisheries and the Attitude of America Toward Canada, The	484
Fisheries' Commission, The	708
Fisheries' Commission, The New	660
Fisheries' Commissioners, The American	724
Fisheries, Commission, The Irish Question on the	788
Fisheries' Lord Wolsley on the	237
Fisheries' Proposal, The	353
Fisheries' Retaliation Act	320
Fisheries, The Newfoundland	190
Fisheries' Question, The	43, 93, 141, 157, 172, 448, 548, 677, 772
Fisheries' Question and the Treaty of 1818, The	284
Fleming By-Law, The	188
Forestry	693
France	158, 580
France and Germany	173, 724
France, Sir Charles Dilke on	221
France, The Crisis in	432, 449, 837
Franco-German Quarrel	369
French Canada	376
French in Canada	532
French Ministry	773
French Ministry, Fall of the	26
French Professions of Amity	252
Frogology	661
Garfield Statue, A	449
George's, Mr., Journal	125
George on Land	156
German Empire, The	709
Germany	158, 581
Germany and Russia	661
Giordano Bruno	62
Gladstone and Canada	157
Gladstone, Mr.	805
Gladstone, Mr., and Home Rule	661
Gladstone, Mr., and the Plan of Campaign	190
Gladstone, Mr., and Parnell	309
Gladstone, Mr., and Prohibition	773
Gladstone, Mr., and Past Irish Government	205
Gladstone, Mr., and the Unionists	9
Gladstone, Mr., in a New Role	485
Gladstone, Mr., on the Crimes Bill	532
Gladstone, Mr., on Boycotting	432
Gladstone, Mr., on Coercion	384
Gladstone, Mr., on Fenianism	205
Gladstone, Mr., on Tennyson	94
Gladstone, Mr., on Ulster	772
Gladstone, Mr., The Successor to	10
Gladstone's, Mr., Aspirations for the Welfare of Ireland	788
Gladstone's, Mr., Attack on the Tories	237
Gladstone's Work, American Opinions of	837
Gladstone's Call for Statistics	353
Gladstone's Concessions	549
Gladstone's Hopes	564
Gladstone's Jackal	837
Gladstone's Latest Bribe	773
Gladstone's Levy and Self-Worship	237
Gladstone's Notes and Queries on Ireland	205
Gladstone's Position	303
Gladstone on Wales	837
Gladstonian Agitation, The	788
Gladstonian Case for Home Rule, The	740
Gladstonian Concessions	533
Gladstonian Prospects	708
Gladstonianism, The Decline of	449
Gladstonian Picnic, A	772
Gladstonite Bribery	837
Gladstonites, The Lawlessness of the	757
Glenbeigh Evictions, The	190
<i>Globe</i> , The	92
<i>Globe</i> , The, and The <i>Habitant</i>	628
Gluck's, Mr., Gift to the Buffalo Library	236
Goschen's, Mr., Budget	385, 401
Goschen's, Mr., Defeat	158
Goschen's, Mr., Return	90
Governor-General's Visit, The	354
Governor Hill	141
Grant, Dr., on Partyism	189
Greville Memoirs, The	171
Guest and Host, Duties of	304
Hackmen and Postmen	24
Harrington's, Mr., Threats	369
Hicks-Beach, Sir Michael, Resignation of	236
High License	92
Hinton Case, The	140
Home Rule	337
Home Rule and India	597
Home Rule and Separation	517
Home Rule in Nova Scotia	93
Home Rule in the Commons	352
Home Rule and Separation	836
Iddesleigh, Lord	125
Imperial Federation, Conference on	109
Imperial Defence	401
Imperial Federation	109, 157, 302
Imperial Law or National League Law	692
Immigration into the States	564
Independent Journalism and Government Organs	268
Industries, Infant and Nurtured	804
Intemperance in Canada	76
International Copyright	449
Interprovincial Trade	384
Interprovincial Conferences, American View of	836
Ireland, Catholic and Protestant	253

CONTENTS—Continued.

iv.

TOPICS—Continued.

Ireland, Failure of Law in	284
Ireland Needs What	693
Ireland, Parliamentary Representation of	789
Ireland, Protestant Majority in	693
Ireland, The Lord Lieutenantcy of	93
Ireland, Value of Land in	836
Irish American Protestants against the Coercion Bill	321
Irish Crisis, The	10
Irish Evictions	141
Irish Farmers in Manitoba	772
Irish Government	141
Irish Government Measures, The	302
Irish Ideas of Home Rule	821
Irish Measure, The Government's	205
Irish Nationalists and Lord Lansdowne, The	321
Irish Outrages	221
Irish Question, American Opinion on the	468
Irish Reform	93
Irish Resolutions in Parliament and Assembly, The	336
Irish Rising Against the Union, The	253
Iron Duties, The	384, 432
Italy and France in Africa	740
Japan and Canadian Trade	741
Jews in London	173
Jubilee, A New Proposal for the Queen's	321
Jubilee Gift to the Queen	645
Jubilee, The Queen's	220
Jubilee Titles	93
Kaiser's Ninetieth Birthday, The	284
Kermesse? What is a	286
Knights of Labour, The	109, 644
Knights of Labour and Anarchism, The	77
Labouchere, Mr.	693
Labouchere on Goschen	158
Labour and Capital	26
Labour Candidates	43, 188, 156
Labour Federation, The Future of	597
Labour Journals	140
Labour Law, The American Contract	676
Labour Reform, Principles of the	384
Labour, Representation of	221
Labour Troubles in the States	172
Land Bill, The	303
Land Bill, <i>Spectator</i> on the	596
Land Law Reform	43
Land Speculation and the Troubles in Manitoba	660
Land Theory, Mr. George's	77
Languages and the Classics, Modern	322
Lansdowne's, Lord, Luggacurran Estate	740
Laws of Nature, The Controversy on the	253
Lawlessness in England and Ireland	837
League Authority is Maintained, How	693
League Debate, The	645
League Emissary, A Titled	740
League Government in Ireland	821
Lecture Tour, Mr. George's	77
Legislation, Irish Private Bill	44
Lent, The End of	3, 2
Liberal Unionists, The	45
Liberal Unionists, Attitude of the	205
Liberal Unionist Reverses	533
Literary Spirit in Canada, The	270
Literary Workers and Letter Writing	757
Literature, Bookish <i>versus</i> Non-Bookish	322
Literature, Good Feeling England in American	270
Longevity	174
Loss of Life in the American War	741
Lost Cause, The	485
Loyalist Meeting on Saturday, The	400
Lynch's, Archbishop, Letter to Lord Churchill	285
McCarthy, Justin, on Goschen	108
Macdonaldism	189
Macdonald, Sir John A.	93
Macdonald, Sir John A., and the Fisheries Commission	692
Macdonald, Sir John A., and the Governor-Generalship	284
Macdonald's, Mr., Gift	836
Mail, The	188
Mail's New Departure, The	108
Mallock's "The Old Order Changes"	77
Manitoba	708
Manitoba and Eastern Canada	352
Manitoba, The Agitation in	532
Manitoba, The Situation in	628
Manitoba Railway Question, The	644
Market, A Home or Foreign	516
Markets and Exports, Home	368
Marlborough, The House of	11
Matrimonial News, The	173
McGlynn Case, The	564
McGlynn, Dr.	645
McGlynn, Dr., as Protestant	580
Medicine and the Universities, Schools of	188
Meredith, Mr., and the Catholic Vote	8
Meredith's, Mr., Colleagues	9
Meredith's, Mr., Speech	24
Mining, Cheap Labour and	484
Mining Statistics, A Bureau of	269
Minority Clause, The	8
Minority, The Roman Catholic	8
Ministerial Prospect, The British	645
Mission of Canadians, The Alleged	516
Mobilisation Experiment, The French	661, 667
Monopoly Clause and the C.P.R., The	352
Morley, Mr. John	141
Montreal Carnival, The	204
Montreal Floods, The	354
Mowat, Mr.	124
Mowat's, Mr., Majority	108
Nation, How to Build Up a	516
National League and Crime, The	661
National League and Murder, The	740
National League Government	693
National League, Proclamation of the	629
N.P. in the Dominion and in the Provinces, The	820
Needlewomen and Dressmakers	174
Negro, Progress of the	433
Nelson	11
New Explosives	725
Nihilism, A Futile Blow at	741
Non-Payment of Members	206

TOPICS—Continued.

North-West and the General Elections, The	156
North-West, Government Policy in the	432
North-West Representation	189
North-West, Rising in the	432
North-West Troubles	466
Nova Scotia, Repeal in	352
O'Brien, Mr.	384, 693
O'Brien, Mr., at Kingston	416
O'Brien, Mr., Mobbing of	416
O'Brien's, Mr., Mission to Canada	337, 353, 368
O'Brien's, Mr., Visit	400
Obstruction in the British Parliament	517, 821
O'Donoghue, Mr.	8
Ontario Finances and the Convention of the Provinces	268
Ontario, The Lieutenant-Governorship of	24
Opposition Emolument	448
Oshawa Industries	140
Parnell Amendment, Rejection of the	190
Parnell Letter, The	401, 468
Parnell Letter and Home Rule Prospects	369
Parnell Letter, The American Press and the	353
Parnell, Mr., as a Landlord	485
Parnell, Mr., The Black Pamphlet Case and	416
Parnell, Mr., The Charge Against	337
Parnell, Mr., The Liberals and	353
Parnellites, American and Canadian Sympathy for	416
Parnellites, A Verdict for the	385
Parnellite Obstacle to Home Rule, The	788
Parnellite Rowdyism	432
Parnellism and Crime	645
Parnellism in Parliament	708
Party Government and Independents	284
Partyism	204
Party Spirit	725
Parties in England, State of	252
Pasture, State of	220
Pasteur Method, The	549
Pasteurism	692
Paul Bert	11
Percival, Sir	94
Phantasms of the Living	286
Pheasants	62
Picnic, The Dufferin Lake	516
Plan of Campaign, The	190
Platonists of Alexandria, The Christian	222
Plumbing and Life Insurance	401
Politics in New South Wales	237
Political Corruption in the States	789
Politics, Talk in	60
Political Literature	76
Postman's Burden, The	24
Poverty and the Henry George Movement	629
Presidential Election, The	157
Prison Labour	8
Private Documents, Publication of	60
Profits, The Margin of	629
Prohibition	142, 188
Prohibition and High License	321
Prohibition by Provinces	466
Prohibition, Mr. Blake on	42
Prohibition Penalties	741
Prohibitionist Text Books and Schools	252
Protection of Tenant Right in Ireland	530
Protection in Russia	837
Provinces of the Roman Empire, The	304
Provincial and Dominion Politics	204
Provincial Elections, Chances of the	60
Public School System in the States, The Church and	789
Quebec, The Lieutenant-Governorship of	772
Queen's Park	8
Queen's Park, Destruction of	42
Rack-Renting on Lord Lansdowne's Estate	468
Rapid Transit	385
Ready Money Stores	92
Reciprocity	204
Reciprocity, Partial and Complete	676
Reciprocity, The Lumber Trade and	532
Reciprocity Treaty, Prospect of	677
Reciprocity Treaty, Reasons for Denouncing the Old	466
Red River Railway	708
Rejected Islands and Canada, The	484
Relief of Distress	45
Relief of the Pains of Death	77
Religious Persecution	174
Religious Services in Universities, Attendance at	110
Retaliation Bill, The	448
Retrenchment in Government Expenses	564
Riot, The Mitchelstown	677
Round Table Conference, The	142
Royalty and an American Dentist	44
Rouvier Cabinet, The	837
Russia and the Balkans	709
Russia and Persia	725
Russian Wheat in the North-West	644
Russians in the Pacific	677
Russo-Austrian Partition Treaty, The	417
Ryerson, Dr., and the Ministry of Education	9
Rykert-Sands Affair, The	189
"Sacredness of Endowments, The"	285
Sam Jones	42
Scandals	60
Schools, Public and Separate	320
Scott Act, The Enforcement of the	252
Secret Societies, a Convention Against	237
Secularist Platform, The	124
Senate, The	353
Senate and the Chinese, The	466
Sensational Novels	94
Separate Schools	42
Separation in Scotland	9
Separation in Wales	94
Separation or Annexation	804
Separation, Imperial Veto on	836
Shakespeare and Bacon	805
Silver Question	44
Socialists, Christian	253
Socialism, Mr. Bradlaugh on	109
Socialistic Legislation	108
Socialistic Proposals, Hyndman's	44
Spain and Morocco	773

TOPICS—Continued.

Special Correspondents	629
Spencer, Lord	173
Sproule's Case	125
Steamboat Accommodation and the Opening of Navigation	269
Strikes	157
Strike of the Authors, The	253
Stump Orators	206
Suffrage, Haldimand, an Indian	236
Sydney, Sir Phillip, Mr. Symonds' Life of	62
Tea Trade, The	821
Telegraph Companies	108
Temperance Movement in the States, The New	320
Theology and Politics	172
Theory of Private Property, Mr. George's	109
Theory of Art in Fiction, Mr. Howell's	549
Three Mile Limit in the Pacific and the Atlantic, The	767
Tithe-Rent Charge Bill, The	629
Toronto Street Car Company	8
Toronto Mayoralty Contest, The	92
Trade Organisations, Tyranny of	125
Trade, the Depression of	173
Tram Cars and the Toronto Street Railway	269
Trial by Jury in Quebec	724
Turkey and the Powers	581
Turkish Decorations for the French	693
United States and Canadian Views of the Situation	497
University Federation Bill, The Church of England and the	336
University, The	352
Upper Canada College	236, 302, 352
Upper Canada College, A Sectarian Journal on	268
Upper Canada College Boys, A Rally of the	268
Upper Canada College, Spoliation of	285
Van Zandt-Spies Marriage, The	172
Vivisection	61
Volunteers, Proposed Monument to	24
Volunteers, The	140
Wallace, Dr. Russell	220
Wallace's, Dr. Russell, Lecture	253
Washington Embassy, The	141
Welsh Autonomy	804
Wheat Corners	485
"While Sir John Lives"	596
"Whitmania" in Boston	597
Wilson, President, on Right and Lefthandedness	270
Wiman and the Farmers	368
Winnipeg Lands	43
Winnipeg <i>Sun</i> and Immigration	189
Wolfe Tone	10
Women at the Universities	533
Women in the Political Arena	252
Women, Municipal Suffrage for	220
Women Not an Unfranchised Class	252
Women, Separate Railway Cars for	741
Women, The <i>Globe</i> and the Young Married	596
Women's Franchise, Married	270
Zola and the Russian Stage	433
POETRY—	
Abu Midjan	A. Lampan. 710
A Dream	M. J. D. 95
After the Collision	Agnes Maule Machar. 207
Alps in Winter	Alfred Hayes. 339
A Last Wish	Seranus. 48
A Line from Emerson	A. Ethelwyn Wetherald. 550
A Memory	Anin Siren. 266
A Remembrance	E. G. Garthwaite. 219
A Prevarication	Thomas Franklin Watson. 534
A Shadow	Sophie M. Almon. 518
A Thought in Stone	J. Oliver Smith. 27
Avernus	May Austin. 774
Beauty	323
Bereaved	Arthur Weir. 191
By Car and Cow Catcher	Rev. Prof. Th. L. Jones, B.D. 254
Canada	C. L. Betts. 566
Carcassone	Abbie F. Judd. 499
Christmas in the Hospital	Fidelis. 57
Conflict	Bessie Gray. 726
Cintra	790
Dea Passu	Henry W. Austin. 5
Easter	A. Lawrence-Thompson. 305
Early Morning in September	739
Fancy's Own	E. G. Garthwaite. 106
"God Save the Queen."	Wm. McLennan. 483
His Name was Bill	H. K. Cockin. 7
"Home Helpers Please Copy."	Bliss Carman. 630
"Honesty is the Best Policy."	Esperance. 175
Horace's Patriotic Lament	41
In Absence	S. J. D. 249
In the Queen's Park, May 24, 1887.	S. J. D. 434
Lady Maud	C. L. Betts. 63
Lavender	Bessie Gray. 787
Lights Out	Roger Pocock. 89
Lines (From the French of François Coppée)	Louis Lloyd. 803
Lines (From the German of Goethe)	William Wanless Anderson. 806
Looking Back	Blanche Bishop. 153
Love and Death	B. M. J. 235
Morning, A Study	Sarepta. 366
Morning on the River of Death	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 12
Mount Royal Snow-Shoe Song	W. Dowd Lighthall. 207
Naples	Abbie C. Judd. 675
Never More	M. Fanning. 338
No Prayers for the Politician	Porcupine. 127

POETRY—Continued.

October	771
Only a Squaw	Esperance. 281
Ottawa	Seranus. 755
Orpheus and Eurydice	840
Plea, A	Seranus. 838
Reflection	Ferrars. 289
Reverie, A	Zell. 833
Rose Latulippe	Seranus. 58
Second Love	Cermer Mada. 354
Shadows	G. B. B. 322
Spring	C. L. Betts. 319
Sunshine	Kate Eva Fraser. 159
Sweet of My Life	E. G. Garthwaite. 74
The "Angelus"	Kate Wilson. 450
The Capture of "The Rose of Seville," A. D. 1593.	William McLennan. 659
The Close of Summer	James Buckham. 758
The Deep Tide	Ethelwyn Wetherald. 267
The Dying Year	Seranus. 79
The Fan	E. S. 223
The French	351
The "Injun"	Barry Dene. 143
The Judgment	May Austin. 296
The Language of Natives	399
The Last Link	E. G. Garthwaite. 170
The Little Handmaiden	A. Lampman. 593
"The Lord is Risen Indeed"	Esperance. 297
The Missionary Ship	H. K. Cockin. 128
The Month of May	William McLennan. 418
The Music of the Pine	W. H. Thurston. 271
The Northern River	D. C. C. 238
The Shaded Spot	386
The Sixth Hour	C. F. B. 299
The Time is Short	Ferrars. 249
The Night Blooming Cereus	Bessie Gray. 646
The Request	May Austin. 694
The Venturesome	370
The Vigil of St. Basil	E. Pauline Johnson. 301
The Wind	Mac. 355
Three Sonnets	Arthur Weir. 111
Tides	Robert C. Stewart. 287
To a Friend Against Mourning Overmuch.	J. H. Billington. 207
To an Old Master	Garth Grafton. 822
Together	Edgar L. Wakeham. 609
To H. L.	May Austin. 383
To Harriet	46
To the Dark Hour	E. G. Garthwaite. 23
To the God Opportunity	Seranus. 742
Two Sonnets	Seranus. 582
Upright in Heart	E. C. A. 265
Valentine's Day	Ferrars. 208
Waiting	T. C. 22
Widowhood	William Wantless Anderson. 402
With Struggle, Strength	Bohemian. 233

CORRESPONDENCE—

America and Ireland	L. H. R. 819
Archbishop Taché	A Word for Justice. 191
Art Gallery, A Toronto	L. R. O'Brien. 191
Audubon Society, The	G. C. W. 319
Bright, John	Anglus. 74
Commercial Union, Doubts About	Inquirer. 707
Disallowance in Manitoba	George Patterson. 191
England, Supposed Turn of the Tide in	Goldwin Smith. 579
English of Young Canada, The	W. Tytler. 691
Farming in Pennsylvania and Ontario.	Fair Play Radical. 531
Farms, Large and Small	Sir John Lister Kaye. 223
Gladstone, Mr., and Dr. Ingram	Matthew Ryan. 787
Gladstone, Mr., and Dr. Ingram	D. Fowler. 819
Government Policy, The	An Independent Observer. 23
Home Rule in Nova Scotia	Nova Scotia Repealer. 139
Imperial Federation, The	Joseph Wild. 123
Industrial Ireland	Fair Play Radical. 563
"Lord Selbourne on Disestablishment."	George S. Holmstead. 107
Means, The True	W. D. L. 351
Medical Schools and the Universities	A. W. E. Body. 203
Mendelssohn	G. F. B. 399
Mineral Wealth of the Lake Superior District.	Alfred R. C. Selwyn. 643
Parnell Letter, The	Goldwin Smith. 350, 383
Party Hero, The	Patria Prior. 7
"Pickwick," The Trial Scene in	A. L. C. 547
Political Situation in England, The	Goldwin Smith. 643
Popular Preaching	H. 319
Railway Question, The Red River	Frank Oliver. 707
Sabbath, The	H. 503
Service of Man, The	W. D. Le Sueur. 287
Sunday Cars	D. 531
Sunday Street Cars	Justice. 487
Sunday Street Cars	X. Y. Z. 547

READINGS FROM CURRENT LITERATURE—

23, 239, 255, 224, 340, 404, 552, 562, 706.

LITERARY GOSSIP—

97, 129, 161, 192, 225, 241, 289, 373, 405, 470, 553, 585, 601, 617, 633, 649, 664, 681, 697, 713, 745, 760, 793, 841.

NOTES—

26, 45, 62, 77, 110, 142, 158, 174, 190, 206, 222, 238, 254, 304,	PAGE
401, 417, 433, 449, 487, 505, 517, 533, 549.	
The Killing of John Perley Macdonald	565
"Plus d'Angleterre"	565
The Cable Correspondent again	565
The Canadian and American Pacific Railways	565
The Hudson Bay Route	565
The Civilised World on Home Rule	581

CURRENT COMMENT—

486, 502, 521, 537, 585, 600, 617, 633, 648, 680, 711, 729.

THE MAGAZINES—

American Magazines, The	452
July Magazines, The	502
Magazines, The, 28, 536, 582; of the Month, 744; Later, 776	Seranus.
Some New Books, or Recent Fiction, 43, 160, 173, 175, 223, 255, 306, 356, 388, 404, 420, 435, 486, 520, 583, 599, 614, 631.	

RECENT MISCELLANY—

63, 436, 452, 502, 520, 535, 647, 662.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE—

12, 29, 48, 65, 81, 144, 160, 176, 239, 272, 288, 305, 341,	
503, 601, 617, 649, 664, 678, 696, 712, 727, 743, 759, 776,	
791, 807, 824, 839	S. J. D.

MUSIC—

29, 49, 64, 80, 96, 113, 144, 225, 240, 256, 289, 373, 405,	
421, 521, 745, 760, 775, 825, Seranus; 128, 192, 208, 357,	
S.; 176, J.; 273, Seranus and Marcia; 307, Freda; 325,	Seranus and Freda.

CHESS—

793, 809, 825, 841.

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES—

Abbé Roux, The Thoughts of	575
Across the Isthmus	W. S. H. 185
Afghanistan, The Situation in	E. S. 447
Afternoon Tea	Garth Grafton. 12
	27, 63, 127, 159, 175
After Six Years	E. S. 641
American Art since the Centennial	E. S. 642
American Influence on Canadian Thought.	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 518
American State and the American Man, The	E. S. 690
Annus Flavius	Seranus. 774
April Poets	Ethelwyn Wetherald. 384
Art of War in the Middle Ages, The	168
Art Talks, Mr. Henry Blackburn's	G. M. A. 808
Art, Tendencies of French	625
Arts, The	E. S. 584
	600, 616, 632, 648, 711, 728, 744, 775, 792
Art, The Nineteenth Century School of	E. S. 412
Artists, Why we have no Great	E. S. 689
Austro-Hungary and the Balkan Confederation	280
Author, Artist and Actor	E. S. 305
	323, 339, 354, 370, 387, 402, 419, 436, 451, 519, 533, 536, 569
Australian Literature	832
Beaconsfield, Some Sayings of the Earl of, I., 592; II.,	639
	George Murray.
Bermuda, I.	L. C. 91
Bermuda, II.	L. C. 106
Bermuda, III.	L. C. 122
Bermuda, IV.	L. C. 153
Bernhardt, The Acting of Sarah	B. 451
Biography, Bishop Hannington's	C. 279
Birds and Bonnets	Fidelis. 265
Blake, Mr. Edward	Prof. J. Clarke Murray. 511
Boswell's Life of Johnson	Seranus. 658
Books, Some New	46, 137, 223
Burnah of To-day, The	E. S. 366
Cathedral, The New Anglican	495
Cathedral, The Coming	Seranus. 551
Campaign in Nova Scotia, The	Addison F. Browne. 167
Canada in Fiction	Geo. Stewart, jun. 419
Canada, Slavery in	John Reade. 333
Canada's Future	G. H. M. 783
Canadian Carnival, The First	Bookworm. 308
Canadian Notes and Queries	105, 122, 144, 153, 171, 192, 203, 238, 288
Canadian Opinion	Carter Troop. 331
Canadian People, A History of the	G. Mercer Adam. 341
Canadian Poet, A New	403
Canadian Thought, English Influence on	E. S. 566
Canadians, Prominent:	
I. Hon. Oliver Mowat	J. E. Wells. 694
II. Dr. Daniel Wilson	G. Mercer Adam. 726
III. Principal Grant	Fidelis. 758
IV. Sir John A. Macdonald, K. C. B.	Saville. 790
V. Louis Honore Fréchette, LL.D.	George Stewart, jun. 822
Canine Views, Mr. Andrew Lang's	E. S. 595
Carlyle, Thomas	E. S. 787
Carmelite Convent, A Visit to a	Garth Grafton. 800
Carnival Notes	Ferrars. 207
Celt in Scotland, The	135
Censorship of the Press under the First Empire	562
Chamberlain, Mr., and the Fishery Negotiations	B. 799
Chauveau's, M., Life of Ozanam	658
Civil War, Gardiner's	286
Clerical Incomes	543
Cleveland's, Mr., Party, The Collapse of	B. 234
Colonial Conference in London, The	Gordon Brown. 315
Commercial Union	W. H. Cross. 687
Commercial Union	Hon. W. H. Longley. 736, 767, 799
Commoners, A Few Gentlemen	430
Congress, The National Prison.	Prof. G. Smith's Address. 675
Congress, The Work of the Late	B. 251
Conservatory of Music, The Toronto	Seranus. 719
Contemporary Life and Thought in China	E. S. 801
Contemporary Life and Thought in Germany	E. S. 446

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES—Continued.

Contemporary Novelists, French	E. S. 576
Contemporary Notes from the Continent.	Walter Powell., 267, 763
Corea	E. S. 691
Country, Our	312
Cowper and Bunyan	151
C. P. R., From Ontario to the Pacific by the.	G. Mercer Adam. 340
Crawford, Isabella Valancey	Seranus. 203
Crimes Bill and Home Rule, The	347
Critics and Criticism	A. Ethelwyn Wetherald. 281
Cuticular Prospect, A	Carter Troop. 495
Dancing, A French Savant on	659
Deer Hunt in the New Forest, A	75
Disallowance and the Province of Quebec	D. C. R. 816
Disallowance in Manitoba	Garry. 167
Disallowance Policy, The	F. W. C. 671
Disestablishment, Lord Selbourne on	72
Divinity Degrees	347
Drama, The Decline of the	E. S. 382
Early Christian History	C. 169
Easter	C. 295
East Indian Elements in English Speech	G. M. A. 266
Elections in Nova Scotia	Nova Scotian. 235
Emerson, Cabot's Memoir of	Seranus. 742
Emin Pasha	E. S. 482
Emperor Nicholas, The	530
England and Russia in the Far East	515
England, Events in	Goldwin Smith. 720
England, The Queen of	626
English and French of North America, The	403
"English as She is Taught"	G. Mercer Adam. 355
English Music During the Queen's Reign	E. S. 577
English Letter, Our	Anchor. 120, 217
English Crisis, The	71, 104
Etching, Modern	E. S. 546
Ethical Problem, The	379
Europe and England	E. S. 396
Evening [Translated for THE WEEK from the French of Henri Gréville].	C. Bethune. 271
Eviction	411
Evolution Tested by Scripture	318
Exhibit of the Ontario Society, The	496, 486
Exhibition, The Royal Canadian Academy	355
Extracts from the Women's Journal, May 2, 2001.	Garth Grafton. 463
"Faust" at the Lyceum	Freda. 372
Fear Killing	E. S. 673
French Canada	J. C. 639
French Politics, The True Position of	413
French Revolution, A New History of the	4
French, The Advance of the	103
Genevieve Ward and Miss Fortescue	L. C. 143
Geology and Mining in Canada	389
Georgian and Victorian Expansion	E. S. 704
George, Mr. Henry	807
Geraldine	Seranus. 806
Germany	E. S. 594
Gladstone, Mr., and Home Rule, An Austrian Statesman on	546
Gladstone, Mr., and Dr. Ingram on the Union.	Goldwin Smith. 735
"Gréville Memoirs, The," From	171
Grievance? Has Ireland a	578
Habitans of Lower Canada, The. G. C. C.—I., 282; II.,	296
Hayward Letters, The	95
Home Rule, Professor Dicey on England's Case Against	19
Honolulu, My Diary in, and Scenes in Hawaii.	M. Forsyth Grant. 298, 316, 386, 414, 444, 481, 528, 611, 833
How Spring Comes	A. Stevenson. 264
Howells, Mr., on Some Modern Novelists	552
"Huguenots," Mr. Baird's	20
Imperial Federation	J. Gordon Brown. 427
Increment Theory, An Expansion of the Unearned M.	5
"In Divers Tones"	S. J. D. 280
"In the Clouds"	46
Industrial Parliaments	O. A. Howland. 730
Ireland, The Church of	183
Ireland, The Conflict in	55
Ireland, The South and	318
Irish in America, The	447
Irish Problem	608
Irish Question, Archbishop Lynch and the.	T. Arnold Haultain. 281
Irish Union, The History of the	431
Italy	464
Italy, Letter from	L. L. 88, 104, 152, 184, 215, 299
Japan, A Tour in	E. S. 498
Jesuit Claims, The	215
Jottings off the C. P. R.	E. S. 74, 90, 170, 201, 219, 235
Jubilee, The Queen's	89
Jubilee in India, The Queen's	T. Arnold Haultain. 248
Jubilee Prize Competition, Queen's—Award of Prizes	384
Jubilee Prize Oration, The Queen's	W. H. Cross. 459
Jubilee Prize Poem, The Queen's.	Agnes Maule Machar (Fidelis). 459
Jewish Humorist, A	W. H. Cross. 802
Kerness	E. S. 307
Lansdowne, Lord, and Mr. O'Brien	W. H. Cross. 383
Latent Loyalty, Our	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 418
Laurentides, A Glimpse of the	Rev. C. A. Doudiet. 364
Law and Religion in the Province of Quebec	N. M. 608
Lawson's, Mr., New Picture	257
Literary Methods, Outworn	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 450
Literary Pabulum	Sara J. Duncan. 831
Literary Pilgrimage, Notes of a	I., 348; II., 365
	J. Macdonald Oadey.
Literature, A New Manual of American	232
Literature, The Beginnings of Canadian.	G. Mercer Adam. 768
Literature, Victorian	E. S. 785
Life of Christ, Studies in the	56
London Letter	Walter Powell. 786, 817, 834
Machine at Ottawa, The	L. M. 703
Majorities, The Divine Right of	3
Manitoba, The Fight in	R. L. Richardson. 219

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES—Continued.

	PAGE
Manitoba, Railways in	James Douglas. 623
"Marguerite"	Seranus. 80
Memoirs, Ristori's	William J. Bok. I., 567; II., 582
Men and Women, Mental Differences between ..	E. S. 513
Miscellany, Recent	121
Modern Stage, The	T. Arnold Haultain. 199
Modern Preaching	J. H. Bowes. 279
Molière, The Humour of	E. S. 752
Monopoly, The C. P. R. Contract and	F. C. W. 752
Montreal Letter, Our	609, 643, 674, 727, 754
Montreal, Notes from	Ferrars. 95, 128
Montreal Letter	Louis Lloyd. 803, 819
Museums, The Dulness of	429
Music in Fiction	J. W. F. Harrison. 751
Muskoka	J. H. Menzies. 630
Napoleon, M. Taine on	317
Napoleon III., Prince Albert and	579
National Biography	519
Nation Building	John Reade. —I., 479; II., 391 III., 624; IV., 688
National Character, The Permanence of	415
National League, A French Tourist on the ..	678
"New York, The State of"	470
Not Americanisms	A. Stevenson. 283
Notes By the Way	Walter Powell. 544, 560; Calais, 755
Old-Fashioned Garden, In an ..	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 480
Opposition, The Liberal	443
Oracles in Council	419
Oxford Memories	155
Palinode	John Reade. 351
Parnell Letter, The Times on the	383
Paris, "Lohengrin" at	388
Paris, Notes on News from	L. L. 73
Paris Letter, Our	Y. 775, 738, 835
Paris, The Playwrights of	E. S. 561
Paris, Notes from	300, 325, 350, 414, 446, 530
Parson's Vote, The	Goret Noel. 598
Partyism and Political Morality	296
Paul Bert	L. L. 301
"Pickwick," The True Story of	E. S. 482
Plagiarism, Literary	528
Practical Politics, Beyond the Range of ..	W. H. Cross. 607
Population of Ireland and Emigration, The ..	D. F. 89
Portrait Painting	J. W. L. Forster. —I., 322; II., 338
Prohibitionist Instruction in Schools	T. M. 282
Provincial Premiers and the Veto Question, The ..	S. 831

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES—Continued.

	PAGE
Purpose of Pain, The	770
Reade, Charles	568
Reality and Realism	738
"Rhetoric" and "Teaching English," Bain on ..	Seranus. 695
Religion of the Future, The	231
Rembrandt House	Seranus. 760
Renaissance, The Imaginary Art of the	E. S. 397
Republic, Perils of the	39
Reticence	674
Revised Version of the Bible in the Anglican Church, The	C. 38
Revolt Against Party, The	247
Riviera, The	Kate Treadway. 218
Rockies, Notes from the	E. S. 335
Romance, A Field for	705
Roman Catholic Church and the State. The ..	200
Rome, Letter from	L. L. 334, 386, 429, 444
Russia	E. S. 349
Russia and England	E. S. 769
Russia, Social	E. S. 428
Ryerson, Dr., Statue of	Seranus. 744
Sable Island	399
Salon, An Impression of the	514
Salvette and Bernadon	Zava. 58
Savonarola, The Call of	E. S. 497
Scottish Songs, Collection of	William Wye Smith. 614
Seranus' Canadian Birthday Book ..	G. Mercer Adam. 371
Scott Siddons, Mrs.	Sara Jeannette Duncan. 840
Science, from 1826-1886, The Progress of ..	610
Science of Thought, The	Prof. William Clark. 823
Scriptural Readings, The	C. 87
Selkirk Settlers, The	R. L. Richardson. 298
Shakespeare on the English Language, The Influence of	E. S. 138
Shakespeare	D. F. 186
Shakespeare, Mistress Anne, A New Scandal about. L. M. 250	
Snobbery, The Philosophy of	A. Snob. 534
Social Solecisms	G. Mercer Adam. 57
Socialism	W. 186
Some Striking Terms	F. Blake Crofton. 461
Special Privileges secured under Treaty? Are French Canadian	Hochelaga. 737
Spring, In the	A. Stevenson. I., 316; II., 332
Stage, The. 584, 600, 616, 632, 648, 711, 728, 745, 775, E. S. 792	
Sunday Cars	462
Switzerland, Letter from	L. L. 4

SAUNTERINGS—Sara Jeannette Duncan—

	PAGE
About Some Books	22
About Winter Resorts	39
An Algonquin Maiden	111
Art in Canada	120
Dickens' "Christmas Carol"	56
One Hundred and Fifty Years Ago	135
The Age	216
The Modern Stage	232
The Montreal Carnival	200
Saunterings	E. S. 663, 679, 697
Temperance and Prohibition	395
Tennyson and Gladstone	119
Thackeray Letters, The	Seranus. 774
The Pity of it	Selection. 251
Theism, The Philosophy of	771
Theological Degrees	Prof. J. Clarke Murray. 363
Thoughts for Thinkers	559
"Tom Jones," "Pendennis," and "Daniel Deronda." Louisa Murray. 646	
Toronto and its Civic Administration: G. Mercer Adam. 815	
Toronto Notes	207
Toto-San and Kaka-San	Iren. 154
Tip, The Unspeakable	G. D. 434
Unification of Canada, The	W. H. Cross. 655
United Kingdom, The	545
Unliterate People	A. Ethelwyn Wetherald. 250
University and Departmental Examinations, The Recent	T. Arnold Haultain. 656
University Federation	527
University of Toronto and Medical Education, The ..	527
Universities, Rise and Constitution of	183
Upper Canada College, The Matter of. Sara Jeannette Duncan. 249	
Valedictory, Mr. Goldwin Smith and THE WEEK ..	295
"Vengeance is Mine"	Ren. 79
Victorian Poets	Seranus. 838
Wagner, The Dramatist	H. H. L. 469
Wallace's Dr., Lecture on Evolution. E. Douglas Armour. 263	
Washington, The Past and Future of	B. 21
Were-Wolf in Canada	499
Winnipeg, Vacant Lands in	40
Women and Their Earnings, Our Working	E. S. 657

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THE WEEK.

Fourth Year.
Vol. IV., No. 1.

Toronto, Thursday, December 2nd, 1886.

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CONTENTS OF CURRENT NUMBER.

	PAGE
CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES—	
The Divine Right of Majorities.....	3
Letter from Switzerland.....	4
A New History of the French Revolution.....	4
Saunterings—Remuneration of Woman's Labour.....	5
Dea Passu (Poem).....	5
An Expansion of the Unearned Increment Theory.....	7
His Name was Bill (Poem).....	7
CORRESPONDENCE—	
The Party Hero.....	7
TOPICS OF THE WEEK—	
The Queen's Park.....	8
Toronto Street-Car Company.....	8
The Minority Clause.....	8
Mr. O'Donoghue.....	8
The Roman Catholic Minority.....	8
Dissolution of Parliament.....	8
Mr. Meredith and the Catholic Vote.....	8
The Ontario Dissolution.....	8
Prison Labour.....	9
Mr. Meredith's Colleagues.....	9
Dr. Ryerson and the Ministry of Education.....	9
President Cleveland not College Bred.....	9
President Cleveland on the Press.....	9
American Conservatism.....	9
Separation in Wales.....	9
Separation in Scotland.....	9
Mr. Gladstone and the Unionists.....	10
The Successor to Mr. Gladstone.....	10
Wolfe Tone.....	10
The Irish Crisis.....	10
Destination of the Rent.....	10
The Eastern Question.....	10
Lord Coleridge.....	10
Sir Charles Dilke.....	11
The Lord Colin Campbell Case.....	11
The House of Marlborough.....	11
Paul Bert.....	11
Nelson.....	11
Domestic Service.....	11
Lack of Christian Unity.....	11
MORNING ON THE "RIVER OF DEATH" (Poem).....	12
AFTERNOON TEA.....	12
OUR LIBRARY TABLE.....	12
MUSIC.....	13

SALUTATORY.

THE WEEK enters prosperously on its fourth year. That the spirit of Party is still strong, the contest which is raging round us shows. But it loses strength, and the desire for independent journalism gains ground. Independence, at all events, the proprietors of this journal can promise to its readers. Err it may, and no doubt often does; but it is subject to no influence, political, commercial, or of any other kind, which can make its conductors swerve from what they believe to be the truth.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF MAJORITIES.

A JOURNAL of Socialistic tendencies seemed the other day to be shocked by the assertion that as there had been moral limits to the power of kings, so there are moral limits to the power of majorities, and that, while obedience is generally right in both cases, there is a point in the case of majorities as well as in that of kings at which resistance becomes a duty. The question had arisen in connection with the claim of the British Radicals, if they could only get a majority by means of their caucuses, to deal as they pleased, and without regard for national honour, with the Loyalists of Ireland, to thrust the Loyalists out of their nationality, and to use the public force for the purpose of coercing them into submission to the Irish and American allies of the British Radical Party. Intimations were thrown out that such a use of power would be treated, not as a legitimate measure of government to which good citizens would be bound to submit but as an act of tyranny against which all good citizens would be bound to struggle, and even, in the last resort, to take up arms. Happily the defeat of the Radicals at the polls averted the crisis; otherwise the problem whether a majority, however it may be made up or obtained, is morally absolute, might have presented itself in a practical form.

The divine right of a majority, even of a majority of one, is now preached, especially by Socialists and moral coercionists, in hardly less servile terms than those in which Filmer, Laud, and Mainwaring, or the sycophants of Louis XIV., preached the divine right of kings. The divine right of majorities is in fact simply the divine right of kings turned upside down. Not only the similarity, but the identity of the two is historically established. We can see distinctly how the pretension to an authority above established. We can see distinctly how the pretension to an authority above not only expediency but morality—at least above any liability to be resisted or questioned on moral grounds—passed from the Bourbon despotism to that of the Jacobins; nor did it lose anything of its absurdity, of its slavishness, or of its pestilential character in the process. The first "divine people" was the street mob of Robespierre and Marat; the first manifestation of its divinity was an exhibition of murderous lunacy which eclipsed not only the tyranny of the Stuarts but that of Ivan the Terrible,

or Peter the Cruel. Whether it was worse for humanity to be trampled on by a crowned monster, or by the uncrowned ringleaders of a demented populace, is a curious question which need not be discussed. It is undesirable for humanity to be trampled on by either.

In these rationalistic days all supernatural or transcendental pretensions, from whatever quarter they may emanate, are unceremoniously brought to the test of reason. The decision of political questions by counting of heads is a useful and, in our present stage of progress, an indispensable institution. But its origin is earthly and not heavenly. It was, we conceive, simply a mode of comparing forces without battle. Its originators probably never gave a thought to the preponderance of argument or of wisdom. Expediency of the roughest kind is the sole source of its authority and its only warrant. Nor does it need any higher consecration in the eyes of those who regard politics simply as a matter of expediency, and distinguish them both from morality and from religion. Hooker has written eloquently about Law, which he describes as laid up in the bosom of God. Law, divine and moral, dwells in the bosom of God: human laws are merely the expressions of the will of those who have political power in their hands, and sometimes, even under popular governments, instead of emanating from the bosom of God, may with more truth be said to have emanated from the bosom of His enemy. Force, in short, is the rude foundation of all human legislation and government. That an institution or a practice has expediency in its favour is enough for the politician or the reasonable citizen; but then expediency is the limit as well as the principle of submission; and the limit is reached when the institution or practice is so abused as, instead of promoting, manifestly to defeat the sole object of its existence.

Can it be contended that absolute submission to the will of a majority is incumbent on us because a majority, even a majority of one, infallibly represents the public reason? Does not history, on the contrary, swarm with cases in which a majority, even an overwhelming majority, was proved to have been utterly in the wrong; by the ordeal of events and by the general verdict of mankind? It is needless to refer to the intolerant legislation of the Restoration Parliament, the Popish Plot, the war with the American Colonies, the war with the French Republic. Satirists have said that the majority is always in the wrong, and satire has no point unless it contains a modicum of truth. The very writers against whose claim of absolute power for majorities we are arguing, themselves, as Opposition journalists, are impugning the wisdom, and not only the wisdom, but the honesty, of the majority every morning. In truth, the decision of a majority, far from being the infallible voice of public reason, is in most cases not even that of the by no means infallible items of which the majority is made up; it represents, not the aggregate of individual understandings or misunderstandings, but simply the number of people who are amenable to certain influences, perhaps totally alien to the public interest, or who have been penned by habit and tradition in a party fold. Take any high question of State, any great fiscal or economical issue which may be submitted to the people at the polls. How many electors really consider it before they vote upon it, so as to make their votes the expression of an opinion, however unenlightened? How many even vote purely upon the national question, and not wholly or in part on some personal or local ground, totally irrelevant to the public issue? Nay, we have proof enough before our eyes that what is ostensibly the vote of a majority, and as such decides the law, may be really cast by a fanatical and unscrupulous minority which, disregarding the general interests of the State and the duty of its own members as citizens, trucks its suffrages to dishonest or cowardly politicians for their support of its exclusive object.

Besides, if the high ground of transcendental right is taken, we must ask in whom does this sacred authority reside? In a majority. But a majority of whom? Of all the men in a community? Or of all the men and women? Or of all the men and women above the age of twenty-one? Why above the age of twenty-one? Is not many a highly educated boy as well entitled to vote on the high ground of principle, as many an uneducated man? These questions do not perplex any one who founds his polity upon the humble ground of expediency, and knows nothing of transcendental or abstract right. But the believer in the transcendental right of the majority has to find satisfactory answers to them all. If universal suffrage is a matter of right, and that only is law which the majority of the people voting under the system of universal suffrage decrees, it would seem to follow that almost all the legislation of the past is devoid of moral authority, and requires rectification at the present day.

"There will be no rest for us in politics," was the pensive remark of an American, "till we have elected a black woman President." In the perpetual auction of political parties, each bidding against the other by blind extensions of the franchise, it seems likely that female suffrage, and in the end, even the black woman as President, will come. Suppose all the women in France had votes; they would very likely use them by forming, in conjunction with the male Reactionists, a majority in favour of a crusade for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. But would the men march in obedience to the decree of that majority? Would they not be idiots if they did? There is a limit then to the duty of obedience to the will of a majority, and a point at which resistance becomes a duty. It is not improbable that female suffrage may speedily be the means of rendering this apparent, and at the same time of practically drawing attention to the fact that, though women or children may be legally invested with the suffrage, their votes can have no coercive power. However refined may be the forms of civilised government and legislation, force still remains the indispensable foundation of all.

To define exactly where the duty of submission ends, and that of resistance begins, is no more possible in the case of tyrannical majorities than in that of tyrannical kings. Between the zones of right and wrong, on all practical questions, there is a doubtful zone, over which casuistry reigns. But there is such a thing as oppression that ought not to be borne. There was a case of it, as our forefathers thought, when a king, under colour of raising ship-money for the defence of the realm, illegally invaded the property of his subjects; and there would be a case of it if a Socialistic majority, under colour of providing for the necessities of the State, were to abuse the taxing power for the robber purposes of confiscation. Nor did the usurped authority of the Star Chamber more directly challenge freemen to withstand it than does a usurping majority when it abuses a power given it only for a political purpose by coercing the religious opinions or the personal habits of its fellow-citizens, and thus trampling on the liberty which it is the object of free institutions to guard. That there are moral limits to the exercise of political power, and that if those limits are exceeded, disobedience is a virtue, is a truth which never was palatable to kings, and is not a whit more palatable to majorities, especially to majorities newly seated on the democratic throne. Yet it is a very wholesome truth, and one which, as we have increasing reason every day to acknowledge, it is most necessary to bear in mind.

LETTER FROM SWITZERLAND.

"QUE j'aime le premier frison d'hiver!" It is one of those touches of nature which more than all others makes us feel the kinship of our fellows. Blue noses and rude republican wind establish between men an irresistible bond of sympathy. Our wise mother takes a tantalising delight in ruffling the dignity of her own proud children, in hustling us about in an uncompromising manner. Before all things we are hers, and she claims indisputable right to treat us as such. It is not a little amusing to watch with what unflinching hand she tosses the robe of this stately dame, and shows equal disregard for parson and peasant. There is something so delightfully levelling about a boisterous gale, when nature seems to laugh with wicked glee at our high-heeled pomposity; leading us an undignified dance, as she confounds caste with caste. Then in the silent woods, when the leaves drop softly as Time's footsteps, again for the moment a common fellowship is felt, and we are half inclined to murmur to the passing stranger the monk's "Brother, we must die!" Only a few weeks ago over these hills, clothed in their verdant dress, poured troops of noisy tourists; a lull followed, and by a magic change the robes of green became a reflex of the grandest sunset. Then fell, as it were, the mists of death; to-day the mountains and the hills rise around us like an army of white-robed angels, infinitely beautiful in their awful purity. It is when Nature turns upon us such a face—rugged and pale, and full of unfathomable thought and sadness, that we are filled with wild indefinite longings to lose ourselves in her, or, "Queen Mab" like, wander forever in chariots of flame over the high-roads of gleaming pearl.

Here are we in the home of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. But a mile distant fair Julie lived, philosophised, and loved. At the entrance of Clarens stands now an inn marking the supposed site of her grave, and called the "Bosquet de Julie." However, the worthy Jean Jacques is to be as little depended upon for his descriptions of certain scenes of action, as for his account of the actions themselves—both being equally ideal.

Wearied and disgusted with humanity as it is, Rousseau tried to find distraction in painting it as it might be, and would fain have us believe an earthly paradise would be the result of a world peopled by the puppets of his imagination. In pretty Clarens, looking up innocently at the

rough, giant mountains that glare down upon her from across the blue pathway, St. Preux and Julie amused themselves propounding their moral immorality. Later, in a model house, and with a still more model husband, among the same groves that witnessed her girlish pranks, by a series of moral gymnastics does the repentant Magdalen strive to atone for the too happy days of old. Strange that here, where from the icy hills Truth darts her piercing glance, or looks up with such beseeching earnestness from still sapphire depths; where the free, pure air blowing in our face savours so little the passionate breath of mankind—strange that from here should come forth the falsest of false romances, the tale of a love resembling more the sickly flower of a city garret, than the tiny, proud denizen of mysterious heights. Stranger still that its author, that loud-voiced devotee of Nature, at the very foot of her altars, should seek and find in such society of impossible sophists consolation for the whips of outrageous fortune. Poor Rousseau's pictures of perfection are not a little absurd to us. With more profit to humanity, and certainly more profit to himself, would he have sung the praises of a cold stoicism; or, on the other hand, that overpowering sentiment which finds pardon, or at least excuse, from its very fierceness. But these "self-torturing" creations of a "self-torturing" soul are tasteless and useless affairs to the only ones likely to study them. Too human to be our ideals, and not sufficiently so to interest us.

On a terrace behind the village lies the cemetery of Clarens, the loveliest perhaps of these quiet spots that nestle every here and there among the hills. The solemn yew trees and the willow, roses, and ivy grow rampant. By the wild beauty, Nature seems to mourn her children as she would—gently shielding their graves with luxuriant, clinging plants, and burning for them faint incense in the breath of flowers. From this peaceful little nook, the best view is obtained of a scene of surpassing grandeur. Before us the wall of mountains appears more menacing, clearly outlined against the delicate blue of a November sky; at its foot, those straggling white specks are the houses of Bouveret. Nearer, and at the extremity of the lake, the marshy valley of the Rhone stretches eastwards to where rises the giant "Dent du Midi." Further north the small walled town of Ville Neuve looks dreamily over the rippling Leman that now cuts the land into countless graceful curves. The wooded heights on this northern bank rises abruptly only a short distant from the water's edge, but beyond Montreux the ascent becomes more gradual. Among the hills the tiny villages lie like white nests. Over all reigns an air of peace and infinite satisfaction, as if Nature had looked out upon her work and smilingly pronounced it "good."

L. L.

Montreux, Nov. 17, 1886.

A NEW HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.*

MR. MORSE STEPHENS'S "History of the French Revolution," of which the first volume has been published, promises to be an important book. There is still room for a history. Carlyle's is a series of pictures of surpassing brilliancy, rather than a history in the proper sense of the term. The materials for it were insufficient, and it is far from satisfying to the student. All Michelet's history is phantasmagoria. Thiers is utterly untrustworthy, not to use a stronger term. Louis Blanc is a Jacobin, or rather a Robespierreat pamphleteer. Quinet has perhaps alone tried to penetrate to the heart of the movement, and to ascertain the real cause of its failure, but his work hardly pretends to be a history. Barante, for the Convention and the Directory, it will be difficult to supersede, except by force of new materials. The store of new material at Mr. Morse Stephens's command, and of which he has availed himself, is rich, especially with regard to events in the provinces, a field which has hitherto been very imperfectly worked, each writer fixing his attention on events in Paris. By Paris, unhappily, the course of the movement was really controlled. Since Richelieu, France had been in every sense so thoroughly centralised, that nowhere except at the centre of government was any political life or power of self-direction left. Hence the catastrophe, which Mr. Morse Stephens does not, perhaps, present to us quite as distinctly as might be desired. With the half consent of the weak king, but behind the backs of his ministers, that fatal woman, the Queen, and her clique, brought up the army to overawe, perhaps to crush, the Assembly and save despotism. The army, infected with the Revolution, would not act, but the Assembly in its peril had been fain to place itself under the protection of the armed force of Paris, of which it thenceforth became the slave. A city in insurrection is sure to fall into the hands of the lowest populace, because respectable and industrious citizens cannot afford to leave their business. Thus the mob of Paris, the vilest and the most savage in the world, became

* "A History of the French Revolution," by H. Morse Stephens, Balliol College, Oxford, Vol. I. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1886. Toronto: Standard Publishing Company.

master of the seat of centralised power and of all the authority, political and moral, of the despotism of Louis XIV. A hideous carnival of violence, blood, rapine and blasphemy was the natural result. Still it is very important as well as very interesting to know what was going on in the provinces; and on this head Mr. Morse Stephens satisfies us more than any of his predecessors. He does not attempt to be picturesque. His work indeed is hardly a narrative. He does not hesitate to arrest his story in order to incorporate a regular biography of a leading man. We must go elsewhere than to his work to obtain everything like a vivid idea of the events. But those who wish really to study the French Revolution will be very grateful to him for his labours. Here and there he omits something which his reader would like to know. He does not give us the amount of the public debt, nor does he classify the representatives of the *Tiers Etat* in the States-General as a body according to their professions and calling—a point of importance, because so much has been made by Burke of the preponderance of advocates and notaries. We cannot attempt here to discuss with him his general views. He rates Mirabeau, we confess, higher than we do. Mirabeau was a great tribune; his calibre as a statesman, as he died when he was on the point of showing it, must be largely a matter of conjecture; though his mental power and his superiority to the mere theorists and declaimers around him are beyond doubt. Too little, we think, has been said, in estimating the characters of the leaders in the French Revolution, of the effect which private immorality produces on public morality, and even on political courage. Mirabeau, like many of his compeers, was a thorough debauchee, and the corruption extended to his whole character. His aims were, as those of a debauchee are sure to be, thoroughly selfish, and selfishness is apt to paralyse as well as to mislead. His ambition might have coincided with the policy which was best for the country, but ambition, not patriotism, was his ruling motive. In the early stages of the movement he did much mischief by embroiling the Assembly, for his own glorification and advancement, with the Court, when the harmonious action of the two was the essential condition of success; while the King himself, though miserably weak, was perfectly well disposed, and only needed to be supported against the evil influence of the Queen and her coterie. This mischief he was preparing, if he could, to undo, when death cut short his designs, and the storm which he had played a great part in raising, and which he had been able to a certain extent to control, was left to rage on uncontrolled. It is, however, to be noted that he did not expect to escape from the situation without a civil war. His secret acceptance of pay from the Court need not be too severely judged; but it was at best ignoble; and it signalises the private dissoluteness of which, we repeat, the public character never fails to betray the evil influence. It is to be hoped that Mr. Stephens does not intend to white-wash Barrère and Marat; of that sort of paradox Louis Blanc has given us more than enough. They were little men, for the most part, these French Revolutionists, though great was the catastrophe in which they played their part. "The French," said Coleridge, in his wrath, "are like gun-powder—in the grain, smutty and contemptible; in the mass, explosive and terrible." The grains of Jacobinism were eminently smutty and contemptible, though their explosion covered the world with ruins.

SAUNTERINGS.

CERTAIN subjects appear at as regular intervals in the progress of social discussion as the never-failing bird-attachment of the cuckoo-clock. They step forth from their temporary obscurity, make all the air vocal with their presence for the instant, and then step back again. There is as little variation in the handling of these matters as there is in the cuckoo's hour-notes; they are usually pitched in a key that does not alter, and our impressions after the fiftieth rendition are very apt to be the same as after the first.

Such a subject is the unequal remuneration of women undertaking the labour originally performed by men. Regularly as clock work this matter is ventilated in the public prints, the key-note being always struck by a woman dissatisfied with the present state of things, who continues in illogical reproachful *fortissimo*, while some sturdy questioner of fact thumps out his bass masculine philosophy as an accompaniment. It is difficult to see the *raison d'être* of such discussions, except as they bear upon some subject beyond the one at issue. Indeed, the fact that, despite their constant appearance, the price of female labour in some departments was never so low as now would seem to show their positive inutility.

We are usually set all agog with inquiry as to this matter by some article in a prominent magazine; and, for the present widespread talk about it, Mrs. Lily Devereux Blake and Professor Van Buren Denslow,

are fairly responsible. In the October number of the *Forum*, a comparatively new monthly of Gotham, which is full to the brim with the best of lighter American thought, the question, "Are Women Fairly Paid?" is very thoroughly ventilated by these two people.

IF by "fairly" we understand "equally" with reference to the price of male labour, none will pretend for an instant that women are fairly paid; statistics proving the contrary are within everybody's memory, vouched for by everybody's experience. If by "fairly paid," we mean paid at an honest, proper valuation of their work, entirely apart from all circumstances of profit, demand, or supply, we will acknowledge that they are not, with equal aid from memory and experience. But to take the word in this sense is immediately to leave the practical for the theoretical, business for philanthropy. Labour must be discussed as labour, not as the work of a woman; for labour knows but one supreme law, which governs impartially that of both sexes. It is a commodity like any other, and its value depends upon many things beyond the control of either buyer or seller. But if we take the question, "Are women fairly paid?" to mean "Are women paid without discrimination other than is justified by the results of woman labour or the abundance of it?" the negative comes with hesitation, or not at all. It is the possibility of such discrimination only that gives any value to such controversies as this of Mrs. Blake and Professor Denslow. If an actual breach of justice is being committed by any one class of the community against any other class, the more thoroughly public sympathy with the oppressed and indignation with the oppressors is aroused through the medium of the public prints, the sooner will the moral equilibrium of their relations be restored. But if the apparent wrong is really only a result of one of those pitiless and immutable laws which govern the exchange of value, and operate far out of range of sentiment and persuasion, it is doubtful whether its discussion results in anything more than an increased sense of injury in those who suffer from it, and a blocking of the real path to its removal, which lies of course, in the direct line of effort on their part.

Mrs. Blake takes this discrimination for granted. After the citation of numerous examples contrasting the salaries paid to men and women for the same work, in various trades and vocations, manifestly to the disadvantage of the latter, she concludes unfalteringly that "women are discriminated against because they are women." This, on the face of it, in an age of which the most notable feature is the progress of women, in a land which boasts of the reverence and unselfishness of its regard for women, is a strange theory! a theory which pre-supposes a deep and violent animosity in men toward women in all employment of the latter, not a sporadic animosity either, appearing in occasional manufacturers, or publishers, or boards of trustees, but latent in the manly constitution everywhere, and developed almost everywhere! Not even those who so indignantly point out this ill feeling will say it exists elsewhere than in the commercial relations of men and women; it springs, therefore, from mere considerations of dollars and cents, and a strongly rooted dislike in men to see women earning them. A chance of getting something for nothing from a woman, and indulging his acrimony toward her as the recipient even of that small dole is the motive these social philosophers impute to the male employer of female labour in all countries, and at all times. A reason for such acrimony is quite beyond the province of their argument. The facts seem to point to its existence, therefore it exists. But if there were no other apparent reasons for the depreciation of work done by women, we should look long and carefully beneath the surface for them before accepting an explanation of antagonism inexplicable in itself. Anything more unfortunate for social progress and harmony than the dissemination of such a doctrine, especially at the present juncture, in the affairs of men and women could hardly be imagined.

SUPPOSING the possibility of such a general feeling of vindictiveness toward the women who from necessity or choice earn their own bread, it is quite impossible to imagine it entering, to any great extent, into commercial transactions. There is no room for it; it could not fail to be unprofitable as a factor in any matter of barter. Labour is not bought or sold on a basis of personal taste. As well say the Chinese of the Pacific Coast are paid but half the amount received by native labourers because of an anti-Celestial prejudice on the part of Californian capitalists! We carry our prejudices to our dinner-tables and our drawing-rooms, and our libraries, and our churches, but not to our offices or our warehouses. So that the work is accomplished to our profit, the question of sex in the agent is of as little importance as the question of religion or nationality or political faith. It is absurd to suppose the existence of a prejudice against the doing by women of that which they have proved they can do well, and more absurd to believe that it operates against them in business.

Why, then, are women paid less than men for doing the same work?

Because, rapid as their development is, there are as yet only a few departments of the work the world wants that women have made their own. These are the most congenial, the most attractive, the most akin to the sphere of the household, and the ones which require least preparation. Into these departments women press by hundreds, each willing to accept a dollar less of compensation than her neighbour for the sake of getting "something to do." The woman-labour market is glutted always, and prices, under this unfortunate circumstance, are not usually expected to advance. Mrs. Blake meets this argument by the statement that women "enter eagerly" all the employments within their reach, and instances farming in the West, scavenger work in butchers' shops, etc. But while the women farmers in Dakota are so rare as to be mentioned individually in the newspapers, and advertisements for saleswomen, stenographers, teachers, are answered by hundreds, the fact that agricultural pursuits are being taken up by the sex, while promising, does not appear to bear vastly upon the situation.

A score of disadvantages hinder the hands of a woman who would use them to earn her living with—her physical frailty, her idea that her work is but temporary, her inability to adapt herself to distasteful circumstances, and her lack of the motive that gives impulse to her brother's arm from the very cradle. It is cruel kindness to add to these by sympathetically fanning a sense of wrong which is only misfortune, and can be remedied by herself alone.

If the music of the spheres were only truly pitched and sustained, the work of women would be always within the sacred portals of her home, and her reward the legal tender of love alone. But in the sad discord in which we presently live and move and have our being, work of a less ideal character, and the reward of dollars and cents, is necessary to the very existence of some of us. It behooves us, therefore, to choose our work for its value to the world, and not for its agreeableness to ourselves; to leave ourselves, indeed, out of the question in so far as may be; to think less of bemoaning our injuries and more of repairing them; and above all to fully understand that excellence in any line of labour is still so rare a thing as to be astonishingly well paid for, even in a woman.

SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN.

DEA PASSU.

UPON the sumptuous summer of my days,
The splendid June-month of my vital year,
Thou camest, gently as a breeze that plays
With flowers of morning in such tender ways
That from no petal falls a dewy tear;
Yet brightly, as the mock tears disappear
From flowers' glad eyes when dies the flower-like Dawn,
Thou camest, and Life's golden atmosphere
Took on a purple splendour, doubtless drawn
Out of the truth-wells of thy violet eyes;
And swiftly, too, thou camest—in no guise
Of liking that to friendship warmed and then
Burned into passion after fashion of men—
For thou wert perfect at the first surprise.

Medfield, Mass.

HENRY W. AUSTIN.

AN EXPANSION OF THE UNEARNED INCREMENT THEORY.

MR. BLAKE, I believe, is the first public man, in either hemisphere, to extend Mill's theory of an unearned increment in the rent of land to all other forms of property. In a recent speech he is reported by the *Mail* to have said: "His idea was to impose a succession tax, under which realised capital on succession would yield some portion of its unearned increment." In the *Globe's* report, which was probably a reproduction of the manuscript which Mr. Blake used, we read: "If we were attempting to levy direct taxes in Ontario, I should strongly favour a succession tax, under which realised capital upon its descent should pay a toll to the State, thus yielding at the period most convenient to all, some portion of the unearned increment." Realised capital, whatever else it may include, according to the ordinary definition, embraces whatever a man leaves when he dies. Mr. Blake makes no distinction between personal property and land; he only specifies realised property, which includes both kinds. And he assumes that there is an unearned increment in realised property which he would, without distinction or exception, subject to a succession duty. If this be not the meaning which the orator intended to express, the reference to the unearned increment is pointless, because under guise of taxing it, he would also be taxing other forms of property to which, he would be obliged to assume, no unearned increment attaches. Whether in objecting to, or proposing for adoption, a particular tax, Mr. Blake never loses sight of its incidence, his aim being to secure its equitable operation. But it is

evident that he has adopted and extended the theory of an unearned increment without submitting it to critical analysis.

The question of a succession tax I do not here purpose to discuss; the assumption that in all forms of realised property there is a portion which those who acquired it did not earn, and consequently could not rightfully own, is startling enough to claim special attention. Mill, contrary to the fact as we now know, assumed that the rent of land constantly tends to increase without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owners; and he asserted that it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is grounded, if the State should appropriate this increase of wealth, or part of it, as it arises. He would take nothing from the present value of the land, but would deal only with the future increase. And he sought to buttress this claim by alleging that the present land tax in England is "an exceedingly small equivalent" for the relief which the landlords obtained from feudal burthens when the tenure was changed. Part of the land tax he described as a "rent charge," "as if the State had retained not a portion of the rent but a portion of the land."

Into the history of the change of tenure in England it is not necessary to go; but, as the State made a bargain with the landlords, it could not in honour or honesty, after a long lapse of time, repudiate the conditions of the compact. In Ontario no rent charge was retained by the Crown. The original intention was to concede the Crown lands on the condition of a rent charge, but it was, after a brief trial, deliberately abandoned and a free and common soccage tenure substituted. A purchase price took the place of the rent charge. This was the sole condition of the change, and it is impossible to ground on it the right to impose an exceptional tax upon land. The only reservations which the Crown made in granting lands in Ontario, were of minerals and timber; these reservations were not general but occasional, and whenever made they were made in express terms. Land, like anything else, may, under the general powers of the Legislature, be taxed; but there is no warrant in the conditions on which the grants were made for making the tax disproportionately large. Mill, feeling his ground insecure, afterwards abandoned the idea of appropriating future increment by means of a land tax; proposing, as in the alternative, that the State should acquire the land by purchase. By his modified plan all the increment would still go to the owner of the land. His disciples continue to hold up the abandoned scheme as the perfection of wisdom. Since then the assumption that the rent of land constantly tends to increase, while the landlord is at no cost for improvements, has, in the march of events, met a signal disproof. If the State had acquired all the land in Great Britain at the prices then current, which it must have paid, instead of making large gains as proprietor through an increase in value, its losses would have been counted by hundreds of millions. The great scheme of land speculation, for in its second phase his proposal was nothing less, into which Mill wished to incite the State to enter, would have proved as disastrous as any like scheme in the hands of private parties has at any time proved.

If the increased value of the land had been taken by the State, in the form of a tax, when the price of land was highest, on the pretence that it was unearned, the effect would have been confiscation, grounded on a false assumption: the assumption that rents had a constant tendency to increase, without exertion or sacrifice on the part of the landowners; and the great decline of prices which has since come would at once have signalled the falsity of the assumption and the injustice of the act. Mill committed the mistake of taking occasional for constant increase. In speculating on the future increase in the price of land, he based his theory on a perpetual increase, which in the nature of things could not take place, because when a certain level had been reached, the increasing price of produce must have put a check on the increase of population, and in this way make the price of land stationary.

What may easily be mistaken for unearned increment in the value of land in a new country claims notice. The practice has been for the Crown to grant a much greater extent of land than it is possible, with the population and capital of the country, to bring immediately under cultivation. Years pass away, sometimes generations, before all this land can be utilised. In the infancy of Canada, large grants were made to individuals in recognition of previous services rendered to the State. Other immigrants, when they did not get free grants, purchased more than they could cultivate. When the surplus lands, in excess of what the original grantees could cultivate, were thrown on the market, they were held for years without being improved. In any case this must have been their fate: if retained by the Government or the original grantees, they would have remained uncultivated until the increase of population and capital reached a point where an atural demand for them would spring up. Meanwhile, the holder received no return on his capital: there was no rent, because there was no improvement and no product. But the burthen of the interest on the purchase money and taxes had to be borne. Every ten years, at the ordinary rates of interest, the capital account doubled: in thirty years ten dollars swelled to forty, and in sixty years to three hundred and twenty. When this happens, and it is not a rare occurrence, the increment in the price of the land represents interest, taxes, fences, and the cost of attempting to protect the property from depredation—which is seldom successful. Roughly speaking, these charges form the measure of the value of the land; for the increment in price an equivalent is given.

Land on which cities are built is subject to like charges. If in the outskirts, it does not, on the average, before it comes into requisition for building purposes, return more in the shape of rent than will suffice to pay the taxes, the time comes when the rent will not pay the taxes, and it generally arrives before the building demand has set in. The advance of taxes then becomes an addition to the capital, which, through the operation of the interest account, has been from the first increasing in a geometrical

ratio, the process of which has been shown by the example of farm lands. The increment, far from being unearned, is wholly, or in large part, paid for: the difference, if any, is profit; and as the transaction is a commercial one, there can be no reason in equity why those who adventure their capital in it should not be entitled to profit. The outlay for taxes can be got back only through an increase in the price of the land, which as yet yields no rent. In this way the future increment is anticipated and drawn upon.

On both farm and town lands improvements are perishable: the land alone is permanent. In the progress of cities, there are periods in which a rent equal to the average returns on capital, on equal security, cannot be got: the old buildings are too poor to bring such rent, and new buildings would not earn average interest on their cost and that of the land. In this transition state a suspended return on the outlay adds to the capital account; and if afterwards rents rise above the average returns of capital invested in as nearly as possible equal securities, the surplus is the receipt of a deferred payment, not the booty of unearned increment. But it may be contended that this is not deferred payment, but loss; and that the loss once made cannot be recovered. Those who take this ground cannot deny the legitimacy of profit arising from an increase in the price of land, and they would not be entitled to call it unearned increment. Sometimes improvements have to be sacrificed, long before they are exhausted, to make way for better; and when this happens, the sacrifice adds to the cost of the land, the only thing that remains after the demolition of the buildings. Whoever acquires the land must pay for the buildings to be sacrificed, as well as the land. This sacrifice can be made up in no other way than through an increase of rent. The increment, though fully paid for, is in danger of being regarded as gratuitous.

There are many farms in Ontario which would not bring, in rent, three and a half per cent. on their cost. If the owners of this land got, for ten years, three and a half per cent., while the average return on capital was five and a half per cent., the difference of five per cent. would not be explained by the superior security which land affords. But the superior security will account for part of the difference; and if, without pretending to exactness, we put it down, for the purpose of illustration, at one per cent., there is still a difference of one per cent. to be accounted for. It consists of a silent capitalisation of an annual saving represented by the increased price of land and increased future rent. This increase, too, is liable to be regarded as gratuitous. We must, in such a case, make the terminology agree with the fact, and substitute capitalised saving, coming through the medium of suspended receipts, for unearned increment.

The difference between the return from farm lands in rent, and the average product of other investments, is probably not less than the figure we have taken for the sake of illustration. But these figures are used solely for the purpose of illustration, and only to express the broad fact. Land is sometimes bought and sold, within a short time, at a large advance. When this happens the increment is profit. It is unstable, the result, perhaps, of speculative excitement, and a decline of price is liable to follow, and does in fact often follow. If this profit be unearned increment, what profit on all sorts of transactions is earned, and what is unearned? Where is the line to be drawn, and who is to be vested with arbitrary power to draw it? What is certain is that the exercise of this power, in whomsoever vested, will be despotic.

The theory of an unearned increment in the current value of land is based on the assumption that there is a normal standard by which the earnings of capital can be legitimately limited. For before we can find out what the unearned increment is, we must be able to discover its correlative, and fix with certainty the sum of the earned increment. And if we may be allowed to limit the amount which capital may be assumed to earn, we should be obliged to put a legal limit, not merely for the interest that may be paid and taken for the loan of money, but to place all profits, from whatever source derived, under restriction. What Mill says of the receivers of rent, that they grow rich while they sleep, had a thousand times before been said of the receivers of interest, and the remark would be equally true of almost any other class of persons whose wealth is increasing.

If an unearned increment adheres to all capital that passes into succession, as Mr. Blake seems to assume, most of us are under a delusion as to the profits which we think we have earned; for, under this theory, it is always a question of wages even when it is a question of profit; the professional man earns but a part of his fee, the merchant comes wrongly by part of his gains, and the over-payment of the toil of the farmer is robbery. Before accepting a theory which requires us to believe all this, we may well pause to ask whether it be true.

M.

THE most remarkable discovery which Mr. Farini made within the Kalahari Desert itself is that of an ancient wall built of flat-sided stones, with "here and there the cement perfect and plainly visible between the layers." This wall Mr. Farini traced for nearly a mile. Its general outline was in the form of an arch, within which was discovered a pavement of large stones, laid so as to form a Maltese cross, in the centre of which could be traced the remains of a pedestal. Mr. Farini vainly searched for inscriptions likely to throw light upon the builders of this mysterious structure. Were they the same people who erected the fortifications in the "Land of Ophir" which Mauch discovered in 1871? These latter, however, although built of hewn granite, are put together with cement.—*The Athenæum: Through the Kalahari Desert; a narrative of a Journey with Gun, Camera, and Note-book, to Lake N'Gami and Back.* By G. A. FARINI.

HIS NAME WAS BILL.

Yes! he look'd a thorough Briton, as he ask'd us to afford
Food and raiment for his young ones, and each member of our Board
Felt a tear of manly pity trickle down each bearded cheek
When he wept about his dead boy, only buried yester week.

In response unto our question, as to how he fared so ill,
He inform'd us he was Hinglish, and his christian name was Bill;
And he spake about his mother, how her agèd, kindly brow
Would receive another wrinkle, could she only see him now.

Had endorsed a note in friendship, hence an alien now must roam;
Told us, in a burst of candour, "Things is different, too, at 'ome."
This we knew, and so we told him: then we asked him to retire
Whilst we wrestled with the question: Should we grant him his desire?

Was he honest and deserving? And the Chair rose to its feet
With the comforting assurance that it ne'er had chanced to meet
One, whose walk and conversation savoured less of worldly guile
Than this pilgrim at the portal, who had said his name was Bill.

But our Board is ultra-English: soon the grumbler's notes were heard,
And our old-time champion Kicker said the thing was too absurd;
And, with brutal, undiluted Anglo-Saxon insolence,
Dubbed the Chairman's *ipse dixit*, "Hunsupported hevidence."

Dark the air with points of order, and sarcastic lightnings flash'd;
Deep our mutter'd "miserere," as their moral thunders crash'd;
But they ceas'd not till exhaustion laved them with perspiring showers,
And the art vituperative had exhausted all its powers.

Then our Vice rose to the question in a ponderous sort of way:
He was quite a judge of faces, and he'd only this to say:
If we lack'd an honest workman, we had simply but to call
In the man we'd ask'd to tarry for a season in the hall.

This smooth'd down the opposition, still'd the mutter'd notes of war;
And we voted meat and groceries to the man outside the door.
Then the Chair and Vice-Chair, who had stood by him thro' thick and thin,
Stepp'd outside unto that worthy—stepp'd outside to ask him in.

Why! oh, why! that yell of horror from our Chairman's lusty throat?
Why the Vice-Chair's howl of anguish, "Where's my Persian lamb-skin coat?"
Vanish'd were the spoils of Persia, and, by jove, they're absent still;
Absent, too, that honest workman who had said his name was Bill!

H. K. COCKIN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PARTY HERO.

To the Editor of THE WEEK:

SIR,—At this juncture, when certain of our rights are being auctioned off to the Pope's representative by Christian politicians who are the degenerate religious descendants of John Knox and his compeers, it may serve to disillusionise the enfeebled minds of the party-riven public to transcribe a passage from Sir Henry Maine's "Popular Government," which presents a portrait for their inspection of the Party Hero, in original colours, whom, in their wilful blindness, they delight to honour.

Let us imagine some modern writer, says Sir Henry, with the unflinching perspicacity of a Machiavelli, analysing the great Party Hero—leader or agitator—as the famous Italian analysed the personage equally interesting and important in his day, the "Tyrant," or "Prince." Like Machiavelli, he would not stop to praise or condemn on ethical grounds: "he would follow the real truth of things rather than an imaginary view of them." ("The Prince," xv.) "Many Party Heroes," he would say, "have been imagined, who were never seen or known to exist in reality." But he would describe them as they really were. Allowing them every sort of private virtue, he would deny that their virtues had any effect on their public conduct, except so far as they helped to make men believe their public conduct virtuous. But this public conduct he would find to be not so much immoral as non-moral. He would infer, from actual observation, that the Party Hero was debarred by his position from the full practice of the great virtues of veracity, justice, and moral intrepidity. He could seldom tell the truth; he could never be fair to persons other than his followers and associates; he could rarely be bold except in the interests of his faction.

Such is Sir Henry's portrait of the Party Hero (and very few sensible men will deny its life-likeness), that exemplar on whom the party newspaper bids us fix our eyes in reverence as on the semi-divine leader of the democracy. Semi-divine leader! Let us rather say, with Tennyson:

Craft with a bunch of all-heal in his hand, followed up by his vassal legion of fools.

Toronto, Nov. 27, 1886.

PATRIA PRIOR.

ONE day an unpopular head of a department in the India House came to Lamb and asked: "Pray, Mr. Lamb, what are you about?" "Forty, next birthday," said Lamb. "I don't like your answer," said his chief. "Nor I your question," replied Lamb.

The Week.

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IF Toronto were at all vindictive she would cast her vote against the destroyer of her Park. Destroyed, it is quite evident, the Park will be. The only place for air and recreation and, what is still worse, the only playground will be lost. Boys without a playground can hardly be good boys. So far as Toronto is concerned, we could better have afforded a suspension of the Legislature till the price of the ground had been saved. But what do the country members care for Toronto?

WE do not wish to embroil ourselves in the Toronto Street Car war. But the street car is one of the greatest blessings of our civilisation, because it not only gives the poorest the convenience of a carriage, but enables the artisans to live in good air, instead of being cooped up as they are in London, in fetid slums round their place of work. The Company must, of course, be made to keep its charter on all points of practical importance; but let us not have it bullied and the service upset by vindictive or popularity-hunting intrigue.

THE application of the minority clause to Toronto, for the very obvious purpose of giving the Reformers a metropolitan seat, shows that the gentle art of Gerrymandering is not confined to Sir John Macdonald. In truth, it has been practised, and always will be practised, equally on both sides. The system is introduced here just as it is discarded, after sufficient trial, in England. Its effect manifestly is, in the first place, to nail the representative of the minority to his seat. He cannot take office, however competent he may be; nor can he retire, however complete may be his decrepitude, because the seat would be lost to his party. In the second place, the system generally led in England to a standing compromise, which extinguished political life in the constituency; each side being afraid to disturb the arrangement, however great the change of opinion in the constituency might be. In Toronto, the result appears to be, as that of introducing political conundrums usually is, an aggravated complexity of intrigue. The product, instead of being something higher in kind and less narrowly partisan than the common, seems likely to be the fruit of some particularly tricky combination. The plan of a single member for each constituency, now adopted in England, can hardly fail to give an opening somewhere for a specimen of every breed of politician, unless an excessive localism prevails. It might be a good thing, perhaps, to have a few members not for any particular constituency but for the Province at large. There are, no doubt, men of eminence who would stand no chance against party and local influences in any particular constituency, but would be easily elected on a Provincial vote. This, in fact, is Hare's principle, which was endorsed by Mill. But the proposal would probably be Utopian.

MR. O'DONOGHUE, to settle the historical discrepancy between himself and Mr. Meredith, appeals to Heaven in an affidavit. "He had told the truth, and in an affidavit!" says Charles Reade, printing the last three words in large capitals, to denote the astounding character of the occurrence. A more solemn and less hackneyed appeal to Heaven would be a trial by ordeal, at which His Grace the Archbishop would no doubt consent to preside. Let Mr. O'Donoghue, in accordance with the usage of the age of faith, after the performance of the proper ritual by the Archbishop, be thrown into the Lake bound. If he sank and was drowned, he would be pronounced innocent of perjury; if he floated, the pure element refusing to receive guilt into its bosom, he would be condemned and compelled to go into a monastery for the rest of his days.

"Is there any human possibility," asks a correspondent of the *Globe*, "that the Roman Catholics, who are only a little over one-sixth of the population of Ontario, can in any way wrong or oppose the large Protestant majority?" Undoubtedly there is, as every-day experience shows, if the members of the minority choose to act not as citizens, but as Roman Catholics, and to sell their vote to politicians for the furtherance of their own designs. A minority less than one-sixth has been enabled in this way to commit great wrong and oppression. The compactness of an anti-national or exclusive interest and the promptness with which it

obeys the Boss impress the minds of politicians, even out of proportion to its numbers. This is as true in the case of the Roman Catholics as it is in that of the Prohibitionists, and of all other combinations of the same kind.

THE plea put forward on behalf of the Premier of Ontario for his *coup d'état* was that an addition to the electorate rendered necessary a fresh appeal to the people. But it seems that care had not even been taken that the new register should be ready, and that of the new electors for whose behoof the dissolution is said to have taken place some will consequently not be able to vote. Nothing could more completely expose the hollowness of the pretext. But the people, carried away by the excitement of the faction fight, will take this unconstitutional abridgement of the life of the Parliament for a party object as coolly as a few years ago they took its unconstitutional prolongation under the pretext, not less hollow than the present, of the lateness of the Algoma election. With regard to the Dominion election, meantime, the whole country is in a state of suspense and agitation. All eyes are anxiously turned to the Minister who it is understood has a warrant for cutting short the life of Parliament in his pocket, and will produce it now or some months hence, according as the cat may jump. No just reason of a constitutional kind for or against a dissolution can possibly arise between this time and the time at which Parliament ought to meet. There is consequently no excuse whatever for keeping the country any longer in suspense. Once more, in the interest of the whole community, we would respectfully appeal to the Governor-General to guard his trust.

MR. MEREDITH, in his well-penned manifesto, puts his foot into the stirrup of the Protestant horse, but he does not mount. His timid allusion to the movement against Roman Catholic domination is calculated rather to damp than to inflame the zeal of the promoters. Apparently he is still afraid of the Catholic vote. Yet this, so far as he is concerned, is a bugbear, for he has probably not more than a few hundred Catholics remaining within his lines. He probably still feels trammelled by the exigencies of his friends at Ottawa, and fears on their account to offend Quebec. If this is the case, however, he must renounce victory. A Provincial candidate for power cannot possibly win upon an anti-Provincial platform—that is the account of the Conservative depression in Ontario for the last fifteen years. Decentralisation, the horse which Mr. Meredith prefers to ride, is probably popular, as well as wholesome; but the feeling about it is not strong enough to overthrow the Government. Against Roman Catholic ascendancy a great many people are really in arms. We can hardly understand how the Province can be without the power of refusing to vote money for Separate Schools; but if it is, we have only to petition Parliament for an amendment to the British North America Act. A revision of the British North America Act must come before very long. Weak points have been disclosed, as might have been expected, by the experience of twenty years.

MR. MEREDITH, justly condemning irregular dissolutions of the Legislature, proposes that the term shall be fixed by statute; but he would admit a power of dissolution in the case of a ministerial crisis. So long as the system of Cabinet Government prevails there must be the means of appealing at any time to the country. Our constitution is a strange mixture of the forms of a Monarchy with those of a Federal Republic, and of the principle of written with that of unwritten law. It is necessary, while we are in this state, to leave the prerogative in existence. But the Governor-General and his representatives, the Lieutenant-Governors, ought to keep it in their own hands, and to exercise it according to constitutional rules in the interest of the whole community, not for the electioneering convenience of party leaders. They are the guardians of the unwritten constitution. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario granted a dissolution on the plea of the extension of the franchise, without even requiring an assurance that the new register would be completed, and when it was manifest that the object of his ministers in tendering him the advice was to help their friends and embarrass their enemies in a battle between Dominion parties, of which the Provincial Government ought to be kept entirely clear. We cannot help thinking that His Honour mistook his duty.

It is useless to upbraid Mr. Meredith or any one else who is courting the popular vote for deferring to popular feeling. But we must always protest against stump denunciations of Prison Labour. The convict is still a fellow-man and a fellow-Christian; perhaps we should be where he is if his circumstances had been ours. He has rendered himself liable to punishment, and has forfeited his political and social rights. But he has not forfeited, for no man can forfeit, his moral or religious rights. He

has not forfeited his right to reformation; and if labour is necessary to his reformation, as we believe it to be, he is still entitled to labour, and to deprive him of it is a cruel wrong. Care, it is needless to say, must be taken that in doing justice to the prisoner no injustice is done to any other part of the community.

IF Mr. Meredith wants to win, or to run well, he should lose no time in assuring the people that he believes himself to have men competent to administer the Province. The general misgiving on that point is likely to be fatal to him. It is understood that Mr. M. C. Cameron has declined to leave the Bench. His accession would have been a great addition of strength to Mr. Meredith; but it is impossible to regret a decision which preserves the judiciary from the contamination of party politics. The fact is that extreme localism in elections is telling upon the quality of our legislators; if it is carried much further, we shall have an Assembly of respectable farmers with nobody competent to administer the Province.

THE authority of Dr. Ryerson is invoked in favour of a Ministry of Education. The words of that venerated personage were not always the faithful index of his thoughts. "The complexity of our educational institutions" was nothing new when he recommended the substitution of a Minister for the Council on that ground. What was new was the efficiency of the Council, which had been recently reformed, and instead of acting as a mask for the Doctor's autocracy, overhauled his text-books, inquired into the management of his Depository, and freely exercised its powers of election. Suddenly it became necessary on constitutional grounds that the Council should be killed, and that the Chief Superintendent should have a pension.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND, the other day, at Harvard, called attention to the fact that of the Presidents a large proportion had not been educated at a University. He did not do this in a demagogic or Philistine spirit, for he is above affecting the Railsplitter. The early Presidents were English gentlemen, and it is only with Jackson that the truly democratic line begins, and the real tendencies of election by universal suffrage are disclosed. Democracy is still crude, and the relations between it and culture are not yet adjusted. It is hardly possible to rise in public life, under democracy as it is, without demagogism, and the more highly educated a man is, the less successful as a demagogue he is likely to be. Nay, democracy, as it is, has even a suspicious dislike of cultivated intelligence, which it regards as a sort of aristocracy. This must be borne while the fruit of time is ripening. The kingdom of political science will some day come; the reign of political passion will end, and demagogism and wire-pulling will go to their own place. In the meantime there is the Press, in which more and more, not in the halls of assemblies styled deliberative, the real deliberation goes on; and the Presidents of the Press, if the Universities do their duty to political science, will still be University men. The highly educated man may at all events keep mob rule out of his own soul.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND did not, as we understand his utterances at the Harvard banquet, say anything against the free criticism by the Press of his public conduct. He complained of the impertinent intrusion of newspapers behind the scenes of his private life, and especially of the annoyance which he had suffered from the reporters during his wedding tour. Perhaps on this point he is too sensitive, and speaks with too much warmth. Curiosity, however prying, is not malice; and it is natural that the public should crave for information about the doings of those in whom it feels a deep interest, and whose personality it longs to realise, though undoubtedly the limit is passed when a reporter dogs the President through his wedding tour, or watches the movements of the Queen of England at Balmoral through a telescope. There is very little harm in mere gossip, though it is not the talk of the gods. We have watched a little country journal in the States, year after year, giving the minutest details about the doings of everybody of note in the village, and yet never saying a word which could cause anybody real pain. Social scandal is another thing, and it must be owned that of late the appetite for it, or at least the volume of the journalism which panders to that appetite, has fearfully increased, while the feeling against the libeller has lost force. He is no longer ostracised by society, or shunned as a literary leper by his brethren of the Press. Macaulay denotes the unspeakable infamy of a proposal by saying that it is one which the editor of the *Satirist* could not make to the editor of the *Age*. But the lineal representatives of the editor of the *Satirist* and the editor of the *Age* are now the arbiters of reputation, the great powers of society, and even the companions of royalty.

IN the midst of all the socialistic theories and movements in England Mr. Phelps, the American Ambassador, has been giving a lecture at Edinburgh and setting forth, in language which is described as admirably lucid and cogent, the doctrine that "the possession of property is an inherent right, that Governments exist for its protection as well as for the protection of life and liberty, and that an invasion of it in the supposed interest of the poor always ends in making the burthen of the poor heavier to them!" Mr. Phelps represents what is now the Conservative side of the Atlantic. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York preaches in the same strain, pointing out that the denial of private ownership would be the stagnation of industry and the death of enterprise.

IT is a mistake to suppose that Wales, at the last election, went Gladstonite on Disunionist grounds, though the great apostle of Disunionism is now trying to kindle the fire there as well as in Scotland, and apparently not without effect. The issue upon which the people voted at the last election was Disestablishment. To the Celts of Wales, the staidness and solemnity of Anglicanism have proved as little congenial as to the other Celts, and the mass of the people are Calvinistic Methodists. Naturally, they do not like to pay tithe. To pay tithe they will not much longer be compelled, for it is evident that Disestablishment in Wales is coming. It will probably be supported by moderate Liberals, and even by some Conservatives as well as by Radicals. Conservatives are beginning to see that Government must be relieved as much as possible of every unnecessary strain. The Anglican Church has, at all events, a highly educated clergy, and it is practically favourable to intellectual freedom. Whether by its abolition, and by the substitution of an unqualified domination of the Calvinistic Methodist minister, Welsh civilisation will be greatly the gainer may perhaps be doubted. But, as Lord Selborne nobly said in the Bradlaugh case, Christianity is justice. It is not just, and therefore it is not Christian, to compel people to pay tithe to a religion in which they do not believe.

A REMARK is called for also about the apparent Gladstonism of Scotland, to which, as well as to that of Wales, the sympathisers with Parnellism among ourselves appeal. The Disunionists would certainly have strong evidence in their favour if they could boast with truth that the good sense of Scotland was on their side. But there is in Glasgow and other Scotch cities a very large Irish element, the vote of which was, of course, cast solid for Dismemberment. There is also an artisan vote which, in Edinburgh especially, was cast pretty solid on the same side, and which is largely governed by influences alien to the old Scotch character, and identical with those which govern the vote of the Radical or socialistic artisan in Manchester or Leeds. The fact is that, in the great cities, the old Scotch character, like the old Scotch theology which formed its chief ingredient, is beginning to break up; so, at least, say some who ought to know Scotland well. The personal feeling for Mr. Gladstone, who had transferred the honour of his nativity from England to "dear old Scotland," told a good deal, but this is a different thing from agreement with his policy. There is no more trustworthy index of the good sense of Scotland than the *Scotsman*, which remains steadfastly Unionist, though it is favourable, as most Unionists are, to the extension of local self-government. The signal defeat of the Separatist, Dr. Playfair, by the Unionist, Lord Iddesleigh, in the contest for the Rectorship of Edinburgh University, seems to show that one important element at all events is not on the Separatist side.

MR. GLADSTONE is striving desperately to get the Liberals to reunite under his leadership, and help him to turn out the Government. It is touching to see the old man's inextinguishable thirst of power. He appeals to the Liberal Unionists, if they will not embrace his Irish policy, at least to join him in forcing the hand of the Government, which he assures them it is their manifest duty to do. This lure does not take. He then summons them either to recognise him as their leader or renounce Liberalism, which again they silently decline. He countenances Sir George Trevelyan, whom he did his utmost to turn out of Parliament at the last election, in running as a Unionist-Radical candidate against a Conservative for Brighton, hoping to break up the Conservative-Unionist alliance; but this move also comes to nothing. It is all in vain. There is, we are assured, a sufficient number of men resolved that the author of the Irish Government Bill shall not again hold power. Liberals, however strong may be their convictions, if they are patriots and men of sense, see that till the present peril is over; there is nothing for it but to support the only body of men which is strong enough, and which can be trusted, to save the nation from dismemberment, and that for this vital object it is

necessary to put up with a temporary pause in legislative progress. To pretend that by taking this course men forfeit their title to Liberalism is childish. Would they forfeit their title to Liberalism by pausing in political reform to repel an invasion? In the meantime, the petards of disunionism, which Mr. Gladstone has been scattering in Scotland and Wales, seem likely in their explosion to hoist the engineer. Scotch and Welsh Home Rule parties are being formed, after the pattern of the Irish, with objects and leaders of their own, so that the Radical party is in danger of being split into four independent sections, each fighting for its own hand. "Mr. Gladstone will some day lead the Liberal party," said a political prophet to Sir George Lewis. "He will lead it!" was the reply, "and to perdition."

MEANTIME the G. O. M. is seventy-six; the succession is in view, and there is apparently a rivalry between Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley. If either of these gentlemen mounts Mr. Gladstone's political throne, it will be one of the strangest turns in the whirligig of time. Mr. Gladstone is nothing if not high principled. Sir William Harcourt is a political vicar of Bray, who, when Mr. Gladstone himself was down, made haste to tread on him, who, from telling the Tories to "stew in their Parnellite juice" passes, when office calls, lightly and without a word of explanation, to Parnellism, and would to-morrow pass as nimbly back again at the same bidding. Mr. Gladstone, though he is rapidly lightening his political barque of "The Church in its relations to the State," is still not only religious, but ecclesiastical; he is a theological writer, and a defender of the Mosaic cosmogony. Mr. John Morley is the bold Agnostic who spells "God" with a small "g," who eulogises Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, deems Jacobinism a purifying influence, and calls the smoke of the burning chateaux, fired, some of them, over the bodies of their murdered lords, a sweet savour ascending to Heaven. Sir William Harcourt is an experienced and capable administrator, who might carry on the Government. Mr. Morley could not carry it on for an hour; his administration in Ireland was a simple surrender to the League. He is the reputed contriver of the Irish Government Bill, which Mr. Gladstone must now see, and has, in fact acknowledged, to be a total wreck. But he has proclaimed Mr. Gladstone "the great human statesman," and he does not spell G. O. M. with a small "g." To him, if the decision rests with Mr. Gladstone, the inheritance will fall.

WE spoke the other day of applause at the mention of Wolfe Tone as a mark of hostility to Great Britain and the Union. But Mr. Gladstone seems to have found out that Wolfe Tone was no enemy to either, but a well-disposed and moderate politician, and one who would be in favour of his Bill. That Wolfe Tone, if he were now alive, would be in favour of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, need not be questioned; he would welcome it as the entering wedge of Separation. That he was the sworn and deadly enemy of England and British connection; that he spent his life in waging war against both; that he laboured to bring about a French invasion; that he revelled, like a dynamiter of our day, in the thought of seeing England given up to fire and havoc, are facts as well attested by the history of his life and by his own diary as it is possible for any fact to be. But Mr. Gladstone's researches in Irish history are of recent date, and have been commenced under circumstances not favourable to a calm perception of the truth; while his genius for finding mares' nests is well known to all who have read his mythological and cosmogonical speculations. Mares' nests about mythology and cosmogony are curious and harmless structures; mares' nests about the Irish question are curious, but by no means harmless. The other day Mr. Gladstone was telling us that Parliamentary institutions were the native growth of the Irish soil, and that the Union, into the annals of which he had evidently been looking for the first time, was as bad as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. His ignorance of the commonest facts of Irish history, as Canon Dumoulin said the other night, is amazing. Who can believe that he has been, as he now wishes to persuade himself and us, for twenty years brooding over the Irish question, and maturing the "idea" of a National Parliament for Ireland?

THE leaders of the political agitation in Ireland well know that the peasants care nothing for an Irish Republic, that what they want is the land, and that if the land question were once settled the political agitation would die. Between the reduction of rents, the operation of the Ashbourne Act, which the Parnellites have in vain laboured to thwart, and other agencies, a gradual settlement of the land question appears to be in prospect. To avert this discomfiture of their designs Mr. Dillon, no doubt under the orders of Mr. Parnell, has commenced an Anti-Rent crusade; in other

words, a moral rebellion against the law. This has brought on a crisis. The Government seems to have assumed an attitude of firmness, and it will now be seen whether the Queen's writ runs in Ireland, or that of Mr. Parnell. The Radical faction and its head will of course side with rebellion, and do their utmost to embarrass the Government. If they are allowed to succeed, Great Britain must descend from her high place among the nations. In the factiousness of the Radicals the whole danger lies: without its aid the resistance to the law in Ireland could be put down at once, and without the shedding of a drop of blood.

IT would be instructive to know how much of the rents which are withheld or remitted goes into the pocket of the farmer, and how much goes into the coffers of the Church. The Celtic Irishman, though of all men the least submissive to the law, is of all men the most submissive to the priest. Not only is he submissive to the priest, but with all his supposed enthusiasm for nationality he bows to the ecclesiastical despotism of a foreigner. At the Pope's bidding, he appeared in arms against the national independence of Italy. It will not be surprising if his escape from the payment of tribute to the landlord should prove in the end to mean the payment of double tribute to the clergy.

THE Eastern Imbroglia is an imbroglia still, and amidst the diplomatic clouds which envelop it, nothing is very distinctly to be seen. The brutal and shameless aggression of Russia, or, as it is fairer to say, of her ruler, upon international right, has had no parallel since the world-wide buccaneering of the Corsican. The Prince of Mingrelia, whom Russian diplomacy is attempting to force upon the Bulgarians as their Chief, is a sham Prince and a lacquey of the Czar. Reports multiply of the frenzied condition of the Czar himself, on whose temper the question between peace and a war of incalculable proportions now depends. Austria seems to have taken a tolerably firm stand; well she may, for Russian advance on the Danube means her dissolution. It is impossible to believe that Germany can be otherwise than opposed to Russian aggression; but she is trammelled in action by her heavy investments in Russian funds, and the old Emperor, who has the last word, is known to be resolute against war. France, as usual, regardless of right and the cause of nations, thinks only of her own vanity and of the gratification of her undying spite against England. It is more than ever apparent of what folly the Gladstone Government was guilty in turning from the German alliance to court France. Into that error it is supposed to have been betrayed by Sir Charles Dilke, who fancied that he could exert great influence through his personal connexion with Gambetta, as though an ambitious and unscrupulous adventurer would sacrifice his own popularity to oblige his English friend. The German alliance is the natural, and the most trustworthy for England, with regard to European affairs: but perhaps British statesmen are hardly conscious of the additional value which it possesses as a passport to the good will of the great German population of this continent, whose influence in American politics is more than strong enough to countervail the hostility of the Irish. The British Government appears to be doing all in its power to uphold the rights of the Bulgarians and the law of nations; but its power is, of course, greatly diminished by the Irish rebellion, or rather by the unpatriotic selfishness of the faction in Parliament, which, reckless of the peril hanging over the country and Europe, thinks of nothing but abetting Disunion, in order to overturn the Government. So far as can be divined, Bismarck seems not to expect war. But calculations, based on reasonable probabilities, are almost fruitless when the catastrophe may any day be precipitated by the fury of a despot, over whose actions reason has lost its sway.

THE verdict in *Adams v. Coleridge*, by which the Lord Chief Justice of England is acquitted of libel, will be a relief not only to Lord Coleridge's many friends on both sides of the Atlantic, but to all who have a regard for the dignity of Justice. And surely the suit itself is a proof that the verdict was right. The man who can bring an action for libel against his wife's father, and this after an arrangement which ought to have buried the past, must be a bad man, and one to whom Lord Coleridge might reasonably be most unwilling to entrust his daughter's happiness. The remark acquires still greater force if, as the cable reports, Mrs. Adams is going (with the concurrence, it must be presumed, of her husband) to bring a libel suit against her father. The Chief Justice may have expressed himself with excessive warmth; but it must be recollected that his confidence was most infamously betrayed.

SIR CHARLES DILKE announces his intention of clearing his character by some fresh legal proceeding. Why did he not long ago take the simple and obvious step of publishing such a denial of the truth of Mrs.

Crawford's charges as would have forced her to bring an action for libel in which he might have been heard by his own counsel, and have produced any evidence he pleased? The reason given, we believe, is that he is conscious of having been guilty of youthful irregularities, and fears that they might be dragged to light by the cross-examination. But, in the first place, the judge would probably stop anything irrelevant; and, in the second place, what harm would any revelation of youthful irregularities, if they were within the bounds of ordinary vice, do Sir Charles in comparison with the hideous imputations under which he has allowed himself to rest?

LORD and Lady Colin Campbell afford the world another feast of dirt, spiced with the names of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Marlborough. This gloating over aristocratic scandal is merely an inverted kind of flunkeyism. Nevertheless these incidents, which come very thick, are hurrying the House of Lords to its doom. It cannot be said that they are accidental. Few are the characters on which idleness, luxury, and unearned honour will not have a baneful effect; while the obligations of nobility, like those of hereditary wealth, are felt only by rare souls. Fifty years ago such things passed comparatively unnoticed. Now the fierce light of a world-wide publicity beats upon every scandal. The transmission of the filth to our side of the water is a nuisance. But it may have the good effect of putting some check on the bartering, in the marriage market, of American dollars for English titles, a traffic which is beginning to develop itself and which degrades wedlock. Lady Colin Campbell's fate may be a warning to American parents, though she was not herself an American.

It is rather hard on the great Duke of Marlborough that his name should be borne by the brood which has made of Blenheim a princely sty. Marlborough was unscrupulous; perhaps for the soldier who betrayed a British expedition to the enemy, villain is not too harsh a name; but he was at any rate a magnificent villain—a Jupiter Turpin, as Napoleon was a Jupiter Scapin. His only son died young and his name became extinct. But Parliament, cruelly kind, thought fit to bestow the name on the offspring of his daughters, through one of whom, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, it has descended with the title. Thus from generation to generation it has been trailed in the mire. The late Duke was an exception. He started at school and College as badly as any of his race; but he afterwards fell under religious influences which made him perfectly moral and respectable, though he never was popular.

EXIT M. Paul Bert, about the most rampant and insolent among the leaders of the atheist crusade against religion in France. He it was who gave as a toast at an agricultural dinner—"The eradication of the two phylloxeras, the vine-disease and clericalism." Bitter and incessant were his scoffs against Christianity. By training a physicist, and one of high eminence, he was both in theory and practice the most ruthless of vivisectioners. His atheism did not prevent his accepting a good place in Tonquin where his special duty was the protection of French Catholic missionaries. His anti-clericalism, he coolly said, was an article not intended for exportation. He might have added that the protection of missionaries was mere hypocrisy on the part of the French Government, the real object being simply aggrandisement. He is said by his eulogists in the Chamber to have struggled manfully at the last against disease. A more sinister and repulsive figure there was not on the public scene. If we were to point to him as a type of the character which Agnosticism is likely to produce, our Agnostic friends might retort by asking as whether Torquemada or Stiggins was a typical Christian. We should submit, however, that *prima facie*, at all events, there appears to be a greater connection between the character of Paul Bert and Agnosticism than between that of Torquemada or Stiggins and Christianity. If we have no proof of the existence of a God, and if the law of our being is the struggle for existence, what is there to bind us to benevolence? A man may be benevolent by disposition like Mr. Butland, and then he will gratify his own taste by doing good to his neighbours. But suppose him to be of a contrary tendency, why is he not to be as hard and ruthless in his struggle for existence as he pleases? Why should he not sacrifice, to any extent he finds convenient, the well-being of his fellow-creatures to his own? What was there to prevent M. Paul Bert from vivisectioning an Annamite if he had satisfied himself that he would thereby obtain scientific information which would be useful in the prolongation of his own life? Is not success in surviving, in itself, a sufficient warrant for every action or habit that is conducive to it in the case of a man as well as in that of any animal that, either by strength of claws or by cunning, gets the better of its kind. In short, is evolution moral? Some German evolutionists, at all events, seem ready

to face the conclusion that it is not. The question will not present itself with full force till the lingering influence of Christianity has fled, and a whole generation has been brought up in the doctrines of M. Paul Bert.

WE do not know half enough about Nelson. Southey's "Life" was so good in its way and so popular that it prevented anything from being done on a larger scale, and now the time for collecting reminiscences is past. The last cabin-boy of Trafalgar must by this time be in his grave. A selection from Nelson's Letters and Despatches, biographically arranged, by T. K. Laughton, M.A., has, however, just been published, and forms the subject of an interesting paper in the current number of the *Edinburgh Review*. Nelson's character was very simple and very engaging. His singular affectionateness was at once his leading characteristic and his talisman. It caused him to be enthusiastically served as well as ardently loved by all about him. His arrival to take command filled the fleet with joy, and under him the hardest service seemed hard no longer. All the officers and men felt that the Admiral had their comfort and interest at heart. His friend, Parker, wrote from his death-bed that "to call him a *Nelsonite* was more than calling him a Duke. Oh, God! how is it possible for me ever to be sufficiently thankful for all his attentions? He is now attending me with the most parental kindness, comes to me at six in the morning and ten at night; both early and late his kindness is alike. God bless him and preserve him; I would lose a dozen limbs to serve him." What heart could resist such tenderness in a hero? It must have been the more striking and touching when the service was so rough, and the common character of the naval officers so hard, as they were in those days. The instinctive delicacy of Nelson's kindness amounted to genius. It was shown in the warm letter of *thanks* which he wrote to a subordinate who had retired, rightly but not without danger of misconstruction, before a superior squadron of the enemy which he had drawn out by a close approach to a blockaded port. Mere *approbation*, Nelson felt, would not be comfort enough. Another trait is the politeness of the great Admiral in coming, upon his arrival at the fleet, to deliver personally a letter to the humble commander of a brig, while he veiled the attention under the graceful plea that the letter had been entrusted to him by a lady. Nelson's character, however, had its stern side for mutineers and rebels who were guilty of an inexpressible offence against his simple rule of loyalty and duty. He approved of the hanging of mutineers even on a Sunday morning, vowing that he would himself have hanged them on Christmas Day; and it seems that the execution of Caraccioli was his own act, and is not to be ascribed to the fell influence of Lady Hamilton. Nobody would be surprised to find that there was a vein of poetry in Nelson, and it seems we have an authentic quatrain by the victor of Trafalgar. It is not likely that we shall ever find a couplet by the victor of Waterloo.

WE welcome the slightest sign in a Labour journal of a disposition to treat any social question in an equitable manner, and not in a spirit of class hatred and denunciation. The *Labour Reformer*, in discussing the question of domestic service, is willing to allow that there are sometimes faults on the side of the servants as well as on that of employers. That there are sometimes faults on the side of the employers nobody will deny. Many masters and mistresses in the communities of this continent have not been accustomed till late in life to deal with servants, and lack the tradition of combining the maintenance of authority in the household with habitual courtesy and kindness. There is, moreover, a general unsettlement of all classes, which is adverse to permanent connections or attachments of any kind. Something may be done by amended behaviour on both sides. But the main source of trouble, we are persuaded, is the democratic sentiment, which causes factory life, though harder and less comfortable, to be preferred to domestic service even in the kindest household, because it has the show of independence. Domestic service, as the *Labour Reformer* says, is now recruited almost exclusively by immigration, and if that supply should ever cease, apparently the relation must cease too.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, Dr. Temple, has brought a storm upon his head by refusing to allow Mr. Haweis, the eminent Broad Churchman, to preach in a Nonconformist Church on the invitation of Dr. Parker. But Mr. White, the Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, comes to the rescue, and says that Nonconformists respect conscience in Bishops as well as in themselves, and that they recognise the fact that the Bishops are bound by the Act of Uniformity and by their own most solemn promises at their consecration to enforce it. He adds that Bishop Temple is not likely to have erred through narrowness. It would be strange if he were, considering that he was one of the seven writers of

"Essays and Reviews," whose latitudinarianism at one time set the Church in a flame. He is a good deal changed since those days, no doubt; but still he can hardly have become narrow. It is just possible that there may lurk in Mr. White's approbation of the Bishop's decision a desire to pin the Establishment to its legal exclusiveness, and to prevent it from gaining, unfairly as he would think, an accession of strength by a liberal and expansive policy.

MORNING ON THE "RIVER OF DEATH."

No sound breaks with the light, the chill gray light,
A-stealing solemnly behind the hills
Black-limned against the eastern sky. No bird,
A sudden crescent on a silver shield,
Wakes with glad voice the morn.
It is the grave of silence, and the pines
Are mourners all of silence. Gaunt and old
They outstretch pitying arms, untiring priests
To shrive this dark sad river of her sins.
And silently night draws away her mantle,
And pityingly the stars fade out of heav'n.

The wind begins to talk of desolation—
The river answers in a lower wail—
Near and afar the bleak hills lift their shoulders,
And it is dawn upon the Saguenay.

SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN.

AFTERNOON TEA.

WITHIN the last few years *editions de luxe* have grown signally popular. The great public has been fastidious about the form of its literature, and has evinced a marked willingness to pay for the gratification of its taste. This does not take the form of a desire for the English classics in leather so frequently as for the lighter, graceful poetry of the day, enhanced by all the modern art-ideas, also light and graceful. In literature, as elsewhere, the general demand is for the fleeting fancy of the moment rather than for substantiality and endurance.

It is impossible to refrain from enthusiastically admiring the art that is concentrated upon these beautiful trifles, whether one entirely approves of its focus or not. From the last lucubration of the society poet to the newest translation of Dostoevsky, the press of to-day gives us in wide margins, thick creamy paper, ragged edges, and the acme of taste in binding, all that the most exacting drawing-room table could desire for its ornamentation. It is something of a pity that all this wealth of design and colouring should be committed to mere cloth and paper; it seems very like writing the great body of artistic achievement of the age in sand. It is so good that it should endure, though in the nature of things it cannot. It is somewhat, too, of a sarcasm upon modern literary effort, that its garnishing sometimes shows more skill than is intrinsically evident—an elaborate frame for a foolish picture. But this seeming waste is doubtless not without its uses. It certainly disseminates, more thoroughly than any other agency, knowledge of, and feeling for, art-principles; and it is rather a gratifying reflection that the present generation is willing to spend so much time and thought and money in purely literary directions.

All of which means that the first of the "Christmas books" have arrived to tempt us by their *embarras de richesse* into untold extravagance. The main feature of these publications last year, the lavish illustration of simple, well-known short poems, is more marked than ever in the holiday publications of 1886, and the indications are that it will be even more creditably carried out. Nothing could be more exquisitely conceived or executed than Mr. W. L. Taylor's illustrations of "Owen Meredith's" poem, "The Earl's Return," which has just been brought out by Estes and Lauriat, of Boston. The peculiar merits and demerits of Lytton's poetry are so well known as to make reference to them unnecessary, except as a guide to the quality of the pictures, which reflect them perfectly. Mr. Taylor has become thoroughly infected with the spirit of his author's dilettanteism; and the lines are not more suggestive of wayward fancy, sweet sorrow, and gentle tragedy, than are the drawings which accompany them. We do not trust "Owen Meredith's" very facile and beautiful emotion; it finds no answering echo in our hearts; it is a symphony played by hands that never meet our own, on an instrument we do not know, in chords wholly unrelated to any key of joy or sorrow in our lives. It flatters, but it does not sooth us; we are delighted by it, but not inspired; enchanted, but not strengthened. And all these positive and negative characteristics are as plainly writ in Mr. Taylor's pictures as in Lord Lytton's poem. The blue, green, and brown tones so much in vogue in picture-making

now are plentifully employed through the book, and the various minor sketches that illuminate the verse at seeming haphazard are charmingly designed.

Where Estes and Lauriat, of Boston, are, there shall White, Stokes, and Allen, of New York, be also, as a general thing, and the boxed contributions to the Christmas trade, usually expected from this firm, have already begun to make their appearance. The first instalment, "Flowers from Dell and Bower," illustrated by S. B. Skelding; "Birds of Meadow and Grove," and "Songsters of the Branches," edited by Mrs. Skelding and illustrated by F. Bridges [Hart & Co., Toronto], consist of selections from the poets of an appropriate floral or songful character, with coloured pictures. Mrs. Skelding's book is somewhat florid, even for Christmas taste, but her selections, while they do not cover a very extensive range, are extremely pretty and appropriate. The bird-books, however, have this virtue in addition to that of much grace and delicacy, both of drawing and colouring.

GARTH GRAFTON.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

OF the "Story of the Nations" series, issued by G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York [Williamson & Co., Toronto], the volume on "Hungary," by Professor Vámbéry, does not appear to us to be quite up to the high standard of excellence reached in general by the series. It is the first story of Hungary written in English, and it is related by a native Hungarian—a competent Oriental scholar, who has dealt ably with the salient events, the most noteworthy personages, the most thrilling episodes, in a narrative stretching back for over a thousand years; but therefore we fear this book is too scholarly—perhaps, however, it is the subject that is too remote—to awaken in the youth we understand the "Story of the Nations" series was designed for, that enthusiasm which every well-constituted lad should feel at the mere mention of Hungary, with its memories of Kossuth, and his fellow patriots, and that patriotic struggle still going on, which, but partially satisfied by independence under the House of Austria, is destined perhaps yet to make Hungary one of the Great Powers of Europe. However, to any one desirous to understand the Eastern Question, the chapters on "The Turkish World," "The Austrian Rule," and "The National Revival and the Napoleonic Wars," will prove helpful; and to all able to assimilate rather an abstruse story this volume, as a whole, may be most valuable.

THE "Story of Carthage," however, is all that could be desired. It is not ordinarily a compliment to say that a history reads like a romance; but this may be said, and a high compliment paid, with respect to the "Story of Carthage." It is history told from the heart as well as the head. The author is Alfred J. Church, M.A., assisted by Arthur Gilman, M.A., who, between them, have produced, as we think, one of the best stories of the series. Mr. Church complains in his preface that "it is difficult to tell the story of Carthage, because one has to tell it without sympathy, and from the standpoint of her enemies." If her enemies had dealt with her in anything like as sympathetic a temper as he, the story of Carthage might have extended to seventeen centuries instead of seven, the term of her existence. It is a beautiful one as told: from the Legend of Dido to the destruction of Rome's great Phœnician rival by Scipio, there is hardly a dull page in the book; and we close it with regret, though to turn to the still pleasant duty of remarking on the high standard of excellence attained in this series of national stories, which, copiously illustrated throughout, and written in an easy, familiar style, seem admirably suited to attract the attention of younger students to historical reading. We know of no books of the sort that we would prefer for this purpose; and we have no doubt these historians are in great favour; they have earned it; and when complete the series will, we hope, constitute a standard historical library for many years to come.

THE reading public, it appears, is to have still more cause for gratitude to Mr. Andrew Carnegie than it is already familiar with. "Triumphant Democracy" we know, and with the history of one notable coaching party under Mr. Carnegie's leadership we are not unfamiliar, but here is another for which the author informs us Mr. Carnegie is also primarily responsible. The route taken by the party, of whose movements Mr. John Denison Champlain is the enthusiastic "chronicler," in "The Chronicle of the Coach" [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Toronto: Standard Publishing Company], lay through that most picturesque and interesting part of England, between London and Ilfracombe. Of all the historic interest attaching to the various places at which a halt was made, the chronicler has made the most. He displays quite a fund of information regarding them, and draws upon it, for the reader's benefit, with great taste and discrimination. The book is written in the pleasantest possible spirit, and its author has evidently done his best to impart

DECEMBER 2nd, 1886.]

the pleasure of that coaching journey to the great world that stayed at home. His endeavour to depict scenic effects is really most creditable, and if he errs a little in his careful transcript of the petty details of the trip, it is a fault which the many people who are his friends will be disposed to forgive him. The reader who does not enjoy this privilege will probably wish that Mr. Champlain had left the personal element of his story out altogether, since he has either put it in quite indifferently, or the other members of the party must have been very stupid people indeed. The mechanical part of the volume is so good as to make it a pity that its execution was not confined to the publisher. It is a prerogative of printers and binders that authors always do well not to interfere with.

MESSRS. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN, AND COMPANY, of Boston, have sent us two convenient and tastefully-made Calendars for 1887—the "Holmes" and the "Whitney"—as specimens of a line of literary calendars they are issuing this season, and which may be obtained through Williamson & Co. here. Each week is furnished with a separate leaf containing extracts from the author's works, a calendar for the year and for the month, dates of the moon's changes, and weather maxims; so that, having sold all your books and lined your library wall with these calendars, all you have to do every morning, to become well read in literature and weather-lore, is to seek out the author whose wisdom fits the day, and carry him in your head till the morrow.

"THE Dominion Annual Register" is a most useful publication. It is so full of the sort of information that everybody who follows public affairs is in daily need of, that it has become in fact indispensable. Much of its success is no doubt due to the skilful condensation and arrangement of its contents which, covering very fairly the field of politics, education, literature, science, art, and current Canadian history, gives an account of all these within some 450 pages or so, every item readily accessible by means of indexes. The volume before us—that for 1885—published by Hunter, Rose, and Company, Toronto, is not quite free from small clerical or typographical errors; but this is difficult to avoid in a Canadian work of such complexity: the editorial work shows knowledge and ability; and we congratulate Mr. Henry J. Morgan and his Associates on their production.

WE have received, from SELBY AND COMPANY, a volume of Dr. Wild's Sermons, preached in the Bond Street Congregational Church. The sermons are eighteen in number, reprinted from verbatim reports published weekly in the Parkdale News, and treat of their themes, with that method of Scriptural exegesis which is well known to be in favour with Dr. Wild.

MUSIC.

Toronto: Anglo-Canadian Music Publishers' Association.

"LOVE IS A DREAM." F. H. Cowen. A charming song for mezzo-soprano, or soprano.

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We have received also the following publications:—

ART AMATEUR. December. New York: 23 Union Square.

ST. NICHOLAS. December. New York: Century Company.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW. November. Philadelphia: Leonard-Scott Publication Company.

LIBRARY MAGAZINE. December. New York: John B. Alden.

FORUM. December. New York: 97 Fifth Avenue.

ECCLECTIC MAGAZINE. New York: E. R. Pelton.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. December. New York: 30 Lafayette Place.

CANADIAN METHODIST MAGAZINE. December. Toronto: William Briggs.

CANADA HEALTH JOURNAL. November. Ottawa Health Journal Office.

MUSIC.

LONDON.

THE Celebrated Schubert Vocal Quartette gave a delightful concert on the 19th ult. The ever-beautiful "Remember Now Thy Creator," received the usual encore, the club giving Hatton's "Village Blacksmith" with exquisite expression. Schubert's "Gondolier" was also a gem. Amongst the numerous selections "Old King Cole," "Simple Simon," and "Peter Piper," created the customary merriment. Of the solos, Mr. Battel (first tenor), sang Jensen's "Murmuring Breeze" most artistically; while Mr. Jott's "Rocked in the cradle of the Deep" showed his bass voice to the utmost advantage. Miss vonElsner's voice is somewhat thin, and the "Staccato Polka" has been done to death here already by various light sopranos. Miss Lay is a capital accompanist, but has not much power for solo concert playing. MARCIA.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE



First (January) Number Ready December 15th.

Scope.—SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE will be in the widest sense a magazine of general literature; and its main purpose will be to bring together not only good reading, but literature of lasting value.

Illustration.—Each number will be fully illustrated, and in a manner which shall be in the best sense illustrative of the text. The artistic side of the magazine will represent the most spirited, sincere, and original work.

Among the many interesting and important papers to be printed in the Magazine during the first year are the remarkable series of

Unpublished Letters of Thackeray,

the existence of which has only recently become publicly known, and concerning which the greatest expectation and curiosity have been aroused. Their importance and interest will more than justify this. Nothing more characteristic or of greater autobiographic value has been published, and no

such study of the great novelist's life has been hitherto possible. *Fac similes of unpublished drawings will accompany the Letters.*

Several articles giving very striking personal views of great historic events and periods; notable among them

EX-MINISTER E. B. WASHBURN'S REMINISCENCES OF THE SIEGE AND COMMUNE OF PARIS,

told by him from his papers, private diaries, and personal recollection of an experience absolutely unique, as he was the only member of the Diplomatic Corps remaining in the city and in communication with the

changing governments during this whole period. The articles will all be fully illustrated from original material in the author's possession.

GLIMPSES AT THE DIARIES OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,

U. S. Minister to France at the close of the last century, will give an idea of the interesting and piquant pictures of social life and characters of the time of the French Revolution, which exist among the great unpublished portions of the Morris papers that relate to his residence in Paris.

In Fiction there will be many notable attractions. The publishers expect to begin during the present year the publication of a striking novel, which has been arranged for with

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON,

who will also contribute a shorter story to an early number.

With the earliest numbers will be begun a very strong and original

NOVEL by HAROLD FREDERIC,

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and method. It is illustrated by A. B. Frost, Hopkinson Smith and George Wharton Edwards.

Among the other interesting features of the first numbers will be:

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T. A. Janvier (IVORY BLACK),

Sarah Orne Jewett,

Octave Thanet,

H. H. Boyesen,

Margaret Crosby,

and many other well-known authors, besides notable stories by new writers.

Francis A. Walker contributes a striking article on SOCIALISM.

Rev. William Hayes Ward (Editor of *The Independent*) writes of the BABYLONIAN SEAL-CYLINDERS—the paper will be beautifully illustrated.

John C. Ropes gives an exquisitely illustrated paper upon the EXISTING LIKENESSES OF CÆSAR.

Capt. F. V. Greene, U. S. Engineers, a suggestive article on our Coast Defences. Edwin H. Blashfield, a most interesting study in art history, with drawings by the author.

Many other important illustrated articles and papers upon literary topics, etc., are reserved for later announcement.

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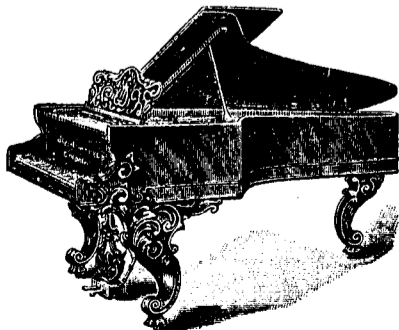
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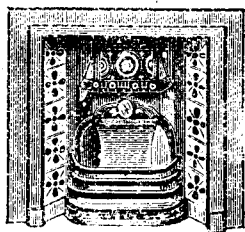
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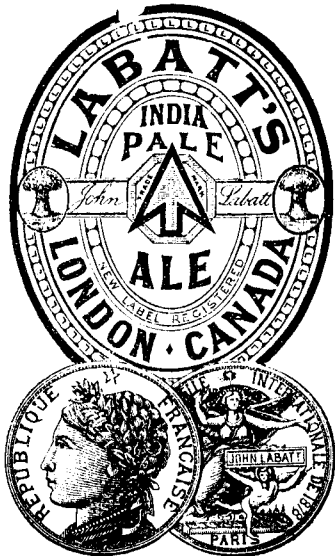
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