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A MONTHLY REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

OF

CURRENT EVENTS,

CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

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THE BYSTANDER.

JUNE, 1880.

THE close of the session at Ottawa was marked by an incident equal in importance to the debate on the Pacific Railway, and not unconnected with that question. Mr. Mackenzie announced his resignation of the leadership of the Opposition, and Mr. Blake was at once installed in the vacant place. When last Mr. Blake stepped forwards, in response to a call from the country even clearer and louder than the present, he saw a giant armed in the path, and turned aside. This time, though the same form seemed to bar the way, he did not turn aside; and the huge scarecrow at once came crashing and lumbering to the ground, with all its seeming bulk of lath and its swelling spread of sheet, with all its rag-market and tin-shop accoutrements of terror. Never again, we may hope, will it frighten a Canadian statesman from his duty to his cause, his friends, and himself. A journal ably conducted and just, or anything like just, in its criticisms will have its share of influence; but newspaper tyranny can be exercised only over a nation miserably prone to servitude; and Canada will be inexcusable if, having seen such a despotism laid flat in the mire by a slight exertion of courage, she again bows to the ignominious domination. From the very manner in which the *Globe* made its attacks on Mr. Blake, not directly, but obliquely, by stabbing at him through another person, he might have learned that there was nothing insuperable in front of him; and a single straight blow from his arm would have cleared the road long since. Better late than never; but

better soon than late. Had Mr. Blake held his own six years ago, his party would not have desperately committed itself to the Pacific Railway, nor would it have forfeited power by placing itself in pedantic and stiff-necked opposition to the just claims of Canadian industry.

Mr. Mackenzie retired with simplicity and dignity. It is of course the duty of the Ministerial press to make a little mischief, if possible, in the other camp by representing him as an ill-used man and his removal from the leadership as a grand error; though their own fyles, if anyone cared to explore those treasures, would furnish abundant proof that, according to their estimate of his character, the only error committed was in not sending him to the Penitentiary. There is no occasion for drawing invidious comparisons between him and his successor. It is enough to say that the influence which supported one had gained strength, while that which supported the other had declined. Gritism had no meaning; it kindled no enthusiasm; it afforded no rallying point; it formed no ground of opposition to the Ministerial policy from which, in fact, it differed not at all on the main question. It was Whiggery in Canada, without the great houses which alone give Whiggery its vitality in England. Liberalism has a meaning, and it does furnish a ground of opposition, provided that its leaders will address themselves not to changes of electoral machinery, about which nobody at present cares, but to the great and pressing question of the day.

—The great and pressing question of the day is that of commercial relations and of public works in connection with them. There are two policies, either of which a statesman may take without forfeiting that title, but between which every statesman is called upon to choose, and which may be called the Continental and the Anti-Continental. The Anti-Continental policy is that of the present government. It is the commercial corollary of Jingoism. Its cardinal principle, frankly enunciated the other day by its ambassador to England, is that the people of

the United States are to be viewed and treated commercially as "a hostile or, at least, an unfriendly people," and that Canada is to be cut off as much as possible from the continent inhabited by them and to which she geographically belongs. It is the policy of a party here identical with the Tory party in England, and endeavouring, in the interest of Toryism, to create a power antagonistic to democracy on this continent. It regards Canada not as a community of the New World with interests and a future of her own, but as an "auxiliary kingdom" to be governed by a quasi-aristocracy of Knights. In commerce, as in everything else, it shuns the contagion of the Republic. Its instruments are the political railroads destined to weld together Provinces widely separated by nature, and to prevent their inhabitants from using the natural routes, which lie through American territory; a sharp customs line severing Canada from American markets; commercial treaties to connect her with other parts of the globe; and, if possible, an Imperial Zollverein. Its adherents contemplate, not with unmixed horror, an actual war with the United States, and advocate the diversion of roads from the line of trade, as well as the increase of military expenditure, with that view. Setting aside any question as to the general object, which is a matter of opinion, this policy is proving itself to be economically impracticable. It condemns Canada to a commercial atrophy, the inevitable effect of severance from her own continent, and commits her to an expenditure on Public Works which, especially when suffering from that atrophy, she is wholly unable to bear. The first of the political railways, the Intercolonial, has proved financially a ruinous failure, and will become even more worthless and a greater burden than it is as soon as the natural route is opened through Maine. The second road, that to the North of Lake Superior, has been virtually abandoned in favour of the natural route through American territory; so that we are in the absurd position of lavishing great sums on the distant links of a chain, while the nearest link is wanting. The commercial treaties, like the trade in

clothing with the Antipodes, which was to yield such golden returns, have come to nothing; and as to the Imperial Zollverein, nobody who knows the state of opinion in England and the necessities of British industry, could regard such a project as anything but a dream. A debt has been piled up, as great in proportion to our resources as that of the United States, though we have had no civil war, and it is still increasing, while that of the United States is being reduced. Sir Francis Hincks, a strong Imperialist, and an advocate of the Pacific Railway, proclaims that the country is "drifting into bankruptcy," and that a terrible reckoning day is at hand. Commercial Imperialism is, in fact, cutting its throat, like a pig as it swims; for the outlay on political railroads, causing an excess of expenditure over revenue, entails an increase of taxes which involves the imposition of higher duties on British goods. The end, probably, will be a more complete and signal suicide; for financial disaster can hardly fail to bring with it compulsory annexation. In making us "one from sea to sea," the Anti-Continental Policy will also make us one from Mexico to the Pole.

The Continental policy, on the other hand, is akin to the political spirit which has just triumphed over Jingoism in England. It accepts for Canada the position of a community of the New World, though bound by the strongest tie of affection to her parent in the Old World, and refuses to sacrifice the interest of her people in any way to that of the European Reaction. It regards the American Republic not as an object of everlasting hostility, but as a friend and neighbour. It welcomes partnership with her in all the commercial advantages of this Continent, and in the construction and use of its necessary highways. It abjures the idea of wasting the substance of the Canadian people in works otherwise unnecessary and unremunerative, for the purpose of forcing commerce out of her natural routes, in order to save her from political contagion. It cherishes a sound financial position as the only real guarantee for general independence. A war with the United States it refuses to contemplate as a ground for denying to Canada great

advantages or imposing on her heavy burdens. Let the Knights say what they will; let conventional opinion applaud the Anti-American eloquence of Governor-Generals on the stump as loudly as it may, there is evidently nothing in the Continental policy repugnant to any strong or deeply-seated sentiments in the breasts of the commercial classes, or in those of the people. No Canadian man of business ever refuses dealings with Americans which he thinks will be profitable to himself. Canadian banks have their branches and loan tens of millions in the United States. The management and ownership of the railway system is coming daily to be more in common. When the road from the Maritime Provinces to Quebec through Maine is opened, it will be seen that shippers and passengers are not disposed to describe a vast curve to the northwards for the purpose of maintaining a military line, or of avoiding temporary contact with a nation which has no Knights. As to the people, they show their intense hatred of Republicanism, and their readiness to sacrifice their material interests to its extinction, by migrating into its domain whenever they have the slightest material inducement to do so. They are now flocking to the States by thousands: four thousand went from one Province in April. Even such of them as are farmers go in greater numbers to Minnesota and Dacota than to the territories which we are spending so many millions to incorporate. While all this money is being squandered, and all these risks are being incurred for the purpose of securing perfect and everlasting separation, the people of the two countries are quietly blending with each other, and if we may believe the current statements, a sixth of the Canadian nation is already on the south of the line.

—Blame can hardly be cast on the Government for pursuing a course which Imperialists must believe to be the best. Certainly the Opposition cannot throw stones at them. For the Opposition itself, when in office under its last leader, committed itself to the Pacific Railway undertaking in its whole extent,

and, at the same time, to the policy to which that undertaking belonged. It even gave a heavy pledge to Militarism by founding the Kingston College. Its present leader has dallied with Imperial Federation, which implies, together with a retrocession of self-government, contribution to Imperial armaments, and full participation in Imperial wars. For ourselves, we unfeignedly deplore the necessity of an appeal to party at all, and look forward with earnest hope to the day when, instead of calling upon one set of statesmen to oppose and thwart another set as antagonists and rivals, we may be able to call upon them all to combine their councils and do what to their united wisdom appears best for the country. We say this with special emphasis on the present occasion, when the nation has been brought into peril by an enterprise for which all our public men are more or less responsible, and for their connection with which all of them may plead the excuse of a general illusion, the offspring of intoxicating prosperity, and, of the haze of exaggeration with which the flattering rhetoric of official seekers after popularity had enveloped our affairs. But for the present the party system is established; we must take it as it is, and look to the Opposition under its new leadership to check the Government, which is not only itself bent on pursuing its perilous course, but beset, we may be sure, by a band of contractors and contract-mongers, such as these great public works always call into being, eager for the prosecution of an enterprise which promises immense private gains. The Grit organ itself is hardly louder in denouncing the prudence which would check the enterprise than it is in proclaiming the corruption which attends it; as though corruption were not an inherent part of all large government undertakings of this kind. It would not be surprising if some scandalous revelation were to give the Opposition a handle which they might use without having to make any awkward reference to the history of their own proceedings in a previous state of existence.

—We are drifting into bankruptcy; the reckoning day is near; and the main cause of this is rash expenditure on public works—so said the Montreal *Journal of Commerce*, yet now it applauds the decision of the House of Commons to go on with the railway in British Columbia, a railway "beginning nowhere and leading to nothing," cut off from us and all our interests by a thousand miles of territory and the Rocky Mountains, the traffic of which is to be drawn from a section of a country the whole of which contains less than fifteen thousand inhabitants, and, if we may trust a high authority, no more good farm land than there is in an Ontario County. The writer says so much about the lack of Imperialism in those who side with Mr. Blake that he may be fairly supposed to be not without political designs; but the argument which he puts forward is the faith of Canada plighted to the people of British Columbia, by which he maintains that we are absolutely bound. "It would be impossible," he says, "that any contract could be entered into in a more solemn and formal manner than the one in question." This, perhaps, is a little high-pitched: as in the case of Confederation, so in the case of the more than reckless treaty with British Columbia, the politicians took it upon themselves to deal with a question morally beyond the scope of their mandate, though legally no doubt within its scope, without ascertaining the opinion of the people. Their object was not doubtful: it was purely political, and they beguiled the people by an illusory clause in the contract providing that the railway should be built without an increase of taxation. It is not pretended that when they made that treaty they had properly surveyed the route of the promised road, or formed any definite estimate of the expenditure to which they were pledging their unfortunate clients. Solemn, therefore, the compact is not; but it is a compact, and one by which we presume our representatives, greatly as they misused their powers, were legally competent to bind us. Those who have a taste for casuistry might perhaps raise the question how far the right of the British Columbians to ruin the Confederation by the execution

of an agreement made before they were members of it is modified by their duty to preserve it since they have become members. But fortunately British Columbia has herself indicated, over and over again, the proper mode of escaping from the dilemma. She has over and over again offered us our choice between the fulfilment of the compact and separation. What one party to the compact has offered the other without breach of honour may accept. The proper course is, by restoring to British Columbia her independence, to liberate her and Canada from an engagement ruinous to them both. There is nothing to prevent British Columbia from again entering the Confederation if she thinks fit to do so on terms consistent with its solvency, and not subversive of its existence. In the *Journal of Commerce* we find high language about the integrity of the Dominion. Let the national bankruptcy, which the *Journal of Commerce* declares to be close at hand, arrive, and what will become of the integrity of the Dominion? When the surplus of Ontario is exhausted, and she begins to feel the constant drain on her, a heavy strain will be laid on the bond which unites her with the drainers. Only in a formal sense would the integrity of the Dominion be impaired by the secession of British Columbia. She has been annexed, but she has not been incorporated, nor made morally a part of the Confederation. She neither cares nor affects to care much for the Federal interest; not a syllable of consideration for the difficulties and dangers of the Dominion has she uttered; money for herself is all her cry. She does not seem to want the road as a bond of union: that so many millions shall be spent within her territory is the one thing on which she insists. Let the *Journal of Commerce* talk about the value of the British Columbian vote to the party in power, and we shall know what it means.

Once more, we would exhort those who wish to form a rational opinion on these questions to look, not only at the political, but at the physical and economical map. They will see that the four regions which we are trying, at a boundless cost, to weld into one—the Maritime Provinces, Old Canada, the

North-West and British Columbia—are not really coterminous, nor capable of unification, apart from the adjoining Continent. The natural routes between them, which commerce must and will take, lie through American territory, and each of them is cemented by commercial interest to the States immediately to the south of it; Ontario herself being indissolubly connected with the region from which she draws her coal. There neither is, nor is likely to be, any access to Manitoba or the provinces of the Dominion beyond, except through the territory and by the sufferance of that very power against whose supposed enmity the whole scheme is directed. Upon this project, inspired by aristocratic ambition, of dividing a Continent dedicated to industry into two hostile sections, and reproducing here the international jealousies, the militarism and the wars of the Old World, nature has laid her ban, which will not be removed though we may be ruined in desperately struggling to remove it.

—A flourishing report has been given by the Government of the state and prospects of the North-West. We receive it without any misgiving as to its integrity, but with the circumspection requisite in the case of sanguine statements made in support of the policy to which a Government is committed, and by which it must stand or fall. The policy was adopted before the country had been explored, before it was known whether it contained available coal, without which, the supply of wood in it being very scanty, it could not have been inhabited at all. No doubt, the territory, being just opened and having been immensely advertised, there will be a rush into it this year: whether this rush will continue, time will be required to show, as it will to show whether the sale of the lands will pay for the construction of the road, for running it when first opened, and for the administration of the territory, which is costing a round sum. It is to be remembered that we have to compete in the sale of lands with the Americans, who are sure

not to let us carry off the emigration, if they can help it. It is also to be remembered that to open up that vast country, it will be necessary to construct, not one railroad, but twenty, in the lines marked out, not by politics, but by commerce; and that the public lands will have to pay, in part at least, for all of these, not for the political railway alone. A perfectly impartial report, with a calm forecast of probabilities, would be invaluable, if any one could be found to write it. People evidently see things with different eyes. "I have read," says Bishop Taché,* "glowing reports from the Plains; they brought out all the advantages; they particularly described the quantity of wood. But, book in hand, I saw the country described, and asked myself, Who is the dreamer—the author or the reader?" The hope of a great addition to the public revenue from the North-West seems baseless: a country much larger than Canada herself, and accessible only through foreign territory, cannot be kept permanently under fiscal control. Many Canadian farmers will no doubt settle in the North-West, among a still larger number of settlers from other countries, and by their departure, and the competition of Manitoban wheat with ours, farm property will be depreciated, and has already begun to be depreciated in the old Provinces. This to Canada is likely to be the chief return for what she may spend on the North-West.

Of course, we do not forget that there is alleged to be not only a Canadian and an Imperial, but a European, object, for the present enterprise. It is said that the Canadian Pacific is needed as a short road for traffic between Europe and the East. If it is, Europe will construct it without cost or peril to Canada. The trade of Canada with the East will never be so large as to make it worth her while to construct a railway across the continent at her own expense, rather than let it come over the American line.

* Quoted by Mr. Alexander Monro, in his work on 'The United States and the Dominion of Canada.' Mr. Monro, having, as a land surveyor, traversed large portions of the Dominion during the last fifty years, is well qualified to treat practically a subject which has generally received only rhetorical treatment.

The time may not be very far distant when people will begin to think that there was more sense than treason in the proposal to be content with Old Canada, a modest yet noble heritage, to crown the edifice of self-government there, and, while we retained our tie of affection to the Mother Country, to regulate our commercial relations in the interest of our own people. But regret is vain: the opportunity has been lost.

—By the debate on the payment of the salary to Sir Alexander Galt a veil was raised, and the veracity of Sir John Macdonald was vindicated. Sir John had proclaimed his visit to England a success, yet he seemed to have accomplished nothing. We now see that a scheme was agreed upon between him and Lord Beaconsfield, the execution of which was deferred till victory in the elections should have renewed Lord Beaconsfield's lease of power. It would not have done, before the elections, to add anything in the way of Colonial expenditure to the burden which the Chancellor of the Exchequer already had to bear before the country. The scheme included the appointment of a British Commissioner for the management of North-Western lands, aid from England (which, however, we do not believe would have been anything more than a guarantee) for the Pacific Railway, and aid from Canada, in the shape of a military contingent or reserve, for the Jingo policy of aggrandizement. From Sir A. Galt's speech at Montreal, it may be inferred that something in the nature of an Imperial Zollverein had also been projected. Sir A. Galt's own appointment may be regarded as an instalment of Imperial Federation, and one of a very questionable kind, since it allows the policy of Canada to be controlled, not by public dispatches, but behind the curtain of the Cabinet. The appointment of a military attaché to the High Commissioner, announced in the London *Court Journal*, shows at once the height to which the fancy of Jingoism soared, and as we venture to think, the essential puerility of the scheme. All this seems startling:

yet there is nothing in it not warranted by the conventional sentiments which everybody has felt it his duty to repeat, and from bondage to which even the Liberal Opposition has but just begun to emerge. It is highly probable, that had Lord Beaconsfield triumphed and the scheme taken effect, the outspoken protests would have been few. Destiny ordained otherwise: while in mid-Atlantic the ambassador meditated on his approaching conference with the Jingo Chief, a sudden demise took place, and he landed to attend a funeral. Jingoism is dead. The conditions under which it was generated, and of which the chief was the arrogance bred by years of marvellous prosperity, are gone. In such a country as England, Conservatism is sure to rise again: it may even soon return to power; but for Jingoism there is no resurrection, and all designs here that depended on its ascendancy in England have now lost their fountain of life and will soon be laid in their parent's grave.

Two other things appeared from the same debate: the debt is to be increased by raising more loans in England, and the system of subsidizing immigration is to go on. For both purposes the powerful agency of the High Commissioner is to be employed. If the Loan Market, instead of being opened to us more freely, could be entirely closed against us for the next ten years, we should suffer no more than a drunkard would suffer by the shutting of the tavern door. As to the other matter, can any sight be more curious than that of a community losing its native born citizens by tens of thousands and aggravating the poverty which drives them from their home by paying subsidies for immigration from abroad?

—On the Banking and Currency Resolutions there was a heavy debate. The majority is solid, all the more so perhaps because in case of a general election not a few of its members would be sure to lose their seats, and the Government has everything its own way. Sir Leonard Tilley, we fear, will find

in time that whoever borrows money must pay interest, and that those who raise forced loans pay the highest interest of all: Such was the experience of the American Government in the case of the Legal Tender Act. The general rate of interest is falling; so much so that a conversion of the English Consols is in view; and those who keep steadily in the path of probity will get the full benefit of the fall. That article of the resolutions which makes the circulation of a bank the first charge upon its assets seems to meet with universal approbation. The warrant for it, and for general strictness in the legislative regulation of banks is obvious; their bills, though not legal tender, practically cannot be refused in the ordinary course of trade, and therefore the safeguard which individual discretion supplies in the case of a promissory note, must in the case of bank bills be supplied by the law. Otherwise the trade in money is like the trade in any other commodity, and no more than the trade in any other commodity, a proper subject for harassing and crippling interference. A general outcry against banks is preposterous; they are the vital organs of a commercial community; a man might as well raise an outcry against his own lungs and liver. In this country indeed, they are not only the dealers in money, but the commercial capitalists, and practically the partners of all the mercantile houses. A serious blow given to them would be felt not only by all the merchants, but by every man who receives daily wages. There is a sort of impression that they are powers of evil requiring as a check on their malign propensities to be continually bedevilled by the politicians, who are in the habit of styling themselves the nation. The fact, which everybody sees is the case of the United States, is that, under the present system, the politicians are themselves a trade, governed avowedly by principles of morality more lax than those which govern any other trade, having objects always distinct from the national interest, not seldom at variance with it; and that to keep their hands as much as possible off everything on which the welfare of industry, and the daily bread of the people depend, but especially off the great financial

institutions, is the plainest dictate of commercial self-preservation and one of the first duties of a patriot.

—Mr. Mills obtained returns, showing that each session of the Senate costs $140,000, and that this, like every other item of expenditure, is rising. No other step was taken in relation to the Reform of the Senate. Some scandalous scenes, one almost passing imagination, in the Senate itself, showed the futility of supposing that by importing lordly forms we can import lordly manners. We shall have to be content with good manners, which consist in respect not for the feelings of men of a certain class, but of all men. Not in that line does the Canadian Senate earn its pay. It is difficult to say in what line it does. This Session its principal achievement has been the rejection by a majority of one of the Bill legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, a decision almost on the face of it wrong, since in a case of private affection, if the arguments are so evenly balanced, the decision ought to be in favour of liberty. The recent appointments to the Senate have been bestowed in the usual way, which is the only way possible. The idea that the Senate can be a representation of the general worth and intellect of the nation is utterly chimerical. Appointments, in the hands of a party leader, must be given as rewards for party services. The Senate will remain what it is, a gilded armchair for partisans who have done their work, till the thread of its existence is cut by the shears of an economical reform. Senator Alexander has hastened the coming of that day by exposing, though in a somewhat turbulent fashion, the large payments received in some cases for a merely nominal attendance.

—By the ire of the defrauded, the Bankruptcy Law has been repealed, and we are left in that department to the law of general scramble. Perhaps, some members of the House of Commons thought that they might give a popular vote, and that the Senate would again save them from the consequences.

The existence of an Upper Chamber is apt to diminish the sense of responsibility in the Lower, as has often appeared in the case of the United States. A year's trial of anarchy will probably suffice. The bane of Canadian commerce is long credit. Should the temporary absence of the securities afforded by a Bankruptcy Law tend in any measure to the shortening of credit, the inconvenience will be attended with gain.

—The Temperance Act having been declared valid, and Mr. Boultbee's dexterous side-thrust having been parried, the activity of the Prohibitionists will be increased. We trust that it is consistent with the utmost respect and sympathy for their end, to entertain misgivings as to the expediency of their means, and to incline to the belief that, in a free community, those who want to reform the private tastes and habits of their neighbours, must do it by promoting education, by writing, by preaching, above all by example, not by appealing to the strong arm of the law. The use of wine or beer may be unwholesome, as according to some medical authorities is the use of tea or tobacco, against which a crusade is actually on foot, and pledges are being taken in the United States; but unless it leads to intoxication it is not criminal; and we doubt the possibility as well as the justice of enforcing among freemen laws which treat it as a crime. In Maine, the evidence seems to show that the result of Prohibition is a development of Contrabandism and all its attendant evils, without a diminution of drinking; though in the Eastern States of the Union the people are of themselves so temperate, that Prohibition among them is the sign of virtue, not its cause. A Czar of Russia may order his subjects to cut off their beards: a King of Spain may order his subjects to change the shape of their hats: a free government can only act with the support of popular opinion, which will never practically sustain a police sufficiently strong and searching to root out a private taste not directly injurious to other citizens. Voluntary associations, such

as that of the Good Templars or the old and highly-respectable Teetotalism, stand of course upon an entirely different ground, and their members have only to be on their guard against false brethren and the wiles of politicians. A lawsuit the other day disclosed the fact that a journal, much revered by temperance men, was very glad to puff a brewery provided it was well paid for its service. In mending one hole, otherwise than by voluntary reform, you often make two, and perhaps more. The effect of the Licensing Act in Ontario, if we are correctly informed, has been to throw the liquor trade, to a great extent, into the hands of keepers of low dens, which are said to abound in the outskirts of Toronto, and which are sure to be far worse in every respect than taverns kept by responsible publicans; while at the same time a patronage of the most unconstitutional and dangerous kind is entrusted to a party government. The English Bishop who, in his speech against Prohibition, said he would rather have the people free than sober, put his sentiment into an objectionable form; but if he had said that the political evils of sumptuary legislation were a heavy set off to any good that it could do, he would have had experience on his side. Inspection and the use of detectives are inevitable concomitants of the system; but in communities such as ours inspection and the use of detectives mean corruption. The dire necessity which renders almost any measures legitimate in fighting against such a hydra as the English Liquor Interest, cannot be said to exist here. Everyone who has known our country long and well attests the spontaneous progress of temperance. In Mr. James Young's History of Galt—an instalment of a history of Canada of the right sort, as it recounts the efforts of the people, not the quarrels of the politicians—we find these words:—"The opinion is frequently expressed by superficial observers, that Temperance has made little progress, and that drinking, with all the evils of its train, continues to be as rife as ever. There could hardly be a greater mistake. The locality whose history we are now narrating, may be regarded as a not unfair criterion of the whole Province, and the change in the

drinking usages of society in and around Galt, within the memory of the present generation, amounts almost to a revolution. The baneful effects of drunkenness are, alas! lamentable enough yet, but it is believed to be no exaggeration to say, that more liquor was consumed in Galt during a Fall or Spring Fair day thirty years ago than is sold in all the present hotels in a week. There is doubtless ample room for further improvement, but it is undoubted that habits of sobriety have greatly increased, and the social reformer has reason to thank God and take courage." Has not the social reformer also reason to rely on the moral forces which have already done so much, and which, if sufficient, are infinitely preferable in their effect on character to the policeman's club?

To induce the whole human race entirely to renounce the stimulants, which have so long formed a part of its mixed and artificial diet, is surely a very difficult undertaking. The introduction of light and wholesome, in place of heady and unwholesome beverages, is far more feasible. In the wine-growing countries, the people, as a rule, are temperate, in the rational sense of the term. Bad whiskey is the real fiend, and no mean exorcist would be native wine, if Canada could succeed in its production.

Whatever may have been Mr. Boultbee's design, his proposal of an absolute majority deserves attention. Only by the general voice ought restrictions to be placed on private liberty. Unless the evil and the danger are great enough to call out a full vote, there can be no case for sumptuary legislation, nor is the law when passed likely to receive the popular support indispensable to its execution. Our municipalities would be in far better plight if bonuses had been subjected to the same check.

—The death of Mr. George Brown was a tragical and deplorable catastrophe. Had it taken place a few months earlier it would have been a political event of greater importance; but the change in the leadership of the Opposition marked the decline

of his power. Mr. Gordon Brown gazettes himself as the new Managing Director of the *Globe*. He announces that his journal will remain Grit, and, in half-masked opposition to Mr. Blake, will advocate the construction of the Pacific Railway. Mr. Blake need not fear, if he will be firm and true; but there is evidently room for a Liberal journal. Mr. Gordon Brown promises his patronage to morality, temperance, and religion. With regard to temperance, the promise will perhaps require modification, if intemperance should offer a large price, in the shape of an advertising contract, for "a friendly notice." Religion, if it is the religion of which the cardinal doctrine is the charity that thinketh no evil, has been much beholden to Mr. Gordon Brown's championship in the past, and will, no doubt, be much beholden to it in the future. We are promised also less of gall and malignity under the new management. We shall see whether the Ethiopian can change his skin. So far the indications have not been favourable. It was when the late manager had ceased to act, and Mr. Gordon Brown must have been in sole charge, that the *Globe* made an attack of peculiar virulence on Sir Charles Tupper, who had been simple enough to hold out his hand in friendship; and from the very brink of the grave, in which Mr. Gordon Brown tells us his rancour has been buried, he denounced some writer or speaker at Montreal who had ventured to disagree with him as a "traitor" and a "dastard." It has probably never occurred to him that the latter term is applicable to a journalist who has been all his life taking advantage of his position to strike defenceless men. We perceive, too, that he persists in the somewhat dirty habit of raking in low English journals for personalities to be flung on those who have the honour to be the objects of his hatred in this country.

—We read in the Toronto *Mail*—"The Moncton (N. B.) *Times* says that Prof. Goldwin Smith's hobby of government without party has been realized in that Province, having been in ex-

istence there for twelve years. It regards the conditions of administration there as a standing demonstration of the impracticability of securing political perfection by the banishment of party. It points out that, in the absence of party ties, Governments have to secure supporters in exchange for patronage, by providing bridges and road improvements, by granting railway subsidies and other methods of bartering public money for political support. The result is a system of organized corruption and scandalous bargaining for votes in the House, very different from the ideal condition of things which, as inferred by Prof. Goldwin Smith, was the result of abolishing political parties. That there are numerous evils connected with partizan government nobody denies, but Reformers who attack this as well as other existing systems always lose sight of the obligation they are under to propose equally efficient substitutes. Iconoclasm is always easy, but to supply the vacancies left by destructive criticism acceptably is a much more serious business."

The remark is wise, and has often received the meed of Conservative approbation; but it is not applicable in the present instance. The writer in question has never failed, in advocating the abolition of party government where no real ground for party exists, to tender what he deemed an efficient substitute. He has always proposed that in the place of making the offices of Government the prize of a perpetual conflict between two senseless factions, the Executive should be regularly elected by the Legislature for a fixed term, and by such instalments as to secure at once its administrative continuity, and its harmony with the current opinion of its constituents and the country. When New Brunswick has tried this plan and found that it fails, she will have practically confuted Mr. Goldwin Smith, though he would perhaps have a right to ask that the experiment should be made with fresh men, not with politicians inured to the rogueries of the party system. So far, instead of confuting him, she has confirmed, in a signal manner, his assertion that the system, in addition to its other obvious evils, is utterly unstable, and must collapse as often as there ceases to be a question of sufficient importance to supply a rational basis for party divisions. We can, however, hardly

suppose that the political corruption in New Brunswick without party is worse than it is with party in Quebec, and even in the Dominion. We read the following in the Toronto *Globe*, a strong advocate of Party Government and enemy of "hobbies":—

"The painter [of the Senate Chamber] can be at no loss for subjects, but we beg to suggest a few, which might be treated in a manner to arouse the interest of future generations. '*Sir John executing the nimble double-shuffle*' would be a highly instructive picture. '*Sir Charles Tupper viewing the Spring Hill coal mine*'—a fine chance to depict the mingling of semi-satisfaction and a 'longing for more' on the great man's face, also an opportunity to bring in Nova Scotian scenery. '*Sir John after telegraphing for another ten thousand*'—the regret that he had not made it fifteen thousand might be delicately expressed in the Chieftain's countenance. '*Mr. Langevin concealing the treasure*'—a truly noble subject, face placid, trousers' pockets bulging out, as the honourable gentleman hides away the three thousand six hundred and twentieth ten dollar bill. '*These hands are clean*'—a picture showing many incredulous and amazed faces crowded together, while the virtuously-smiling Chieftain extends his digits at arm's length."

Have the New Brunswick politicians, since the lamented demise of Party, outdone this? Was not the Speaker of the House of Commons, at Ottawa, the other day, led in effect to confess that he had been forced by party exigencies to appoint a number of useless men so that he was ashamed to make a return of them when required by an order of the House? We would venture to ask our worthy contemporaries, both in Toronto and Moncton, to go a little deeper into the question, which may be one of life or death to free institutions. We presume they know the history of Faction.

—It has been said that nothing gives so much pleasure to the neighbourhood as a murder, unless it be a charge of immorality against a clergyman. The Handford case has ended in an acquittal, but cases of the same kind are likely, and indeed are

beginning, to abound. People are no longer satisfied with the simple message of the Gospel, simply delivered by a man whose claims to attention are his character and his spiritual experience: perhaps a good many of them have begun to feel doubts more or less serious about the authenticity of the message itself. They want a bewitching orator. But when they get a bewitching orator they will be very apt to get a flirt; and as soon as a symptom of flirting appears the scandal-hunters will be upon the track, some neglected devotee being, perhaps, the first to raise the hue and cry.

—The government of Quebec, which seemed at a stand, has greased its wheels with a loan from the French Mother Country of $4,000,000 and a promise of $2,000,000 more if required, as it is sure to be. Borrowing is fatally seductive; it not only gets a government out of difficulty for the moment but it makes it popular by enabling it to increase expenditure; and who cares for the government that is to follow? A triumph of the Ministry when the House meets may be expected as the result of what is really a downward step for the Province. The Quebec labour riots have signalized the fierce antagonism which exists between the French and Irish races, and which no common feeling of Canadian citizenship seems to have tempered in the slightest degree. The war is for the present at an end, but the mode in which it was terminated is itself of sinister import. The law, constituted authority, respect for order, civil duty, all were unavailing. But the combatants dropped their arms, when they were commanded to do so, under pain of excommunication, by a priest. Let justice be done to the character and influence of the priesthood of Quebec; perhaps that specimen of theocracy is about as good as any in the world. Still, society is in a bad way where civil order depends on the fear of bell, book, and candle: even among the multitudes that fear is diminishing daily. For the use of his talisman the priest demands his price, and the price

which he demands is the repression of intellectual progress. A good constabulary might cost less.

—A large meeting has been held at Montreal in favour of commercial union. It is said that the meeting was confined to the French, but, if it was, the feeling is not. Mr. Perrault, who was the chief speaker, has, at least, done the country the service of manfully asserting freedom of opinion. This is a question, to a great extent, between the interest of the politicians and that of the people: the interest of the people is at last finding spokesmen, and it is likely to find more if commercial matters in Quebec continue in their present train. To denounce Mr. Perrault and his friends as agitators, because they propose a change in our commercial policy, is absurd. Are not the advocates of an Imperial Zollverein proposing a change? Have they not sent an envoy to England to give effect to their plan; and do they expect those who differ from them to sit with folded hands while they bind the country to what a great many of us deem a wrong policy for ever?

—New Brunswick still mourns over the exodus of her sons who are leaving her cities, and even her fields, in alarming numbers, many of the best young men being among the departures. Officers of the Volunteer Militia, we are told, deplore the attenuated condition of their battalions. These exiles go not to Manitoba, but to the United States. To the United States they will continue to go till, by the adoption of a commercial policy framed in the interests not of the knights but of the people, the prosperity of the United States is extended to Canadian homes.

—Whether General Grant wins or loses at Chicago—and the question will be settled while our number is in press—he has succeeded in drawing a sharp line of distinction between his character and that of General Washington. It has been said

that the praises bestowed by European writers upon Washington, for not having usurped a crown, were undeserved, inasmuch as to usurp a crown was not in his power. It is true; but it is also true that Washington did deserve the praise of perfect moderation and disinterestedness: he left, by his conduct, no room for doubting that had a crown been within his grasp it would have been peremptorily and proudly declined. He was heartily content with having saved his country, and never did his pure glory wrong by coveting, much less by courting, any other reward. He not only did not seek the Presidency, directly or indirectly, but he would have shrunk from the thought of seeking it: we can no more imagine him manœuvring for a nomination, or consenting that others should manœuvre for him, than we can imagine him associated with Murphy or Belknap, and supported by Don Cameron on one hand and Logan on the other. Grant's conduct has been precisely the reverse. He belongs to a lower race of men—to an interregnum between the high-minded English gentleman of the Washington type, and the still more high-minded citizen, whom, when democracy has worked off the vices of its infancy, it is to be hoped the future will produce. We do not go with his extreme censors; we remember his good qualities as well as his services, and we do not in the least suspect him of any designs against the liberties of his country. But he has, at least, half cancelled his title to public gratitude. To tell us that he did not seek or desire the nomination, is to insult our credulity. Are we to believe that he has been identified against his will with all the intrigues and machinations of the last six months? Are we to believe that he was unconscious of the object with which the masters of the Machine exerted themselves to work up his popularity, and engineered ovations for him abroad and at home? Can we forget the ambiguous and equivocating answers which he gave to all questions as to his intentions, and on which present events throw a lurid light? It is said that, of late, he has modestly shrunk from appearing in the great centres. His managers were very wise in making

him keep away from the cities, where he cuts a sorry figure, and appear in rural districts, receiving ovations which could be chronicled in the newspapers as evidences of the attachment of the people. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the peril than the cunning with which the game has been played. We are told that there can be no danger in perpetuating the power of this soldier, and of the set of intriguers who surround him and look to him for their booty, because at each successive election the ballot will be in the hands of the American people, and they are perfectly competent to vote right. They are perfectly competent to vote right when they are allowed to vote at all. But this Third Term intrigue is a sample ef the manner in which the nomination, which is practically decisive, is taken out of the hands of the people and grasped by the proprietors of the Machine. Unorganized masses, without leaders, however sensible and patriotic the masses may be, have little chance against the malignant but skilfully directed energy of a compact gang of trained and unscrupulous politicians.

—It is now a dead pull between the good and the evil genius of the Republic. There is plenty of force on the right side, if it can only be brought to bear; and efforts to bring it to bear are being made. Honest, quiet citizens and men of refinement, who generally shrink from politics, are beginning to bestir themselves, as they did at the crisis of the civil war. Mr. George William Curtis, the Editor of *Harper's Magazine*, a man who unites practical energy and courage with high culture and purity of character, has raised the standard of resistance to the Machine in New York, and his following is so large that the Conkling Machine candidate for the Governorship would have lost his election if he had not been saved by a counter bolt from the Tilden Machine. The part which these men have to play is a hard one, and their usual abstention, though much to be deplored, is not inexcusable. To tell them to attend Primaries is a mockery; if they go, they find every-

thing pre-arranged by the wire-pullers, and are only laughed at for their pains. They are excluded from all the prizes of political life, for, of course, there is nothing a Machinist hates and dreads so much as integrity and independence. If they become at all prominent, they are pelted with filth by the organs which are in the service of the Machinists. They have not only to sacrifice their time and their energy, but to bear all sorts of annoyance, without any reward but the consciousness of doing their duty, while the fruit of their efforts is both precarious and remote. It is amusing to see how the Machinists on this side of the line sympathize with the Machinists on the other, and echo the charges of over-refinement and waywardness against those who do not wish to see their country delivered over to an organized domination of rogues.

It is not altogether true that history never repeats itself. The language of Plato about the vices and the coarseness of democracy at Athens very closely resembles that of men of refinement in the United States about American democracy at the present day, and shows that the Machine in the hands of Cleon and Hyperbolus, was a pretty exact prototype of the Machine in the hands of Cameron and Conkling. Plato is an abstentionist. He holds that it is the part of a wise man to stand aside under the shelter of the wall, and let the swirl of dust go by. But then he has his Utopia, and fancies he can persuade some enlightened autocrat to realize it for him. The sufficient reason for accepting democracy, and making the best we can of it, is, that there is nothing else to be done. It is manifestly the outcome of the ages, and our inevitable lot. A man of sentiment may pine for something more sentimental—for the age of Louis XIV., for the age of chivalry, or, if he can blindly surrender himself to historic fancy, for the age of the Cæsars; but he will pine in vain. Monarchy and aristocracy are visibly dying, even in Europe; monarchy has sunk to etiquette, aristocracy to mere title; and who can dream that it is possible to introduce them here? That democracy combines in it the promise of something grander than the grandeurs

of the past, is, perhaps, only a whisper of hope. But it is certain that the lot of the masses in democratic countries is better than it ever has been under monarchy or aristocracy, not only in respect of pumpkin pie, but in respect of intelligence and virtue. On refinement no doubt democracy at first bears hard. But refinement must remember what it owes to toil. Exclusion from seats in Congress is no great hardship. After all the world is governed by opinion, which every man of intellect and culture may help to form, more than by Congresses and Parliaments. The people are not devoid of sense, and when they see that a man has no selfish aims, and seeks no place or pelf at their hands, they will allow him as much influence as he deserves. If Plato was an abstentionist, his master was not. Socrates bravely performed all the duties of an active citizen. Let the fastidious man of culture, when he feels inclined to shirk public duty from the fear of contact with coarseness, or of the whiff of a slanderous newspaper, think how many American farmers left their homesteads in the civil war, to face death for the Union, though they had no more chance of profit or military distinction than he has of the gains and honours of public life.

In one respect Mr. George Curtis is not up to the mark. He is still in bondage to the idea of Party. He says that Party has won all the good things—the British Reform Act, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the victory in the struggle for the Union. These are not very happily chosen instances. The British Reform Act was won by a political uprising of the nation against an oligarchy which altogether transcended the ordinary action of Party. The Repeal of the Corn Laws was carried in defiance of party ties, by Peel, who was politically assassinated by the bravoes of Party for his pains. The victory in the struggle for the Union was won by a national effort, in which a large body of war Democrats stood shoulder to shoulder with Republicans. But granting that Party is, or has been in the past, necessary as the instrument of organic change, and that to the extent of that necessity it is moral,

does this prove that it can be made the regular basis of government, irrespective of any need for organic change, and that it will be moral when kept on foot merely for its own sake? If Mr. Curtis is of that mind, he may spare himself further trouble. As Party is, so in all ordinary times it will be: it will need wire-pullers, and it will have to hire them; it will fight for spoils and divide them; it will have Machines, and the Machinists will be intriguers. But it is hardly conceivable that the present organizations, at least in the United States, should long hold together. The Liberals bolt on one side, Tammany bolts on the other. The conflict between the Third-Term and the Anti-Third-Term sections of the Republican party in this election is fiercer, and waged for more vital objects, than that between the Republican Party, as a whole, and the Democratic Party. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive any difference more fundamental than between the advocates and the opponents of a Military Presidency for life. Attachment to names, and the habit of allegiance to a faction are strong, no doubt, but they can hardly stand such a strain as this. Perhaps the liberation of the Republic from Party may come from the least likely quarter—a Presidential convention

—In the States they are reading "A Fool's Errand," a satire on Reconstruction, in the form of a tale. A confiding Northern man settles in the South, in reliance on the effect of the Reconstruction Acts, which he fancies will make the South like the North. Instead of this he finds Southern society just what it was, struggles with it vainly, and at last succumbs. Reconstruction was a notable display of the sort of statesmanship which is formed in the management of Machines. Those wise men believed that, by giving votes to a slave race, fresh from the yoke, ignorant as beasts, and without a political idea, they could turn them into active, intelligent, and self-reliant citizens, able to cope with their masters in the arena of

public life. They had no notion of the peculiar social character which slavery had formed in the dominant race, or of the impassable gulf by which the two races were separated from each other. They had no notion that the dominant race would refuse to descend from its position and continue to struggle for ascendancy. They fancied that they could turn a Southern into a Northern State by a Constitutional Amendment. As might have been foreseen, the result has been the reduction of the Negro to complete political subjection by the dominant race, and his practical disfranchisement, while his nominal enfranchisement has increased by two-fifths the power of the Southern whites. It is a shallow optimism which pretends that there are not great calamities in history, and few have been greater than the introduction of the Negro into the New World. Time will show whether Southern society can ever get rid of the taint of slavery: primæval slavery is worked off like other habits of the savage state: but when a nation, in its maturity, has once been based on the system, regeneration is evidently hard. Christianity failed to regenerate the slave society of ancient Rome. In the Southern States the intermarriage of the races is impossible; without intermarriage there can be no social equality; and without social equality there can be no real political equality, make what laws you will. The idea that factions will spring up in the dominant race, and the weaker faction will have to court the Negro, is fallacious: the dominant race will be kept united by antagonism to the Negro, and to the party outside which is trying to enforce equality in his interest. Southern Society still repels Northern immigration, and retains its old and semi-barbarous character. A separation of the races, by a great Negro exodus, is the only hope of terminating their unhappy relations to each other. Manufactures are rising up in Georgia; this is about the most hopeful sign. Fortunately the South remains stationary, while the North grows so fast that the relative strength of the malign influence is always on the wane.

—It seems that Whittaker's case was one of self-inflicted injuries; a curious instance of the trickiness which is said to be characteristic of the mulatto. Nevertheless it is important, as showing the folly of trying to do violence to a rooted antipathy of race. The brand of slavery may be removed; but there is a physical repugnance which no cap of freedom can annul. It is very calamitous, but so it is: men of the Wendell Phillips school, sincere in their enthusiasm as they are, do not marry their children to Negroes. Attempts to override the repugnance will only aggravate it, and deprive the Negro of the chance which he might have of improving his condition by the use of his aptitudes, without presenting himself as the rival of the white. Everyone will rejoice at the acquittal of West Point, which is one of the soundest institutions in the States. Seldom, amidst all the peculations and malversations of the Civil War, did the breath of suspicion sully the character of a West Point man.

—The crowing of our Tariff men has awakened our neighbour, who is beginning to threaten us with stoppage of the transmission of our goods in bond, and other measures of retaliation. Happily, while he holds out the screw in one hand he holds out the olive branch in the other: for there is little doubt that he would treat for commercial union. But his threat against the bonding system shows us how much we are in his hands, and how vain it is to call Manitoba a part of Canada, fiscally, commercially, or in any other respect, while our only access to her is through the territory of what is supposed to be a hostile power. We are to create an Anti-American Empire—by kind permission of the Americans.

—With a party full of sectional divisions and rivalries, Mr. Gladstone has had a difficult job of Cabinet-making. The result is a Cabinet of Whigs and moderate Liberals, with a Radical representation. The Radicals are represented in the Cabinet.

by Mr. Chamberlain, and they have a large interest in Mr. Bright; while of the minor offices, which are the stepping-stones to power, two are held by Mr. Fawcett and Sir Charles Dilke. Mr. Mundella is also a thorough-going Liberal as well of great and deserved influence among the working class. The four new men whom we have named are the most notable accessions. The most notable omissions are Lord Cardwell, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Stansfeld. Lord Cardwell and Mr. Lowe probably feel the influence of the evening hour: their voices will still be heard in the councils of the party; and neither of them is likely to show any of the petty restlessness which transforms an ex-colleague into a candid friend. Mr. Goschen, taking a severely economical view of things, is stiff on the subject of the County Franchise; he is sent to Constantinople to regulate Ottoman finance, which it is to be hoped he will do without putting on the Turkish taxpayers the merciless screw which, unconsciously no doubt, he put on the Egyptian Fellâhas. A Cabinet will not, like a street car, hold an unlimited number; this probably is the only reason for the exclusion of Mr. Stansfeld, whose propensity for Female Suffrage was practically harmless, and did not interfere with his administrative powers. He will probably be taken up as soon as a passenger is set down. The non-appointment of Mr. Forster to the Colonial Secretaryship, which rumour assigned him, may possibly indicate that drab Jingoism is not more congenial to the Government than the scarlet variety: his appointment to the Irish Secretaryship indicates only that the office is one of hard work. Dismay has been spread among the followers of John Knox by the nomination of a Papist as Viceroy of India. Lord Ripon is unlike the other perverts to Rome. Most of them have been drawn by political or social sympathies to the Church of the Reaction; but Lord Ripon has kept his Liberalism unimpaired. If the appointment is made with any view of conciliating the Roman Catholic hierarchy, it will probably prove a failure, as all Liberal manœuvres of that kind have: the hierarchy knows very well that the interests of ecclesiastical and political reaction are one.

—The great representative of the decided Liberal element after all, is the Prime Minister, in whom everybody feels that there are possibilities of progress bounded only by the Psalmist's limitation of life, which itself is losing its validity in an age of septuagenarian statesmen, generals, and emperors. It is easy to understand why Mr. Gladstone is an object of almost frantic hatred to the Tory aristocracy, and of perfectly frantic hatred to their wives. He is not only a Radical and the most powerful of Radicals, but a renegade, and a renegade equipped in an armour of culture and social rank borrowed from the arsenals of those whom he has deserted. Mr. Bradlaugh is a son of Eblis, stamped with his father's likeness and doing his father's work: but Mr. Gladstone is an apostate child of light. Yet the people are right in thinking that not only was Mr. Gladstone's change of party perfectly sincere and honest, but that his course has been really one of consistent progress, though it has, no doubt, described a remarkable curve. He has never, like his rival, tried one market, and failing there, gone over and tried the other. He had the disadvantage, as it must be reckoned, if consistency is a statesman's chief merit, of coming forward as a public man and committing himself to pronounced opinions when he was very young. His public life may be almost said to have begun at Eton, where his precocity, both as an orator and a political student, made him the hero of the School debating society, named from the ginger beer shop, over which its meetings were held, "Pop." At Oxford, he was not only the leader of the University debating society, but had actually begun to be known in the great world as the orator and politician of the rising generation. He spoke then nearly as well, in point of form and command of language, as he does now; a great advantage for a *debutant* in Parliament, but one for which he paid the forfeit always paid by those who acquire facility by practising in debating societies—total loss of freshness of style. In force, copiousness, energy, and impressive earnestness as a debater, he is unrivalled, as well as in power of exposition, es-

pecially when he has a great measure in his charge; his hearers are carried away by the impetuous flood and swept onwards to the speaker's conclusions; but it is as difficult to read one of his speeches as it is to read one of his essays: they will not bear comparison with the more highly-wrought passages in the speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, much less with the Demosthenic simplicity and vigour of John Bright. In his early days he was unquestionably a Tory: he went into parliament as the nominee of that more than Tory Duke of Newcastle, who, when he was taken to task for coercing the voters on his estates, asked, with astonishment, whether he had not a right to do as he liked with his own. But Gladstone's Toryism was not so much political as ecclesiastical; it was the Toryism of Laud and Ken rather than that of Liverpool and Eldon. Religion was, as it still is, the basis of his character. The prime object of his affection was the Church of England, in his eyes the one true Church, which he deemed it incumbent on the nation as a Christian community to establish and to accept as the guide of its conscience in all its collective acts. His first work was "Church and State," which, as every one knows, was cut up in a trenchant review by Macaulay, who predicted that the writer would one day be the most unpopular man in England, a prophecy of which fate has made sport in a curious fashion. Like the Oxford Tractarians, under whose influence he was trained, he objected to Liberalism not so much because it took power out of the hands of the Crown and the aristocracy, as because it tended to the disestablishment of the Church, and to the destruction of the Christian character of the State. The Eldonian idea, which is that also of the Tory party of the present day, that the Church is to be upheld as a useful outwork of Conservative institutions, would have seemed to him the height of profanity. For territorial aristocracy he never, we believe, showed any special affection, nor was there anything in his early associations to give him that bias, his family having made its wealth by trade. The truth is, that deeply religious men, however Conservative in tem-

perament, are not likely to be political Tories of the ordinary kind. A defence of narrow class interests has nothing in it congenial to their sentiment of Christian brotherhood; they do not share the selfish fears of wealth or privilege; their affections do not much centre in secular institutions, nor do they look to them for that which they chiefly desire; they feel that in this matter the fashion of the world passes away, and that the only real stability is that of character. Mr. Gladstone commenced his Parliamentary career under Peel, a chief who, perhaps, better than any other Prime Minister of England, discharged one of a political leader's highest duties by selecting and training young men for public life, and bequeathed to England a splendid legacy of statesmen formed under his eye. In his choice of his lieutenants Peel was magnanimous and comprehensive; he did not look out for mere tools, nor where he knew that there was ability and industry was he repelled by the peculiarities of characters even most uncongenial to his own. To that thoroughly unsentimental and secular man of business Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical fancies could not fail to be repugnant, yet he never allowed them to ruffle or estrange him, and when Mr. Gladstone had quitted him on account of a conscientious objection to the Maynooth grant, which to him must have appeared fantastic and provoking, he welcomed him back again with undiminished kindness. He had seen in his young lieutenant the qualities which he most valued, patient industry, a thorough mastery of public business, and hearty devotion to the public service, besides the highest parliamentary power. At this moment Mr. Gladstone fixes attention as a party leader. He has borne down by sheer moral force the tactics of his opponent; but as a tactician he is far inferior to Lord Beaconsfield; he is indeed so wanting in strategy, and in the sort of knowledge required for it, that the politicians of Westminster have more than once been disposed to discard him as a total failure, though they have discovered their mistake when from the Clubs an appeal has been made to the people, who know little about tactics and are

impressed more by the greatness of the man. It is as a legislator, and especially perhaps as a commercial and financial legislator, that he will stand highest in parliamentary history: the mass of work that he has done in this way is enormous, and includes much, like the Post Office Savings Bank Act, for which no party motive can be assigned, and which aims simply at promoting the welfare of the people. He also shared with Peel the glory of the reformed tariff, and of the immense successes of English finance.

When Peel broke with the Tory aristocracy on the subject of the Corn Laws, he carried all his lieutenants except Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley) with him; and both on the economical question and on the question between the interest of a privileged class and that of the people, it may be safely assumed that Mr. Gladstone went heartily with his chief. The Peelites for a time occupied a middle position: after the death of Peel they gradually blended with the Liberals. The popular fibre which had always been really strong in Mr. Gladstone was called into activity by his new connection; and he gradually found himself borne beyond the Whig section of the Liberal party and drawn close to Bright and Cobden, to whom he was also allied by his love of economy and peace. In foreign policy his Liberalism and his love of righteousness are nothing new. If there are any who fancy that his sympathy with Greeks and Bulgarians is put on for a party purpose, let them remember how ardently, while still associated with Conservatives, he pleaded the cause of Italy and denounced the Bourbon tyranny at Naples. Inevitably he became an object of special odium to the Tories, and Lord Beaconsfield found that he could call him a "Jack Cade" without outrunning Tory sentiment. His "flesh and blood" argument in favour of the extension of the suffrage to the working class called forth a peal of execration, in which the shrill voice of the great Tory ladies was distinctly heard, as well as the deeper one of their lords. It was constantly said and perhaps believed in high circles that he was insane: and for several successive seasons London was asked to be-

lieve a very circumstantial story of his having bought the whole contents of a toy-shop and ordered them to be sent to his house. A preternatural activity, sustained by extraordinary nervous energy, which knows no repose, and when it is not framing Acts of Parliament or Budgets, is constructing theories of the Homeric Poems or mingling in theological discussion, lends a sort of a colour to a calumny otherwise ridiculous. There is weakness, no doubt, in the literary side of Mr. Gladstone's character. His facility misleads him. His powers are wasted on abstruse subjects which he has not had leisure to master. Yet it is pleasant to see a statesman not entirely absorbed in the game of political ambition, nor making its prizes his only aim, but anxious to do his part in promoting the broad interests of humanity and the search for vital truth. In religious convictions, so far as doctrine is concerned, Mr. Gladstone has remained true to his first love; and his close association with High Churchmen and disposition to give them more than their share of everything, was a weak point in his position as Minister. But he has left far behind him the old theories about the relation of the Church to the State: at heart, probably he is a Free Churchman: he has carried Disestablishment in Ireland, and now receives the enthusiastic support of all the English Nonconformists, who expect him to proceed in the same course. Besides, the general peril of religion in a sceptical age has drawn him nearer to all religious men and all religious men nearer to him. In the struggle with Jingoism, the friend of Newman and Pusey has found his best backing in Presbyterian Scotland.

A stronger contrast there could not be than that between Mr. Gladstone and his rival. It has been said ten thousand times, nevertheless it is true, that the career of Lord Beaconsfield has been a fulfilment of "Vivian Grey;" and "Vivian Grey" is a reverie of successful intrigue, precociously clever, and prematurely cynical. A legislator Lord Beaconsfield has never sought to be: in more than forty years he has not placed upon the Statute book a single measure of first-rate import

ance, saving the Suffrage Bill of 1867, which itself was merely the embodiment of an intrigue. Much he has talked, in his Tory-Chartist strain, of improving the lot of the poor and of *sanitas sanitatum*, but very little has he done. The solicitor in whose office he learned law said of him afterwards, with unconscious piquancy, that he had not been good at hard work, but first-rate at drawing prospectuses. He has since drawn prospectuses to some purpose. His singular genius as a tactician has never been wanting to his fortune, while on the other hand fortune has been kind to him. Six special pieces of good luck have befallen him—the quarrel between Peel and the Protectionists; the appearance upon the scene and then the death of Lord George Bentinck; the death of Peel; the accession of Lord Derby to the Conservative leadership; and the Jingo movement, which had its origin in social circumstances wholly out of his control. All his early combinations and programmes, Tory-Chartism which he tried with Mr. Walter, the proprietor of *The Times*, and Young Englandism which he tried with a little circle of sentimental slips of nobility, came to nothing; and under the Peel *régime*, not being good at hard work, he was in danger of being stranded. Then came the split in the party about the Corn Laws, and he found among the infuriated landowners a market for vitriol such as does not present itself once in a century. That he had flattered Peel with more than Oriental fulsomeness, sought place under him, and poured ridicule upon the Corn Laws in Popanilla, was of no consequence to the tactician. Still his motives were so much on the surface, and his character was so well known, that he would hardly have succeeded in permanently splitting the party, had he not found an instrument in Lord George Bentinck, a fanatical Protectionist with a violent temper, easily played upon, a brother of the Duke of Portland, and a man who exercised great influence over the squires. By copiously flattering Lord George, and adding fuel to his rage, Mr. Disraeli made him his own, and through him brought about a permanent split, which took off not only Peel but all the leading men of the party except Lord Derby, and

left the leadership of the remnant open to the aspirations of "Vivian Grey." But with Agricultural Protection tied round its neck, the new party could not have floated, and to rid it of that incumbrance was impossible while Lord George Bentinck lived. Just at the nick of time Lord George Bentinck suddenly died, and no sooner was he out of the way, than Mr. Disraeli, now promoted to the first place, made haste to get rid of Protection. The equally sudden death of Peel removed another obstacle equally fatal; for while Peel lived, though he had lost his Tory following, he remained at the head of the nation, which would unquestionably have called him back to power and put all factions under his feet. Mr. Disraeli would have been unable to prevent that consummation, which would have reduced him again to comparative insignificance. Carlyle has expressed the general feeling with perfect fidelity, though with characteristic ruggedness, in one of his Latter Day Pamphlets, in which he calls upon Peel to undertake the Reform of Downing Street, and pours utter contempt on the possible opposition of Mr. Disraeli. The hearts of the young men of that day especially were on the side of the great statesman who, in trying to rise above party and to govern for the good of the whole nation, had been stabbed by the poniard of faction or of something viler still. A plunging horse cleared Mr. Disraeli's path of Peel, as an apopletic fit cleared it of Lord George Bentinck. Still he could not have led the Conservative party without Lord Derby to act the part of the Marquis of Carabas in "Vivian Grey." Lord Derby was formed by destiny for that part. He was a brilliant, proud, ambitious, but at the same time indolent aristocrat, very jealous of Sir Robert Peel, whom he despised as a cotton spinner, and exceedingly open to those arts of which Mr. Disraeli was the supreme master. The spirit of gambling, which he had imbibed on the Turf, made him an extremely useful instrument of an adventurous policy; no Conservative leader except him could have been persuaded to take such "a leap in the dark," to use his own phrase, as Household Suffrage, or have been perfectly consoled for the peril

into which he had brought his party and the country by the thought that he had "dished the Whigs." The victory of 1867 was gained by a junction with a section of the opposite party, Mr. Disraeli's favourite stroke of strategy. An appeal to the constituencies as reorganized by himself, however, left him in a minority of a hundred. But fortune was again kind: from the effect produced on the character of the nation by a decade of extraordinary prosperity, came at once a plutocratic reaction and Jingoism; and Mr. Disraeli, who has always studied with a sagacious eye what he calls the "spirit of the age," was lifted higher than ever by the friendly tide and borne back to supreme power for six years, when his career was closed by the reviving sense and morality of the nation. He has more than realized his youthful visions; he has enjoyed to the full all that his heart desired; he has been the Prime Minister and the favourite of the Court; he has made the Queen an Empress; he has been the most prominent figure in a Congress of Great Powers; he has dazzled not only England, but Europe; he has had a dozen dukes at his table at once, and has himself created dukes. We put the last as the climax, because it is believed to be the climax in his own mind. Of his legislation and his policy, not a vestige will remain. Jingoism is defunct; personal government has wilted in an instant; Tory Democracy has gone to the grave of Bolingbroke, leaving upon the Conservatives the stain of a futile conspiracy to swamp the intelligence and worth of the nation by an alliance with ignorance and beer. The Conservative party, had it not lent itself to the object of Mr. Disraeli's ambition by throwing over Peel, who had combined organic Conservatism with administrative progress, might have retained power under Peel himself and a succession of leaders trained by him from that hour to this, instead of being out of power for about four-fifths of the time. It is now more prostrate than it has been since the Reform Bill of 1832. The Crown, instead of being exalted, has been humbled, and owes its humiliation most distinctly to Lord Beaconsfield. It can hardly be doubted that under his inspiration the attempt was made to frustrate the decree of

the nation by keeping Mr. Gladstone out of power. To send for Lord Granville, the recognised leader of the Opposition, was the obvious course, and the one which the Sovereign, left to herself, would have pursued. But to send for Lord Granville, was to send for Mr. Gladstone: the two men are political brethren in arms; and as Lord Granville would have retained the leadership of the House of Lords, and had not acted much as the leader of the party, he would not have been called on to make a great sacrifice. But between Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone there was no strong bond; and Lord Hartington would be called on to give up his leadership of the House of Commons and step down to a lower place. Therefore, it was hoped that a succesful appeal might be made to Lord Hartington's ambition, and that he might be induced to serve the purpose of those who wished to exclude Mr. Gladstone. Lord Hartington's good sense and generosity foiled the intrigue, and proved, not for the first time, that the most consummate tacticians are apt to outwit themselves by forming too low an estimate of the character and motives of other men.

We were wrong in saying that Lord Beaconsfield's career would leave no trace. It will leave a trace, for some time at least, in the altered tone of English public life. Nobody can doubt that, in point of veracity and what is generally called honour, there is a difference between the English character and the Oriental. Hitherto the word of an English statesman has been above impeachment; but under the administration of Lord Beaconsfield there have been constant complaints, not only from English opponents of the Government, but from foreigners and neutrals, of prevarication and deception. The rejection of the moderate Reform Bill of Lord Russell, in 1866, and the substitution for it of Household Suffrage, in 1867, were accomplished by a process of what Lord Salisbury called "legerdemain," involving the practice of duplicity on the largest scale. In this line Lord Beaconsfield has had the sinister advantage of originality: he has operated in an assembly where legerdemain was easy, because before him it had been unknown. It is a sin-

gular proof of his power of influencing other men, that suspicion has of late extended to the statements of the proud Lord Salisbury and the respectable Sir Stafford Northcote. The wreck of Lord Salisbury's high character is one of his trophies, and if he desired to take vengeance on his haughty censor he has fully achieved his aim, while the world is once more taught that no rank, no wealth, will keep a man above the influence of temptation in public life and that his only real safeguard is one which dwells in his own breast.

Among the small consequences of a great catastrophe is the ejection of Mr. Frederick Greenwood from the editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which he has been making the organ of an almost delirious Jingoism, and in which he propounded his glorious scheme for seizing all the waterways of the world. The most notable part of the fracas is that this gentleman, who not only is reputed to be an Agnostic, but in his editorial columns has promulgated Agnosticism in the most trenchant style, and to whom the religious part of Mr. Gladstone's character was an object of peculiar hatred, nevertheless insisted that the journal should continue to support the State Church. This is startling, but far from unique. There are now in England many Tory-Atheists who avowedly uphold the State Church at once as a political bulwark and as an antidote to religious enthusiasm. France has always been familiar with the compound of the Legitimist and the Voltairean : a specimen of it occupied the throne in the person of Louis XVIII. But in England this interesting variety of opinion has hardly been seen since Hume and Gibbon, and in its present development may be said to be the offspring of the present day.

—The new Government has met with some reverses at starting, but variable as English opinion has undoubtedly become, it is absurd to suppose that it can have changed in a month, and before the Ministers had even met Parliament. The Home Rulers have gone round, and probably they alone. Mr. Gladstone's apology to Austria, published without the rest of the

correspondence, may have done some mischief; but small boroughs are swayed by small influences, often of a purely personal kind. The defeat of Sir William Harcourt at Oxford by a majority as narrow as that by which he was elected is probably a last desperate effort of beer. Mr. Hall, the Tory candidate, is a brewer. Beer has done its worst against the liberties of England: it has lost the game, and now, notwithstanding this last kick, it will pay the forfeit. Supposing the zeal of any of Sir William Harcourt's supporters to have been damped by his notorious hostility to Mr. Gladstone's Premiership, this would be anything but an evidence of reaction. Trustworthy correspondents tell us that the prostration of the Tory party is even greater than the election returns show. Loss of rents, from the fall in the price of grain and distress among the farmers, has come with political defeat. The incipient defection of the tenant farmers, in some districts, is an ascertained fact, and it is likely to spread. The power of the territorial aristocracy will hardly be again what it has been.

Whatever disasters may have befallen the new Ministry, a far greater has befallen the old, in the sudden revelation, since the election, of a hideous deficit in Indian finance, which, before the election, had been declared to be most flourishing. Considering that the Indian administration is the most highly trained and the most renowned in the world, a blunder of four millions is astounding. The political life of Lord Lytton and his advisers was bound up with that of the English Cabinet, and suspicion could not fail to attach to their double budget. People are reminded of the Abyssinian war, the cost of which, before the departure of the Tories from office, was estimated at two millions, but after their departure was found to have exceeded nine. Mr. Fawcett has got into a scrape by making a charge, his authority for which he could not produce. But it is surely not incredible that an unofficial whisper of the coming disclosure should have reached the late Government before the official communication.

—In many words the Queen's Speech tells us that it is too late to do anything this Session. Finance, which is left in a bad condition, will demand the immediate care of the Premier, who has taken the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for that purpose. But the chief task for the present will be the rectification of the foreign policy. The course of the ship cannot be reversed at once; yet if Mr. Gladstone's spirit prevails in his Cabinet, a change and a profound change will gradually be made. Balm has been applied to the wounded feelings of Austria, which, in her weakness, she will gladly accept; but the word to her, though more softly uttered, will still be "Hands Off." She will not be allowed to go on with the work to which Toryism set her, of battening down the hatches upon the struggling nationalities of the Balkans. The route to India will not be left unguarded, but the warders, in place of Ottoman decrepitude, will be young nations, the grateful clients of England. England will not be effaced, nor will her interest be abandoned, though in her councils the policy of Canning may prevail over that of Lord Beaconsfield. Russophobia, in its blindness, played into the hands of Russia by splitting Bulgaria into two, and thereby making her dependent on Russian patronage. This error will probably be repaired, and the borders of Greece will certainly be enlarged. We may also look forward to the restoration in Central Asia of the neutral zone, which all the wisest and most renowned of Anglo-Indian statesmen have deemed the best protection of the Empire. To retire from Afghanistan with honour, and without leaving anarchy behind, is difficult; but the utterances of the new Ministers assure us that the honour of England will soon cease to be sullied by the wholesale butchery of a gallant race, which is defending its native land, and which is the equal of its invaders in courage, though rendered helpless by the inferiority of its arms. But whatever may be its course in details, the new policy, if it is worthy of Liberal traditions, will be one of plain dealing, generosity, and respect for human right. Christendom will no longer be told by the envoys of England that it matters not

how many Bulgarians are massacred provided British interests are served.

In one respect events have relieved the new Ministry of embarrassment. The Ottoman Empire is a weltering chaos. There can be no further question about any obligation to maintain its "independence and integrity" into which the Tories may have entered. An empire of brute force and sensuality has reached its inevitable end. It was like a mere tactician to think that diplomacy could supply the place of moral and political life. Had Lord Beaconsfield chosen honestly to back his ambassador, and to be true to his confederates at the Conference of Constantinople, Turkey would have conceded the reforms demanded, and her existence might have been prolonged. She and humanity generally have paid pretty heavily for his lordship's ambitious desire to figure more gloriously on the diplomatic scene. It is safe to predict that, within ten years, the cross will have replaced the crescent on St. Sophia. What to do with Constantinople is supposed to be the great difficulty: but her importance is rather historical than actual. Once she was the centre of the Roman Empire and the link between its eastern and western portions: now she is at most only the key of the Black Sea, and the Black Sea is already a Russian lake. If she were made a free city with a district, under the guaranty of the Powers, the world, so far as she is concerned, might be at peace.

—Religious doubt spares no rank. His Grace of Queensbury losing his place among the representative Peers of Scotland for his renunciation of Christianity is a social set-off to Mr. Bradlaugh, who demurs to taking the oath for his seat in the House of Commons because he does not believe in God. Much scorn is poured on Mr. Bradlaugh for taking the oath after all. His wavering has most certainly been undignified. But, in even demurring to a test on conscientious grounds, he has shown more moral sensitiveness than many who have sat in the House before him. The Parliamentary members

of the Hell Fire Club not only took tests, but, we may be sure, revelled in the blasphemy. At this moment, the Duke of Somerset, who has evidently ceased to believe in Christianity, sits comfortably in a House confined by law to Christians. It is to be hoped that this revolting affair will, in its sequel, rid religion of the last test. "My kingdom is not of this world." Let any one consider how different the course of history would have been if that plain precept had been observed. No tests, no State churches, no Papacy, no persecutions, no Inquisition, no religious wars. Yet all these are now laid at the door of Christianity. Let the Gospel have a fair trial: it has hardly had one yet.

—In the Fortune Bay affair the Liberals have inherited an unpleasant legacy. Lord Salisbury is an imperious and impetuous man, apt to take up advanced positions and then retire. The moment he became Foreign Minister he fulminated a strong despatch against Russia in slashing newspaper style; then he came down and made a secret compromise with Count Schouvaloff. He was a strong sympathizer with the South and hates the Yankees, so that he is likely to have been haughty, while the Americans have rushed to extreme measures on their side. Arbitration will probably settle the present controversy. To the general question of the Fisheries there can be but one end —free fishing for the Americans with countervailing advantages for Canada; but we may expect a long series of quarrels before this end is reached.

—Let Mr. Ewens, or anybody else, say what he will, nobody need fancy that England is going back to Protection, or that an Imperial Zollverein will find acceptance. England is a country with a manufacturing population, out of all proportion to her agricultural area, and dependent on imported food. In their present situation, threatened by rivals on all sides, these people cannot afford to have a cent added to the price of their bread. On the other hand, the farmers, in their present plight,

would not hear of having clothes, and tools, and machines made dearer for the benefit of the manufacturers. In political force the two interests are nearly balanced, and the jealousy between them is strong. Though the late Government represented the old Protectionist party, it did not venture to do anything in that direction openly, though it did a little covertly, under pretence of taking precautions against the cattle plague. The long heads know perfectly well that if English commerce is declining, the cause is not the tariff, which is as well adjusted as possible to the special industries of the country, but the inevitable course of commercial events. After the Napoleonic wars England was left the only country in Europe with manufactures and a mercantile marine. From that pinnacle she is descending and must descend. She has passed her zenith, though she has accumulated wealth enough to keep her rich for many years to come.

—Looking to our Sister Colonies we see that the collision between the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislature has extended from Victoria to South Australia and Tasmania. In Tasmania a strong desire has been expressed for the abolition of the Upper House. In all these cases the Upper House is elective, and where it is elective it is sure to fall foul of the Lower House; where it is nominative, as with us, it becomes an expensive nullity with a latent capacity for mischief. South Africa is still pressed to adopt Confederation. The fruits of Confederation without the national self-government, which is its proper coping-stone, will probably be there, as here, a vast development of faction, demagogism, corruption, and public debt, without any counterbalancing advantage. Additional evils are likely to result from the medley of races by which the different provinces are peopled, and the great preponderance in some of them of the native element. Cape Town, the principal settlement, may be expected to remain the head-quarters of political parties which will bid against each

other for the support of the lesser provinces, and a glorious auction of bribery there will be. The ablest of the local statesmen are opposed to the measure, and have so far managed to keep Downing Street at bay.

—All is still quiet in France, and it does not appear that resistance will be made to the execution of the law against the Jesuits, on which the Government seems resolved. Prince Napoleon, the Pretender to the Empire, by declaring in favour of the law and the Government, shows that to him the strength of public opinion appears to be on that side. In determining the rights of the question it is to be remembered, first, that the Church is not a Free Church, but in the pay of the State; and secondly, that she is a standing conspiracy against the Republic. That the Republicans, masters of the State, should be content to leave the fangs in the cobra was hardly to be expected. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the champions of liberty in France are always in some danger of playing the tyrant. Frenchmen have made great progress in constitutional ideas and habits; witness the orderly and thoroughly moral triumph of the people over the DeBroglie conspiracy. But they have not yet completely learned respect for freedom of opinion. Through long ages the nation was under the training of royal and priestly persecutors who treated conscientious dissent as a crime and extirpated it with the sword. From that school came forth the Jacobins, who, in their Reign of Terror applied the lessons of sanguinary persecution to the teachers, and enforced universal assent to their creed in turn with the guillotine and the bayonet. Each successive party in France, as it became dominant, has endeavoured in like manner to enforce unity of opinion. Slowly, very slowly, the better policy gains ground. In the political spheres, though the literal decapitation of heretics has ceased, official decapitation still prevails, and the dismissal of all suspected office-holders, down to the lowest, is clamorously demanded by the Extreme Left. The

Jesuits are not French citizens: they are the intrusive emissaries of an alien power, fiercely and avowedly hostile to the principles on which the Republic rests; and if they set up their schools in France, instead of setting them up in Spain or Calabria, where popular education is much more needed, their object is not the instruction but the political perversion of the young. These the French Republic may, without infringing liberty of opinion, send about their business, as the Swiss Republic did before it. But it would be the greatest of blunders, as well as of crimes, to commit the Republic to a violent crusade against the religion of the French people. Education, science, and the influence of free institutions are gradually doing their work; a strong reaction in favour of the priesthood, such as took place after the reign of the Jacobins, would be the only result of an attempt to hasten the day of intellectual emancipation by the use of political power.

—A thunderbolt was launched the other day from the Vatican against Divorce. This had special reference to France, where that question is burning, the leading champions of the change being Naquet and Dumas the younger. It seems that France is the only country in which a power of divorce does not, in one form or other, exist. It is there, moreover, that the battle between the Old Creed and the New—the Dogmatic and the Positive; the Mediæval and the Modern—is the fiercest, and the hostile opinions are most sharply defined. Like the two sides of a ravine, with an abyss between them, the party of St. Louis and the party of Voltaire confront each other. The political conflict though tremendous, may be said to be little more than the symbol of that which rages over the fundamental questions of morality, social relations, domestic life. On this, as on other occasions, the Papacy wishes to present itself as the guardian of moral law, threatened by the licentious tendencies of an unbelieving generation. Its own position is not so impregnable as it supposes. In this, among other matters, real laxity and flexi-

bility have gone with apparent strictness and unchangeableness. The 'Memoirs of Madame de Remusat' have brought again prominently under our notice the divorce of Napoleon. Was a greater blow ever given to the sanctity of marriage than that divorce? Was morality ever more openly prostrated before policy and power? Never, except perhaps when the Pope in person went to Paris to crown Napoleon, immediately after the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. The divorce was not the work of the Pope himself, but it was the work of the Church. There was an ecclesiastical pretext, of course; but nobody, looking to the history of the divorce, can doubt that it was a pretext and nothing more, so that falsehood and hypocrisy were added to the breach of the Moral Law. The courage with which in the Middle Ages Popes upheld morality, and especially the sanctity of marriage, against kings, has been the theme of praise not only with the panegyrists of the Papacy, but with philosophic historians. There is unquestionably ground for the belief that the ecclesiastical power was useful during these centuries as a check upon the secular, though it was, after all, a conflict of tyrannies, not a reign of right. But the time never was when the Papacy could not be kind to the vices of its faithful liegemen, and compromise for the purposes of its policy. Charlemagne, the great patron and benefactor of the Papacy, was canonized, or at least beatified, and thus held forth as the highest example to all Christian rulers. "But," says a historian, "the religious Emperor in one respect troubled not himself with the restraints of religion. The humble or grateful Church beheld meekly, and almost without remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life, which not merely indulged in free license, but treated the sacred right of marriage as a covenant dissoluble at his pleasure." Charles put away his first wife to marry a Lombard princess; and, after a year, he put away that princess to marry Hildegard, a Swabian lady, In his later days he was living with four concubines. The marriage with the Lombard princess was, indeed, opposed by the Pope; not, however, on the ground of morality, but because the Lombards were the enemies of the Papacy.

This, not the breach of the marriage tie, was the reason why "the devil alone could have suggested that the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the most fœtid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land." In vigour of vituperation, at all events, the Vatican has preserved its ascendancy and its consistency. A Pope, by the terrors of the Church, compelled Philip Augustus of France, to put away Agnes of Meran, and take back his lawful wife, Ingelburga of Denmarck; and this is cited by Roman Catholic writers as a palmary instance of the beneficent use of the Papal power. But that same Pope allowed King John, of England, upon his accession to the Crown, to put away on a transparently false pretext his lawful wife Hawisa, and marry Isabel of Angoulême, though she was betrothed, if not married, to the Count of La Marche. What was the difference between the two cases? It was that, in the field of European politics, Philip Augustus was opposed to the Pope, while John was on his side. A great license of divorce was practically introduced among the European aristocracy before the close of the Middle Ages, under the colour of nullifying marriages on the ground of consanguinity. So numerous were the prohibited degrees, so close was the connection between the aristocratic families in each country, that casuistry could seldom fail to find a pretext of this kind. Henry VIII. would, no doubt, have obtained his divorce, or to speak strictly, the nullification of his marriage with his brother's widow, and liberty to marry again, if his influence at Rome had not been more than counterbalanced by that of the Emperor Charles V. The veil of hypocritical casuistry under which license was thus accorded to wealth and power is too thin to deceive any but an Ultramontane eye; every one can see that, in each case, had there been a sincere scruple on the ground of consangunity, the proper course, in the interest of morality, would have been to grant a dispensation and require the parties to be married again. Louis XIV, if he did not, like Charlemange, practise polygamy, did practise con-

cubinage of the most open and scandalous kind, and thus, almost equally with Charlemagne, trample under foot the sanctity of marriage. But he was devoted, like Charlemagne, to the Church, and rose from the bed of licentiousness to persecute Protestant heretics in her interest. Therefore he remained her favourite, and no effectual protest against his vicious habits ever was uttered by her Head or by any of her ministers. Assuredly the countries in which the Church of Rome has been most completely dominant—France, under the old regime, Italy, Spain, the Spanish Colonies in South America—have not been those in which fidelity to the marriage tie or continence has most prevailed. The same induction seems to be fatal to the claims of the Confessional as an instrument for securing moral purity. In Quebec the morality of the Roman Catholics stands high: but the credit may be due as much to the absence of wealth and luxury among that simple peasantry as to the moral machinery of the Church, or even to the virtues, which are undeniable, of the local priesthood.

On the whole, then, it is better that the sanctity of marriage should repose on the moral reason of mankind and the interest of society as ascertained by experience than on ecclesiastical authority. Its basis, though less dogmatic, will not be the less religious, if behind moral reason, and the interest of society there is the fiat of the Creator. In fact the interposition of ecclesiastical authority is likely to inflame rather than to repress license, since it presents the Moral Law as a legitimate object of attack, by identifying it with absurd or noxious superstitions. Marriage, according to the Church of Rome, rests on no better ground than the fantastic, or worse than fantastic, table of prohibited degrees; and to say this is to pronounce the doom of the institution. In truth with regard to this question, so vital to civilization and humanity, as with regard to many other points of the Moral Law, we are actually threatened with violent revolution as a consequence of the natural reaction against the irrational tyranny of the Church. No one can fail to see that the pamphlet of M. Dumas, for in-

stance, is, in its substance, as well as in its form, polemic, not social philosophy, and the writer is hurried into one extreme by antagonism to a clerical opponent who maintains the other. Regarded calmly, the question is one the difficulty of which almost equals its importance. On the one hand it certainly seems not only cruel, but injurious to the character of marriage, to hold two persons in unwilling union. On the other hand it seems certain that indissolubility contributes to the happiness of marriage as well as to its dignity, since it obliges the partners to accommodate themselves to each other and to seek a remedy for unpleasant friction by smoothing away the points of collision, not in a rupture. Many a union which in the end has proved full of happiness, both to the partners and their offspring, would have been hastily dissolved by some storm of passion if the feeling of the hour could have had its way. The cases generally brought forward to move us in favour of a change, are those of women bound to bad husbands: they are often heartrending, and incline us to legislative action of the most drastic kind; yet it can hardly be denied that on the whole the indissoluble character of marriage is an immense protection to the woman againt the wandering passions of the man. It is to be remembered that the same measure of liberty must be given to both sides, though this is frequently left out of sight by those who advocate freedom of divorce in the interest of the woman. M. Dumas labours hard to prove that the consequences of divorce to the children would not be so bad as we suppose: he may convince us that this consideration has been exaggerated, but he cannot convince us that it is not very serious. A young child would probably not suffer much in its feelings by the divorce of its parents: it suffers in its feelings, as M. Dumas remarks, only in a transient way by their death: but it can hardly fail to suffer greatly in its bringing up as well as from the want of a guide and protector on its going forth into the world. We do not forget that besides the law, there is opinion, which, if it remained sound, would restrain the exercise of legal liberty; yet among the less cultivated and

sensitive of mankind, opinion, unless it be sustained by law, though it may control taste, has not much force against passion. We have seen, at Utah, a whole community plunge into polygamy, and adapt its public sentiment to that monstrous institution, as soon as it got beyond the pale where monogamy was enforced. It will not do, in deciding this question, to be too much led by exceptional instances, affecting as they may be. After all, the great majority of marriages turn out well: if they do not attain the ideal of matrimony, they make the pair much happier than either would have been alone.

Each country in its turn will have to settle the question, as it will all other social questions, on the simple grounds of reason and the public good, irrespective alike of clerical authority and of anti-clerical declamation. As was said before, our views may cease to be ecclesiastical and yet they may remain religious, if the well-being of man, and the means by which it is attained, really emanate from God. The observation applies to a secondary question which seems in Canada, as elsewhere, to raise a storm out of proportion to its importance, that of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. Those who adhere to the ancient faith may in their private consciences consider the Levitical law still binding and govern their own actions accordingly: but it is vain to think that public institutions can long rest securely on this basis. For the mass of mankind they must be placed upon a more rational foundation than that of a document, which, however venerable, plainly belongs to the Tribal state and to the East. The dangerous weakness of the ecclesiastical argument is revealed when an Anglican bishop appeals to the testimony of the Church of Rome, and another clerical opponent of the change contends that if we cease to be bound by the special precepts of Leviticus we must plunge into unlimited incest. If the testimony of the Church of Rome is good for anything it proves the validity of the Roman table of prohibited degrees, which has been no doubt disregarded in numberless instances by the Protestants of the Bishop's diocese. If nothing but Leviticus stands between us and un-

limited incest, morality is in a bad way, as all who know anything about the history of the book must be aware: but marriages really incestuous are forbidden by considerations both physical and domestic, wholly independent of any Mosaic or ecclesiastical restriction. Is it better on the whole for society that marriage with a deceased wife's sister should be permitted or that it should be forbidden? That question will have to be answered after striking the balance between the practical arguments which, as no impartial judge can doubt, may be alleged upon both sides, by the voice of reason: and the voice of reason, rightly heard, is the voice of its Author.

—The coincidence between the fate of Jingoism in England and the crisis in Bismarck's fortunes, marked by his tender of resignation, may have been not purely accidental. Bismarck's militarism and his dark diplomacy have, perhaps, nearly had their day: they were useful in bringing about German union, throwing off the Austrian incubus, and foiling the jealousy of France. He apparently wants to force on consolidation faster than provincial feeling, strengthened by ages of political separation, will permit; he is now bullying Hamburg, and is in danger of awakening general jealousy by so doing. Probably his irritability and the arbitrariness of his temper are increased by a disorder caused by prodigious eating and drinking, combined with overwork. He has been a tremendous battering ram, but there is a limit to the functions of battering rams in a moral civilization.

It is again rumoured that he has his eye on Holland; but this is not likely: he has always abjured the incorporation of alien elements: he bluntly told the Alsatians that he wanted not them, but their country; and he could not lay his hand on Holland without firing the mine. Denmark is the more likely mark of his designs of aggrandizement, if he has any. Denmark is the natural seaboard of Germany, and it languishes itself, commercially, from being cut off from its continent. Its

isolation is also a source of great military danger: it is always inviting intervention or invasion, and in the last war it kept a German army employed in watching it. Its incorporation into the Bund must come.

—In Italy the appeal of the King and the Moderate Liberal Government to the country against the parliamentary anarchy by which the Government had been overthrown, appears to have resulted in the return of a multiplicity of discordant sections, by which the anarchy will probably be renewed. "Party discipline," remarks the New York *Nation*, "is still too weak in the Italian Parliament, and will continue to be until the voters punish members who desert their party, without some reasonable and openly definable excuse." Why, is not our excellent contemporary itself protesting against such enforcement of party discipline in its own country, and backing up the Scratchers who are trying to break the Conkling-Cameron Machine? The *Nation* itself says that the Italian Parliament has an incurable disease, to which it gives the name of "groups." No doubt the disease is incurable, for the obvious reason that where men use their brains about political questions, there will be not only two, but many different shades of opinion. You cannot make all the men on one side of a Legislative Hall think exactly alike, though by the method suggested by the *Nation* you may dragoon them all into voting alike, at the same time, eliminating, as you certainly will, independence and integrity from public life. The fundamental postulate of the Party System—that men are by nature permanently divided into two parties—is utterly false, and the political edifices built upon it are everywhere coming to the ground.

—Political Satire has appeared among us, in a dramatic form, though in the humble guise of an Imitation. It was in a dramatic form, so far as history reaches, that Political Satire

first appeared, and it at once attained an excellence which it has never attained in any form since. Beneath the rock of the Acropolis, amidst the glories of the Athenian art and the scenes of Athenian history, the most quickwitted, vivacious, laughter-loving, and at the same time the most inteusely political people that the world ever saw, met to witness the Comedies of Aristophanes. The characters in the drama were the public men and the intellectual leaders of the day, Cleon, Nicias, Demosthenes, Socrates, Euripides, whose well known features were represented by the masks which the performers wore. All of these figures were pecfectly familiar to the audience; for in the political assemblies of Athens there was no representation; every freeman appeared in person; every man was not merely a reader of political newspapers, but an active politician: the little city was the State and the personages travestied on the stage were to be seen every day upon the street, and in all the places of social resort. It was a time also of intense political excitement; a war was raging in Greece, between a group of States headed by Athens on one side and a group headed by Sparta on the other, which, as it was a conflict between aristocracy and democracy divided each state internally into parties and awakened all the passions of civil war; and so every citizen was a politician, so every citizen was a soldier. Party feeling at Athens was at fever heat, and the struggle in the Assembly between the factions and the clubs which were their organs in the Assembly, was little inferior in ferocity to that between the factions and the clubs of the French Revolutions. Such an audience will never meet again; such political or social conditions will never be reproduced. Nor is it very likely that we shall ever again see such an artist as Aristophanes. Greek literature and art, springing up at a bound into a perfection, which, in point of form at least, is still unapproached, are altogether a miracle, of which no part is more miraculous than the plays of Aristophanes. We wonder how his satire, at once so personal and so cutting, can have been endured by those whose keenest feelings and strongest interests

are attacked; and we wonder that, being endured, it did not produce a greater effect; that it did not ruin the popularity of Cleon. The solution of the first problem is to be found in the Athenian love both of art and fun, which asserted itself in the very throes of Revolution; perhaps also in the very tension of political feeling, which may have made the comic stage a welcome relief, as at Paris the theatres were crowded in the Reign of Terror. The solution of the second problem is to be found in the general impotence of personal satire, which we suspect has seldom done serious injury to any public man, while perhaps it has often given a harmless vent to the envy and jealousy which the ascendancy of a powerful leader is apt to beget even among his own party. We may perhaps acquit Aristophanes of having, by the most famous of his plays, actually helped to fill the cup of hemlock for Socrates.

In another respect the conditions under which political dramas flourished at Athens were such as cannot be reproduced. Though it was the most glorious age of art, it was the age before good manners. The habits of mutual respect and the sensitiveness as to reputation, which prevail in modern society, or in the better portion of it, hardly existed in the time and country of Aristophanes. The great orators of Greece, Demosthenes himself among the number, speaking on the grandest themes, abuse each other in language which the lowest journal of the present day would hardly admit to its editorial columns. There is no denying that the revival of the Satiric Drama in any hands but those of ancient genius restrained by modern taste and good breeding would be too likely to lead to personalities, which in our state of civilization would be offensive. It is on this account we presume more than on strictly political grounds, that in England, the Lord Chamberlain is still allowed to exercise a censorship over dramatic politics, as well as over dramatic morality. H. M. S. Parliament is perfectly good humoured; but the part relating to Sir Leonard Tilley, shows, to say the least, that there is a danger to be avoided.

—The Church returns to the Theatre. It is well. The drama is a liberal amusement; and to excommunicate it is to throw it into bad hands. But though the Church is right in returning to the Theatre, it was not so wrong in leaving it, as is imagined by certain people who wish to erect Art into a religion. Let those who revile the Puritans for closing the playhouse, and the Methodists for shunning it, read, we will not say the filth which Wycherley dedicated to the Duchess of Queensberry, but a single comedy of the superfine Congreve. There are playhouses now which ought to be shut up, and which not only Methodism but decency will shun; nay, there are exhibitions sometimes in respectable theatres under the name of Opera Bouffe, every performer in which deserves to be dragged through a horse pond, where he would meet nothing so filthy as himself. It is to be hoped that the renewal of the concordat with Religion will have the effect of a gentle censorship. The Theatre, however, after all is a public amusement, and it is as well to remember that there are some who shrink from public amusements, because life is to them too serious, perhaps too sad, for such enjoyments, and yet are not sour or morose, but, on the contrary, among the most sweet-tempered and beneficent of mankind.

—The Church of England has been once more marking her attitude towards the other Protestant churches, in the person of one of her Bishops, who has refused to attend a meeting of the Bible Society, because it was to be held in a Presbyterian place of worship. Her claim to this exclusive position rests on the supposed succession of Bishops lineally representing the Apostles; a belief which was expressed some time ago in a curiously realistic form by an English Prelate, who, being incensed by the irreverence of some opponent in a controversy, exclaimed that he felt the blood of the Apostles boiling in his veins. It is needless to say what critical historians think about the alleged evidences of the existence of

Episcopacy in its present form during the first two centuries, and the possibility of tracing the spiritual pedigree which connects Alexander Borgia, Dubois, Gardiner, Bonner, and Sheldon with the founders of a religion of freedom, light, and love. But supposing the belief in Apostolical Succession to be well-founded, and the bishops to be the divinely appointed keepers of Christian truth, what is the position of the Church of England? By the bishops of the Roman and Greek Churches, who are an immense majority of the order, she is regarded as heretical, and excluded from communion. The Greek Bishops barely acknowledge her existence as a church; the Roman Bishops refuse to acknowledge it at all, and would treat Bishop Sweatman as a lay heretic, and nothing more. Either, then, the Church of England is in deadly error, or by falsely affirming that she is in deadly error, the immense majority of the Bishops prove that Apostolical Succession, in their persons, is no guarantee for truth. At the accession of Elizabeth, the Anglican Episcopacy depended for its existence on one holder of a see who conformed to the Revolution, and the few survivors of the extruded and exiled Protestant Bishops of the preceding reign. The true Christian tradition must then have hung by a very slender thread, which would have snapped altogether had Mary lived long enough for the extruded Bishops to die out. Before these ecclesiastical figments were invented, Christianity, by its spiritual force, had won the ancient world: since their invention it has almost lost the modern world. The exclusive pretensions of the Church of England in this country are however, at bottom, probably as much social as ecclesiastical: they are a continuation of the feelings of the English gentry towards Dissenters. The Christian religion, we repeat, has a heavy load to bear. Can its bitterest assailant pretend to believe that Anglican isolation is an outcome of the Gospel, or that a moral representative of the Apostles would have refused communion with his fellow Christians, on a point of church government? It would be as easy to prove that St.

Paul claimed the title of "My Lord." In a brave discourse the President of Victoria College has said that "the answer to the question, Is Christianity true? must depend upon a better and more harmonious answer to the question, What is Christianity?" To arrive at the answer to the second question, again, we shall have to look beneath a vast superincumbent heap of adventitious matter, including the pretensions, hierarchical and social, of Christians who abjure communion with Dissenters. Nor is the time allowed for this difficult process very long. Atheism is at the gates, while Christians are fighting about Apostolical Succession, and even about the proper posture for the Bishop at Confirmation!

—If Col. Ingersoll does not win converts, he calls forth innumerable replies which perhaps answer his purpose as well. Canada contributes a refutation of his lectures by "A Rationalist," though the writer appears, by his method of spiritualizing the Old Testament, and thus removing the stumbling blocks which it presents when construed literally, to be not so much a Rationalist as a Swedenborgian. Canada in Chicago (and in Chicago and the whole of that region there is a Canada indeed) contributes a little volume of lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, the writer of which, Mr. Gibson, evidently has Col. Ingersoll in his eye. With regard to the "Mistakes of Moses," to which "A Rationalist" devotes part of his apology, we may, possibly, say a few words when political events do not crowd our limited space as they do at present. Reasons may perhaps be given for thinking, at all events, that those who have accepted the Old Testament as an element of their spiritual life, have neither been idiots nor destitute of moral sense. We must here be content with remarking, in reference to the other branch of the controversy, that if the Theistic theory requires restatement, as we should be the last to deny that it does, in view of the recent results of Criticism and Science, the Materialistic hypothesis is not free from difficulty. Professor Tyndall tells us that "Mat-

ter contains the promise and potency of all terrestrial life." But turning to Professor Tyndall's essays, we find that Matter has a partner, "Force," whose presence appears just as essential to the existence of the promise and potency as that of Matter. Which of the two is the First Principle? Force cannot have been produced by Matter, because without Force Matter cannot move, change, or generate at all. Matter cannot have been produced by Force, because Force is nothing but the impulsion of Matter. Apparently there must have been something before both which produced them and determined their relations; and it must be something beyond the range of Sense. Let it be observed that this indication, if it be real, is not merely negative, nor is its legitimate result Agnosticism; it points, according to the principles of Science herself to the existence of some active and creative power not cognizable by our bodily senses, and therefore not material, matter being that which is cognizable by the bodily sense, as all Physical Science is merely the sum of the perceptions of our bodily senses recorded and reduced to method. The assumption not only of the provisional truth, but of the exhaustive and final authority, of the human nerves of sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell, seems to be the foundation of the Materialistic hypothesis, while it is not clear on what that assumption itself rests. It is in fact contrary to reason, ince our senses collectively present the universe as finite, while nothing in mathematics is more certainly demonstrable than Infinity. But these thoughts bring us into a region where the clap-trap of the platform, and the applause which greets it are little grateful to the ear.

Mr. Gibson of course deals with the question of miracles. The *a priori* reasonings in this controversy on both sides are most unfruitful. We are told that miracles can never have taken place because they would be violations of the laws of the universe. By "universe" is meant a point in Infinity, and a moment in Eternity, for nothing more falls under our observation. But Law is a Theistic term: it always implies a lawgiver: Physical Science can tell us only of general facts. If

there are laws, they are the modes of the Creator's general action; and how can the modes of His general action be a bar to his special action in any particular case? It is equally futile to demonstrate the possibility of miracles. The question is one entirely of evidence. We must have eye witnesses, many and good; as many and as good as we should require if asked to believe in the restoration of sight to the blind or the raising of the dead at the present day. Can such testimony be produced? If it can, prejudice alone will refuse to believe: if it cannot, there is no use in falling back on faith, which is belief in things unseen, not in things imperfectly proved. Mr. Gibson, like some other modern apologists, seems inclined to drop certain miracles, such as that of the Swine and that of the Fig Tree; but he must remember that the evidence for these is precisely the same as for those which he wishes to preserve. If it is insufficient in one case it is insufficient in all.

—The Positivists say that Theology is dying: but interest in Theology is not. Among a number of books on what appears to be almost the engrossing subject, we have before us the third edition of Mr. Jellett's Donnellan Lectures on the "Efficacy of Prayer," treating the subject philosophically, and we should say in a liberal and charitable spirit, with a desire to satisfy and not merely to confute. The strange Prayer Test of Professor Tyndall, or rather of some one whose proposal Professor Tyndall submitted to the public, hardly calls for examination: only an exclusive physicist could imagine that any one took Prayer for a force such as is capable of being tested by the methods of physical experiment. How much reason would there be in submitting even human supplication to such a test? Yet men are moved by supplication, and those of settled character perhaps not less than others, if certain moral conditions are fulfilled by the suppliant. On the other hand, it is perhaps not likely that any man of sense would be moved by the repetition of formularies. Christianity has a heavy load to bear; it is like a medicine expected to work its

healing effect when mixed with alien and even poisonous ingredients. That which is attacked as Christianity is not the Gospel, pure and simple, but the Gospel with the accretions of Constantinople, Alexandria, Rome, Barbarism, Monachism, and with other spurious growths of eighteen centuries. The Founder of Christianity taught His disciples a short and simple prayer within the narrow compass of which lies proof sufficient of the unique character of His religion. The only physical petition which this prayer contains is, "Give us this day our daily bread"—scarcely more than a general acknowledgment of sustaining providence. The Teacher can hardly be held responsible for the practices which science derides, any more than for our long liturgies with their vain repetitions, or our prayers and thanksgivings for victory over fellow-Christians in war.

—A paper in the *North American Review* on "The Religion of all Sensible Men," by Leslie Stephen, excites our expectation, as everything from his pen on such a subject would; but it is a disappointment. It only tells us that upon the question to which it relates the mind of a man of intellect, devoted to philosophy, and living in the centre of thought, is a perfect blank: he has evidently not formed the faintest notion what the religion of the future will be, or whether the future will have a religion at all. This in its way perhaps is instructive: we are warned of the quarter to which it is vain to look. Europe, with her critical learning, has done the work of demolition; but perhaps that very learning, or the habits of mind connected with it, may prevent her from doing the work of construction. Apparently, if the new faith is going to be a religion, in the proper sense of the term, there must be in it an element which no learning or science can supply, but which must be the outcome of moral and spiritual effort such as gave birth to Christianity. "Can any good come out of Galilee?" was the natural and rational reflection of a superior and learned Jew living in the midst of the Judaic culture. Can any good come

from people who are imperfectly acquainted with Berkeley and Jonathan Edwards? is the equally natural and rational reflection of Mr. Leslie Stephen, though he writes in the most genial sprit and with the kindest toleration of the blind strivings of ignorance to arrive at truth. "What shall we do to be saved?" is a problem which is as likely to be solved by the craving heart and struggling conscience of a Galilean as by the intellect of a great Doctor of the Law. Assuming that there is to be a revival of religion, if we were asked to fix upon its probable scene, we should be inclined to name, not London, Paris, or Berlin, but some Galilee of the Far West.

—The character of Hamlet has hitherto been an enigma; but the solution is found at last. A writer in a scientific periodical has discovered that the real key to the mystery is "the impediment of adipose." Hamlet was dreadfully fat: his obesity fatally interfered with his energy, and prevented him from carrying his resolutions into effect. This, though the unscientific world has never dreamed of it, and may be rather taken aback by it, is the explanation at last brought to light by science. "He's fat and scant of breath,"— those words are the keynote. Hamlet's wish that his "too, too solid flesh would melt," is to be taken literally and physically. So is his expression, "to grunt and sweat under a weary life." Again that phrase, "while memory holds a seat in this distracted globe" is it not suggestive of a rotund and corpulent person? Our physicist thinks it clearly is; and he finds confirmation in the sentence, "Sir, I will walk here in the hall; if it please his majesty, this is the breathing time of day with me." "He's fat and scant of breath" is said by the Queen in the fencing scene at the very end of the play, and a moment before the catastrophe. It is not likely that such an artist as Shakespeare would keep back the keynote of a character till the character had played its part. "Fat" probably means nothing more than out of training: at any rate it is ridiculous

to suppose that Shakespeare means to dwell on Hamlet's corpulence. Surely the appearance of such a theory in a leading organ of Science is a proof that ultra-physicism is abroad, and that we had better be on our guard against it. Not a little of the philosophy of history that is now published is of the same character as this explanation of the character of Hamlet. Mr. Buckle would have confidently resolved Shakespeare himself into beef and ale.

At the end of the first half-year of its existence, THE BYSTANDER finds its circulation treble of that on which its founders calculated, and still increasing. We do not take this as a proof of agreement with our opinions, but we hope we may take it as a proof that independent journalism is in favour, and that THE BYSTANDER is believed to be independent.

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GLAMMIS, County Bruce, Ont., March 12th, 1880.

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