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A MONTHLY
REVIEW

THE BYSTANDER

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CURRENT EVENTS,
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THE BYSTANDER.

FEBRUARY, 1890.

THE Government proposes, it seems, that little shall be done at Ottawa this session. The Government proposes, but the Opposition may dispose. The leaders of the Opposition will be greatly wanting, both to their interest and their duty if in the present situation they fail to call the attention of the country to the working of a system under which farm property in this Province has fallen in value to the extent of twenty-two and a-half millions in six years, the farmer is depressed, country towns dependent on trade with him are declining, vast mineral resources lie undeveloped, our shipping disappears from the lakes, the debt has increased to two hundred and sixty millions, the burden of taxation has been aggravated in proportion, the cost of living has risen to thirty-five per cent. more than it is in an old and overcrowded country, smuggling has spread along the Border to the injury of lawful trade, the very flower of our population is leaving us, and the promises of Government have been miserably belied with regard to the North-West, in the whole of which, after all these years, instead of the myriads promised, there are not above a hundred and fifty thousand white inhabitants, including Icelanders, Mennonites and Mormons, while a great population, largely composed of Canadian emigrants, is filling the farms and towns on the other side of the Line; the counter-vailing benefits received by the country being a number of baronetcies and knighthoods and the creation of a few great fortunes which the possessors are apt to carry away to

the brilliant society of England. If the industry, energy and thrift of the Canadian people have struggled gallantly against the effects of this policy and kept the country up to a level of which we may still be proud, this does not render the policy less injurious. When Lord Stanley, in the speech put into his mouth, dilated on the great development of all our resources, and notably of our mineral resources, since the days of his predecessors, it must surely have been with some consciousness of the nature of the ceremony which he was performing. If in the land of Mumbo Jumbo it were the custom that at the opening of a tribal assembly one man should deliver as his own a speech which another man had written we should moralize pleasantly on the grotesque habits of uncivilized nations.

“ We have knocked Truth and Righteousness into a cocked hat ” was the exulting cry of a Machinist Liberal after the West Lambton election. Knocking Truth and Righteousness into a cocked hat is perhaps the best definition that could have been given of the function of a Machine. The leaders probably judge somewhat differently, and know that the secession of nearly eight hundred electors from the party lines where the Machine candidate was very strong and the independent candidate very weak, is a warning that the cocked hat into which Truth and Righteousness are to be finally knocked has not yet been found. It is pretty manifest also that the Government is afraid to open East Toronto and is keeping the Collectorship of the Toronto Customs vacant on that account. The leaders themselves however have shown, in this Jesuit affair, that the peculiar shrewdness generated by their calling as politicians is sometimes accompanied by a loss of touch with common sentiment which betrays them into tactical errors. The indignation caused by the endowment with public money of the most hateful and deadly of anti-social conspiracies, natural as it seems, evidently took them by surprise.

Since the West Lambton election the leadership of a Third Party seems to have been formally accepted by the Rev. Dr.

Sutherland. Dr. Sutherland by his character as well as by his ability as a preacher and speaker, is well-entitled to lead a moral movement, and he is perfectly in his right even on the principles of the party system. That system must have a remedy for cases in which both the regular parties fail to do their duty. In the present case not only have they failed to do their duty but they have actually coalesced, as Dr. Sutherland and his friends would say, against "truth and righteousness." Coalesce they assuredly did in the Stanstead election, and throughout this conflict they have in great measure dropped their hostility to each other while they combined to assail independence. Mr. David Mills could not abuse Tories more roundly than he abused Liberals who were so unreasonably faithful to principle as to refuse to court Ultramontaniam for a political end. But the creation of a new party is an expensive as well as a troublesome process. It involves the erection of a new Machine. Nor can you be at all sure that your new party will not presently bear to Truth and Righteousness about the same relation as the old parties. Six or seven times in some countries of Europe the impure liquid of faction has been run off from old party receptacles into new; and it remains as impure in the last receptacle as it was in the first.

Not the formation of Third Parties, but the emancipation of public life from party altogether and a return to national government, will be the ultimate aim at all events of the true reformer, while he may see that the party system is established at present, that he cannot hope at once to disestablish it, and that so long as it prevails public men and actions must be judged by its rules. The system is everywhere in a pronounced state of decadence. Sectionalism has thoroughly set in, and all attempts to restore discipline have proved hopeless, so that hardly anywhere can a party be found large enough to form a stable basis for a Government. In France no Government has been able to live six months, and Germany would be in the same plight did not the iron hand of Bismarck uphold a rule practically irrespective of party. In England, the mother of the

system, no party has now a majority, and the Government leans on a prop supplied by a section of its nominal opponents. In Australia administrations flit over the scene like shadows. In Canada we have had comparative stability, but it has been the fruit of corruption, carried on through subsidies and Government appropriations, for which the condition of Quebec and the indifference of the remoter Provinces to Dominion politics have afforded a propitious field. The next demise of the leadership will probably be the end even of the sinister stability which exists here.

—Mr. McCarthy having put his hand to the plough does not look backwards. The debate on his motion for the abolition of the dual language in the North-West can hardly fail to make the dry bones of party rattle. Let us hope that at all events counsel will not be darkened by false analogies. True analogy there is none. The medley of language as well as of races and religions in the case of Switzerland is aboriginal and immemorial, while the very fact of its being a medley, not an antagonism, makes it comparatively harmless. In the case of Austria the use of more than one political language is rendered necessary by the union of different nations under one Imperial Crown. Neither of these cases, nor as we believe any other case that can be mentioned, bears a real resemblance to the attempt to inflict duality on a community in its cradle by means of legislative intrigue, and for the purposes of ecclesiastical propagandism. In Germany and in the United States there is a mixture of races and languages; yet neither nation recognizes for political purposes any language but one. This is a British Colony. The Treaty of Cession secured to the French the enjoyment of their language and religion in Quebec: the rest is ours.

—It is difficult to see how Mr. Laurier after formally endorsing a Nationalist and Ultramontane candidate in Quebec

can continue to lead the Liberals of Ontario. Unnatural and hypocritical alliances always end in disaster. People are surprised that Mr. Joly, a French Protestant, should come out in defence of the Jesuit grant: but Mr. Joly's instincts, though he has not of late taken part in politics, are still those of the regular politician. His plea that the Jesuit Estate was an escheat to which the Jesuits had a moral claim, and that the Act was the settlement of that claim, is palpably untenable and has already been renounced by Mr. Mercier who describes the Act as having "repaired the despoilment of the Jesuits by the same George III. who had despoiled the American Revolutionary Fathers of their rights and liberties." There was in fact nothing to escheat. The Order having been under the ban of British law and unprotected by the Treaty of Cession, the estates were forfeit even before the suppression of the Order, and were at the disposal of the Crown, as is clearly implied by that opinion of Solicitor-General Wedderburn, of which Sir John Thompson and all who argue on his side so carefully steer clear. But supposing the estates to have escheated by the suppression of the Order, can Mr. Joly contend that the revival of the Order by the Pope gave it any claim, legal or moral, to estates held before the suppression? Supposing the Pope were to revive the Order of the Templars, would he confer a moral claim to the property now held by the two Inns of Court? Would any Roman Catholic Government listen for a moment to a demand like that which Mr. Joly calls upon a Protestant Government to admit? But we repeat Mr. Mercier's own avowal has settled the question and proved that the Act was intended as a blow against the Conquest Settlement and at all by whom that settlement is upheld.

—Mr. Meredith's encounter with the ecclesiastical dragon of Kingston is likely rather to confirm him in the attitude which he had begun to assume. Neither in this controversy nor on the platform has he said a syllable implying the slightest ill-

feeling towards Roman Catholics or the slightest tendency to deprive them or their Church of any liberties or privileges enjoyed by their Protestant fellow subjects. In this he is at one with the avowed friends of Equal Rights. At the same time he is being manifestly borne forward by the swelling current of opinion from the position of manager of a donkey engine to that of a defender of British and Protestant Right in the British and Protestant Province, and a guardian of our political independence against the domination of the "solid vote" thrown now into one scale now into the other at the ecclesiastical word of command. Unless some hand from behind pulls him back or his own resolution fails him before the Provincial elections, we shall at least have a more interesting contest than we had on the last occasion.

—Mr. Meredith's proposal to take education out of politics is well received and will help to fill his sails at the election unless the Government alters its course so as to take the wind out of them. The abolition of the Council of Public Instruction a twelvemonth after its reorganisation was not a deliberate measure or dictated by experience: it was caused by a personal crisis in the Board, the wrath of the Chief Superintendent having been kindled by the revision of his text-books, the inquiry instituted into his Depositories, the free exercise by the Council of its power of election to the headships of Training Colleges, and generally by the curb which the activity of the reorganized Council put upon his autocracy. Had the Government been firm enough to enforce upon its Chief Superintendent an observance of the rules of public life, or had there been a strong man in the Chair of the Council, all might have gone well. At the pass to which things had been allowed to come the change was inevitable, nor were there wanting other arguments in its favour, such as the convenience of having in the Legislature a Minister responsible for the expenditure. It seems to be felt, however, that the result

of the experiment is unsatisfactory and that it would be well to return to the old system or something like it. A Council is of course unfit for ordinary administration, which must be placed in the hands of some regular officer. But for such matters as the selection of text-books and the regulation of the curriculum it is useful. The Council was certainly free from any influence, political or commercial. Nor did it show any such tendency to ecclesiasticism as the Council of Instruction in Manitoba is said to betray. It is good for the educational profession to have at its head a body of its most eminent representatives. As Minister of Education we must take whomsoever, in the somewhat fortuitous distribution of offices among the leaders of a political party, it may please fate to give us, and if the man happens to be unfamiliar with the special subject and obliged to rely on others the result is an irresponsible Vizier or a Camarilla. With the withdrawal of education from politics Mr. Meredith, it may be surmised, will combine a cautious and conservative policy with regard to education generally. It is time that we should take care what we are about if we do not mean to educate country life and farm industry out of existence.

—That baronetcies should be revived in Canada and more knighthoods bestowed by a Tory government of England was most natural, since a Tory government embodies the hope of propagating aristocratic sentiment on this side of the water and saving a part of the New World from democracy. Vain is that hope and far from beneficial, as we think, to Canadian society are the means employed for its realization. To titles bestowed by the community on the holders of public trusts there can be no sort of objection: these are real titles of honour: democracy need not renounce everything that is impressive or graceful; some day perhaps it will evolve its own æsthetics. But these baronetcies and knighthoods are not annexed to public trusts, nor are they bestowed by the community. They

are too often the prize of servility or of undignified solicitation, and we could even point to a case where a title was used, at the instance of a Party leader, to cancel the just sentence of the nation against his associate in corruption. Their effect is in a measure to estrange the public man from his own country and attach him to the skirts of the aristocracy from which the title comes. Amidst all the criticism of Mr. Edward Blake let it not be forgotten that he did Canada the honour to refuse distinction which was not to be conferred by the nation which he served. To say that the sacrifice was great would almost be a satire on humanity. Nevertheless it was not small. A fountain of honour by all means let us have, but let it be here. One creation is satisfactory, inasmuch as it recognizes the fact that the Grand Trunk, with comparatively little aid from the country, has perhaps done more for it and better earned the title of "national" than a rival, which having received over a hundred millions on the ground of its exclusively national character is now not only a private commercial enterprise but partly an American road, fighting Canadian private enterprises virtually with public funds and discriminating in its rates against Canadian traffic.

Of Q. C's. we have had simultaneous showers from two opposite quarters, and soon they will be coming up "even into our kneading-troughs." Mr. Mowat's batch is at all events the more creditable. Of the appointments in the other batch some are condemned by Conservatives who care for the honour of their profession. Not long ago the indignation of all honest Conservatives was still more aroused by an appointment to a judgeship, and the influence in that case was not merely political but sectarian. Yet we flatter ourselves that we emulate England where, saving the necessary recognition of the claims of Law Officers of the Crown, judgeships are now given irrespective of party, and the silk gown is bestowed with the strictest regard to professional standing. The blame rests not so much with Sir John Macdonald himself as with those who by their adulation have filled him with the belief that he

is absolute master of the country, and licensed at his sovereign will and pleasure to purchase political support with a seat on the Bench of Justice and fling the honours of the Bar to a man of blemished character or to one who has hardly ever been in Court. The practice arraigned by Mr. Laurier of keeping open appointments indefinitely for party purposes, in which Sir John Macdonald so freely indulges, is another exhibition of the same insolent autocracy. Rumour speaks of an appointment to the Senate which would throw all other excesses in the use of patronage into the shade; but a contemporary has placed the record of the aspirant's career distinctly before the Governor-General, and it is to be hoped that his Excellency will not want the firmness to guard the honour of the country and his own.

—We have been treated to a concert of unusual power and sweetness by the Toronto dailies, one of which is alleged to have been detected in treasonably furnishing the politicians at Washington with the "secret information" that there is an exodus from Canada and that we have some annexationists among us. If the accusers will only look back to their own columns they will see that hardly a day has passed for two or three years without their charging the opposite party, which includes half the people of the country, with annexationist aims, and thus conveying to the Americans and the world at large in an exaggerated form the very "secret information" which they upbraid their rival with imparting. It is not likely that people of sense will draw from the noise of this affray any inference but the true one, that our great Toronto dailies have not all of them room to live. We should as soon think of allowing the chorus on the shingles to affect our view of a great question. Mr. Mulock therefore may be calm unless he is very anxious to display his superior attachment to the Throne. Old journalists see with pain that the correspondent of one journal can be found to act as spy upon the cor-

respondent of another journal. But the laws of literary war and the common interest of the profession have long since been given to the winds. One thing, at all events, this affray has clearly proved : Commercial Union is not Annexation.

—The renewal of Mr. Hitt's and of Mr. Butterworth's motion shows that Commercial Union is not dead at Washington. The course of the session will probably show that it or its equivalent is still alive at Ottawa. That there is in the Republican Party at Washington a section inclined to a less friendly policy towards Canada as a British dependency has never been denied. To that section Mr. Hoar apparently belongs. There were reasons at one time for fearing that Mr. Blaine, a far more important personage, belonged to it also. Mr. Blaine is from Maine where Protectionism is not less narrow and bitter than it is here. In Pennsylvania, among the manufacturers there is another set of the same extreme stripe, the members of which used to drink wisdom from the lips of Mr. Henry Carey, who frankly avowed that the great object of his hatred was a trader. Among its organists evidently is Mr. Gibson, of whose deliverances *The Maxi* makes the same use against the cause which it once most ably upheld as it makes of those of Mr. Hoar. But a section of the Republican party is not the party, much less is it Congress; and Congress as a whole has more or less to be reckoned with on commercial questions in regard to which local interests often run athwart the regular party lines. On all questions the grand object of politicians at Washington, as well as at Ottawa, is to get some coin of vantage for the next election: to this Government is everywhere reduced under the party system; and we must expect that in such a jungle of intrigue the march of any great question will be difficult and slow. Opinion, if it advances, will in the end control the action of the politicians, but the advance of opinion among great masses takes time. Those who have joined a movement expecting a quick return

in the shape of votes will fall away. Those who have joined it in the public interest must learn to be patient as well as hopeful, and hopeful as well as patient. The Commercial Union literature has all the time been circulating, and the desire for a change of policy among the farmers has grown so much that, in spite of the party lines, it can hardly fail to have its effect on the next general election. The American money, which Mr. Chapleau does not scruple to charge the opponents of his monopolist Government with receiving for political purposes, will therefore not be needed. This calumny has been heard before, and on that occasion the President of the Commercial Union Club met it, so far as his organization was concerned, by stating that a contribution to their fund had been offered by the head of an American firm on behalf of his Canadian Branch and had been declined on the ground that the Association, acting solely in the interest of Canada, could not receive aid from any but a strictly Canadian source.

—The Barnwell tragedy in South Carolina shows that the terrible problem of race in the Southern States is no nearer its solution. The political question between the races has been settled so far by not allowing the negroes to vote or not counting their votes when given. In this they have acquiesced and probably they have lost little by it, since had they voted they would have infallibly been the prey of the lowest class of demagogues. There is no use in refusing to recognize differences of political aptitude or pretending after what we have seen in Hayti that the negro is ready for self-government. But the blacks have also been the victims of constant outrage and of atrocious lynching. The savage barbarism which is the fruit of slave-holding will probably linger for generations in the Southern character. It seems clear that in the case of six out of the eight negroes who with every circumstance of cruelty and insult were lynched at Barnwell, there was not even any evidence of guilt, much less a judicial verdict. Most

of them, it is reported, were in custody merely as witnesses of an alleged crime. Two races cannot live together on these terms, nor can any civilized government permit several millions of its citizens, whatever their colour, to be deprived not only of their political but of their personal rights and shot or hanged like dogs. It seems evident that public opinion in South Carolina supports the lynchers and sets justice at defiance: in this case there is nothing for it but military occupation. The fact is the negro is no more allowed a trial than he is allowed a vote. On the merest suspicion of any offence against the whites he is incontinently lynched. Unless superior power intervenes there will presently be an outbreak of the hatred of race on a larger scale, and instead of trickling in outrage blood will stream in massacre. If, on the other hand, there should be a great exodus of negroes, of which there now appear some symptoms, who will raise the cotton? The whites cannot do it.

—In Europe there is still peace: there are still assurances of peace; but war is in the air. That which causes the half-drawn sword to linger in the sheath probably is not so much regard for peace as the expensiveness of mobilization, which becomes the more formidable the more the finances have been exhausted by preparation. The "hasty spark" struck by the outrageous conduct of a Portuguese filibuster in Central Africa which in calmer times would "straight have grown cold again," is in these times enough to put the nations in a flame of excitement. France, from whose inveterate enmity England and the dependencies of England have most to fear is preparing to lash herself into a fit of Anglophobia by a grand revival of the worship of Joan of Arc, conveniently forgetting, as she always does, that Joan was as much the victim of French faction as of British invasion, and that one of her two judges was a French Bishop. It seems certain that Russia is assiduously strengthening her military base and per-

fecting her means of transporting troops in Central Asia. The conclusion to which calm observers, such as Mr. Curzon, free alike from Russo-phobism and Russo-philism are led is that Russia has no serious intention of conquering India, but that she does intend by pressing England in that quarter to open the road to Constantinople. Of the brilliant achievements of Lord Beaconsfield, nothing now remains except Cyprus, a forlorn island in a dead angle of the Mediterranean, and the mortal hatred of Russia, once England's firmest ally. Two Russian engineers the other day took a trip over the C.P.R. to gather hints for the construction of the railway in Siberia, a compliment which suggests, by the way, that Canada is Siberian. Perhaps they noted as they went what at certain points in the mountain section a little dynamite would do. In Central Africa a new scene of jealous rivalry among the European powers has been opened and a fresh field has been sown with the dragon's teeth.

—The fall of monarchy in Brazil has produced more serious effects than it was possible at first to foresee. A blow has evidently been given to the stability of monarchy in Portugal and even in Spain. There can be no doubt as to the declining strength of the institution. If in England the Crown seems to sit more securely on the head of royalty than elsewhere, this is because the wearer has long been divested of any political power. But the violent opposition aroused among the people by the proposal to grant money to any member of the Royal family shows that even in England hereditary monarchy is almost dead at the root. The only hold which it retains is social, and this is fast being impaired by the unwillingness of the present wearer of the Crown to perform its social duties. Her refusal to revisit Ireland, where she was admirably received, persisted in notwithstanding the entreaties of all her best advisers, is likely to prove disastrous to her family as well as to the country.

That the Russian prison system generally is about as much below other prison systems as Russian civilization generally is below the civilization of other countries, seems to us to be the upshot of the most trustworthy evidence on the subject. But there seems to be no longer any doubt about the massacre in Siberia. Why do not American legislatures pass resolutions of censure on the oppressor and of sympathy with the oppressed? This is surely an atrocity fully as great as the imprisonment of Wm. O'Brien, or the execution of the Phoenix Park murderers. But on Russia, though her iron heel was on Poland and whatever atrocities she might commit, the American politicians have always smiled. Through some peculiarity in their moral structure it is only Irish woe that wrings their hearts, only British misdeeds that excite their righteous indignation.

—The British Cabinet is in labour with another Irish land measure, and it no doubt believes that this time the problem will be solved. It is to be hoped that a settlement of some kind will presently be attained or there will be no such thing as security of property or faith in contracts left in the island. The agrarian root of the Irish difficulty is deeper than the political, but deeper again than the agrarian root is over population, which no changes of the law can directly affect. On a land unfitted by its climate for cereals the people multiply and are encouraged by their church to multiply without limit; they can subsist only on the potato, and when that barbarous and treacherous food fails, comes and must come famine. This is the hard fundamental fact which no legislation, much less any rhetoric, can annul. No remedy apparently can be thorough short of thirty years of strong government, with systematic emigration and extirpation of the potato. But such a remedy could be applied only by a Cromwell riding into power on the wings of victory in civil war. Not that civil war is absolutely out of the question if things in England go on as they have been going for the last ten years.

To show on what sort of facts the people of the United States form their opinions about the Irish question, the New York *Tribune*, which may be said to be at the head of American journalism, tells its readers that Ireland is by nature a great manufacturing country, that her rich fields of coal are practically boundless, but England up to fifty years ago imposed extraordinary restrictions on her trade. Fear of the revival of Irish manufactures "is the reason why Manchester, Bradford, Birmingham, and all other manufacturing centres in England so bitterly oppose Home Rule." A writer who undertakes to enlighten his readers on this subject might be supposed to know that the Union which swept away the restrictions on Irish trade was passed not fifty but ninety years ago. The bounds of the "boundless" expanse of coal fields are well ascertained, and Ireland imports two millions of tons of coal annually for her domestic consumption. On the other hand, nearly two millions of her people find employment in Great Britain, chiefly in the manufacturing cities, while England affords to the natural produce of Ireland by far the best market for such produce in the world. If the writer in the *Tribune* had cared enough for truth even to look into the 'Parliamentary Companion' or 'Whitaker's Almanac' he would have found that Bradford sends to Parliament two Home Rule members out of three, and Manchester three out of six. Birmingham sends Unionists from motives purely political, not because her manufacturers of small arms are likely to suffer from Irish competition, much less from disunion. Leeds sends three Home Rulers out of five. Newcastle, Wolverhampton, Rochdale, Derby, are Home Rule. Bradlaugh and Labouchere sit for a manufacturing city. The manufacturing centres generally are Radical and Home Rule. The policy which the *Tribune* recommends and supposes, with good reason, that Mr. Parnell means to adopt, is to return to the commercial night which prevailed before the Union and set up a corps of monopolists to prey by taxation on the general industry of Ireland. Suppose England were to follow suit and close her market

against Irish produce and industry, what does the *Tribune* think would become of Ireland?

For this return to Protectionism Mr. Gladstone, the arch-Freetrader, is to pave the way. Does Mr. Gladstone ever look back on his former self? "Amongst the scenes that are now unhappily being enacted in Ireland by certain persons we may lose sight of the great and unquestionable progress of that country. It has achieved material progress in a degree most remarkable for a country with little variety of pursuit. I do not believe there is a labouring population in all Europe—although the condition of the Irish labourer leaves much to desire—which in the course of the last twenty years has made a progress equal to that of the labouring population in Ireland. Let me look at the farming class, which, as you know, may be said almost to constitute the body of the nation, understood as the term is understood in Ireland—let me look at the indication of their surplus wealth. Forty years ago the deposits in the Irish banks, which are the indication of the amount of their free savings, were about five millions. Some fifteen years later than that, I think they had risen to some eleven or twelve millions. There are now of deposits in the Irish banks, which represent almost wholly the honest earnings and savings of Irish farmers, a sum of nearly thirty millions of money. Of course, I don't mean to say that the whole of these are agricultural savings, but an enormous proportion is of agricultural savings, and, at any rate, you cannot mistake the meaning and the force of the comparison between the thirty millions in round numbers of the present day and the five millions which were in the Irish banks forty years ago. If I am to speak of moral progress in Ireland, I say that it has been remarkable, and it is associated with legal progress in regard to every class of legal offences but one. There is still one painful and grievous exception—the exception of the agrarian offences." Would any one believe that these were words used only nine years ago by the man, then in power, who, now that he has lost power, and is seeking to regain it by help of the Irish vote, pro-

nounces the Union an utter failure and declares that there is no hope for Ireland except in its repeal? Will posterity have the slightest doubt as to the cause of the change?

—A notable feature of the late strikes was the prominent part played by Cardinal Manning. That ambitious and scheming hierarch (for such he notoriously is) intimated some time ago pretty plainly that, the day of kings and their favourites being over, and the people having succeeded to power, the Church must cultivate her influence with the people. While despotism reigned Rome was everywhere the confederate of the despot; when despotism was revived, as it was by Ferdinand of Spain after 1815, and by Louis Napoleon in France, she welcomed and seconded its revival. To despotism is her natural affinity; but an alliance with temporal power, be it that of despot or of demagogue, is a necessity of which she is conscious, and her consciousness of which is fatal to the sincerity of her belief in her own claims as the Church of the truth. She has now lost her temporal kingdom in Italy and is becoming, even in Europe, to a great extent disestablished, so that her revenues as well as her moral support must henceforth be drawn largely from the people. It will not be surprising, in spite of her condemnation of Father McGlynn, if she should execute a change of front and try to recover her power by placing herself at the head of a social revolution. Significant utterances have been heard of late from some of her priesthood and even from her head. In that revolution, did she invoke it, she would assuredly perish, for her hierarchy has neither command enough of the popular mind nor statesmanship enough to control such a movement; but in the meantime she might add not a little to the perplexities and dangers of the situation.

—The *North American Review* has a symposium—a word which, by the way, has travelled as strange a road as “Pontiff,” “Marshal,” or “Constable”—on what may emphatically be

called the burning topic of Divorce. The debaters are Cardinal Gibbons, the Anglican Bishop of New York, and the Agnostic Colonel Ingersoll. The Cardinal looks down from the serene height of Catholic morality on the immoral aberrations of an unbelieving world. We would ask him to turn his eyes to the history of marriage and of the relations between the sexes generally in France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Morocco, and other countries where his Church has had her way. We would also remind him that if his Church exalts marriage by making it a sacrament she degrades it by pronouncing celibacy the holier state. Further, we would observe, that in the period preceding the Reformation the practice of granting dissolutions of marriage, on the pretended grounds of consanguinity and pre-contract, had virtually introduced among the wealthy a license of divorce comparable to that of Illinois or Indiana. The Agnostic, of course, is for freedom both of divorce and of re-marriage. "Would you force a woman to live with a man whom she has ceased to love?" Yes, we would, if she has freely become his wife, freely interchanged with him the marriage vows, above all if she has borne him children. Out of regard for her own real happiness and for her character, we would forbid her to pass as soon as passion was sated from the arms of one man into those of another. If the continuance of romantic love were to be the condition of fidelity how many marriages would outlive the honeymoon? Marriages which can be so lightly dissolved are of course as lightly contracted, and thus the evil is multiplied at both ends. Mr. Phelps, in *The Forum*, says that if the right of re-marriage were taken away nine-tenths, perhaps ninety-nine hundredths, of the divorce cases which now crowd the calendars of the Courts and pollute the newspapers would disappear. In other words, the real cause, in the vast majority of cases, is not the intolerable irksomeness of the existing union so much as a desire to contract another. The law is in the wildest confusion, each State having a different law from the rest. In some States the laxity of the law and the laxity of the tribunals together amount

almost to free love. When a woman can get a divorce because her husband keeps her awake by talking, because he does not take her for rides, or because he has enlisted in the Navy, and a man can get a divorce on grounds not less frivolous and grotesque, it would be better to allow people to separate and marry again as they choose without prostituting the Courts of Law. Mr. Gladstone has addressed to the Americans a homily which perhaps might have had more effect if the preacher had not been socially countenancing the matrimonial liberalism of some of his political friends at home. He says very truly that the soundness of the State depends on that of the family which is the unit of the State. He might have added that while his family may rebuild the State, the State can never rebuild the family. The alarm bell however has been rung most effectively by the Rev. Dr. Dike, who has made this momentous subject his own: American morality is now on its guard and the tide in that quarter appears to be on the turn. In Canada, on the other hand, the matrimonial morality of Chicago is struggling to effect a lodgement and apparently with a fair chance of success.

—In another symposium Mr. Gladstone upholds Free Trade and Mr. Blaine Protection. Mr. Gladstone need only point to the fruits of British Free Trade which surround Mr. Blaine, into whose country streams for investment the vast overflow of wealth which half a century of Free Trade has produced in an island not larger than a single State of the Union. What practical proof can there be of anything if the commercial wealth of England is not a proof of the wisdom of her commercial policy? Mr. Gladstone points to the immorality of Protectionism as a system under which a favoured class swells its gains by taxing the rest of the community. We might press this argument further and show that Protectionism is the policy of corruption. For what but corruption determines which class shall be favoured? What class is favoured in

Canada but that which subscribes to the election fund of the Government? Mr. Gladstone might also have shown that Protectionism is the system of inhumanity. What is more inhuman than to cut off nation from nation and put a bar upon the interchange which, attended as it must be by friendly intercourse and union of interests, would go far, if it were allowed free play, to make one heart as well as one harvest for the world? There are also the evils, moral as well as financial, of smuggling, which are evidently on the increase under our own Protective tariff.

Mr. Blaine must have felt his own weakness when he was reduced to charging Mr. Gladstone with himself contravening Free Trade principles by paying for the transmission of Ocean mails. He pleads that the circumstances of the United States are not the same as those of the country for which Mr. Gladstone prescribes. In this there is some truth, but it is not truth which will avail his cause. The reason why the United States have not suffered as England would have suffered and as Canada is suffering from Protectionism is that the United States are not, like England or Canada, a country but a continent, producing almost everything in itself. Yet Protectionism has wiped out of existence the mercantile marine of the United States and with it that nautical element of the national character which is the subject of a striking passage in De Tocqueville.

Protectionists point triumphantly to the general halt in the progress of Free Trade and the relapse of some nations into Protectionism. Universal suffrage may have widened the basis of government, but for the time at least it has put the world into the hands of lower intelligence than that of Turgot, Pitt, Huskisson, Peel and Cavour. The consequence has been a return in commercial policy of the blind cupidity of the Middle Ages. It appears from what Mr. David A. Wells says that not only international but inter-parochial Protectionism is raising its head again. The laundries of Paris demand protection against those of the country. There is, we believe,

a law on the Statute book of one of the American States restraining the manufacture of pure vinegar in the interest of people who could only make it impure. Having killed trade by Protectionism, the Solons of the system undertake to revive it by bounties, paid at the public cost, and this policy which it might have been supposed could emanate only from an asylum for economical idiots, stalks again more than a hundred years after Adam Smith. Monopoly besets us anew in the form of combines, trusts and tyrannical Trade-unionism, as well as in that of Protective tariffs. Yet the footprints are not all turned backwards. New South Wales has been steadily true to Free Trade and has proved its wisdom by outstripping in the race of prosperity her neighbour and rival Victoria, though Victoria with her gold mines had a much better start. In 1866, when they set out, New South Wales with Free Trade, Victoria with Protection, Victoria was 200,000 ahead in population, a million sterling ahead in revenue, eight millions ahead in trade, a hundred and fifty thousand acres ahead in cultivated land: she was far ahead in manufactures and was the equal of New South Wales in shipping. In 1888, New South Wales was one million ahead in revenue, seven millions ahead in exports, and only one million behind in imports. She was even slightly ahead in manufacturing industries. The general parity of conditions and the identity of the population in these contrasted colonies of Australia make the experiment of Free Trade in New South Wales very conclusive. The proposal of the Zollverein among the nations of Central Europe is also a movement in favour of Free Trade, which would thereby be introduced over a large area. In the same way, Napoleon's continental system, which is sometimes cited by Protectionists as an example in favour of their theory, was from the vast extent of his empire practically a large measure of Free Trade.

Where is the proof, we would ask by the way, that Sir John Macdonald is by conviction a Protectionist? He has taken up Protectionism for a political purpose, but where is his profession of Protectionist doctrine or his reasoning in support of

it to be found? Just before the election of 1878 he positively disclaimed Protectionism and declared that he was only for re-adjustment. His saying, "Reciprocity of Trade or Reciprocity of Tariffs," clearly implies that the first is the preferable alternative, and that Reciprocity of Tariffs is only the instrument for enforcing Reciprocity of Trade. We ask once more what is the proof that he is a Protectionist by conviction?

—The Anti-Poverty Society charges us with misrepresenting Mr. Henry George who it says "proposes no disturbance of land titles, no dispossession, no redistribution or leasing by the State, but simply an appropriation by the community of that value which it caused by the community, and thus securing free from taxation that which the individual produces." The seventh chapter of *Progress and Poverty* opens with these words: "The truth is, and from this truth there can be no escape, that there is and can be no just title to an exclusive possession of the soil, and that private property in land is a bold, base, enormous wrong like that of chattel slavery." Can it possibly be said that this imports no disturbance of titles to land or dispossession of private owners? Does not it plainly import that every farmer in Ontario is a wrongful possessor of what he deems his freehold and has no better title to it than he would have to a slave? In that case who is the owner but the State, and how can it grant anything but leases on sufferance at the utmost? If it gave the fee or even a lease for years it would be renewing the enormous wrong. The whole chapter which follows is a practical amplification of the opening sentence: "The anti-slavery movement in the United States commenced with talk of compensating owners, but when four million of slaves were emancipated the owners got no compensation, nor did they clamour for any, and by the time the people of any such country as England or the United States are sufficiently aroused to the injustice and disadvantages of individual ownership of land to induce them to attempt its nationali-

zation, they will be sufficiently aroused to nationalize it in a much more direct and easy way than by purchase : they will not trouble themselves about compensating the proprietors of land." This is pretty plain, is it not ? Further, the operation proposed is represented under the figure of a lawsuit, 'The People vs. the Land Owners,' in which the land is taken from its wrongful possessor 'the land owner,' and adjudged to its rightful owner 'the People,' and we are reminded that no compensation is given to the losing party in a lawsuit. The comparison is preposterous, since the losing party in the supposed lawsuit never had a legal title, whereas the land owner unquestionably has, and the measure proposed by Mr. George is not a judicial proceeding before an impartial tribunal, but a high-handed spoliation of one class by another. "The value caused by the community" is apparently the same thing as "unearned increment," and the appropriation of unearned increment is scouted by Mr. George as a ridiculously inadequate measure of justice. Mr. George is a writer of whom, without breach of loyalty to free thought, one may speak with plainness. He talks with levity, nay with exultation, of despoiling a multitude of persons whom he himself allows to have purchased in good faith, as well they might, considering that the property was guaranteed by the law of the community of which they and Mr. George himself were members, and that the practice of holding such property has been sanctioned by the custom of the whole civilized world for thousands of years. Does not plain justice say that if a description of property, the possession of which the whole community has through its laws solemnly and immemorially ratified, the reform ought to be made at the expense of the whole community ? The fact, we are afraid, is that with a good many of Mr. George's admirers what took was not so much the philosophy as the confiscation.

There is a nationalization of land without robbery which the Law Amendment Society has got introduced into the North-West and is now struggling to get introduced into Ontario. It is the Torrens System of land titles and conveyance, which in-

stead of exacting, each time a lot changes hands, fees for historical researches into the title, and thus in the case of small lots imposing a heavy fine on the transaction, enables every member of the nation to buy an acre of land by a process as simple as that by which he buys a yard of cloth. Experience has abundantly proved both the feasibility and the benefits of the system. The benefits are not economical only, but social, and the system commends itself to every statesman as the best antidote to the growing lust of socialistic confiscation. But there is prejudice, professional and general, to be overcome, and the Law Amendment Society needs such backing as public opinion can give it in pressing a reform at once truly popular and truly Conservative on the Government and legislature of this Province. The improvement is so manifest that a Bill embodying it drawn by a Conservative Chancellor almost passed the British House of Lords. At the last stage, when opposition is generally understood to be withdrawn, a set of those noble lords of the pigeon-shooting order who seldom show themselves in the House except for some selfish purpose, came down and threw out the Bill as anti-feudal. Such is the knowledge which the House of Lords has of its own position and such are the chances of its averting destruction by self-reform!

—The glories of the Toronto Club Ball have furnished Labour journalism with a text for a sermon on the inequalities of wealth which we have to thank some correspondent for sending to us. “The big building on York Street was filled with fashionable beauties and the chief rulers in the synagogue of caste. Women, the soft effulgence and rare beauty of whose pearls was only equalled by the snowy background of the bared bosoms on which they were displayed; women, whose eyes flashed with the light of perfect health and enjoyment; men high in the world of commerce—railway magnates and telegraph magnates, real estate dealers and street railway owners

—all indeed to whom Dame Rumour has given the reputation of great wealth and mighty influence were there. The revelers danced to the music of an imported band; the refreshments were of the most superb description; the rooms were magnificently decorated, the hired flunkies were gorgeous in new suits of the Club uniform, and all went merry as a marriage bell. The aristocracy of Toronto surpassed itself; it forgot for a time that this is a democratic country; it forgot for a time the great world lying in the lower grades of 'society'; it forgot for a time heaven and God and everything else, and, in an ecstasy of delight it fell down and worshipped itself—a great composite golden calf." The journalist pronounces the doom of wealth in the form of an apologue. Justice holds her court, and before it are brought one of the ladies with the pearls on their bosoms and a woman of the people, "bowed down and ragged and with a look of hopeless weariness on her face." The lady of the pearls is asked whether she has the title of labour to her wealth: it is at once assumed that she has not, and her jewels are forthwith taken from her and given to the woman of the people. Why is it to be assumed that she has not the title of labour to her wealth, if her husband has made it by hard work in an honourable profession or a useful branch of commerce, and if she herself has conscientiously done the duties of a wife, a mother and the head of a household, before putting on her pearls for the evening? Half the men at that ball had risen by labour, though of a superior kind, from the ranks to which jealousy longs to reduce them. The inequalities are indeed great and the contrasts painful, though to speak of the wife of a mechanic with good wages, setting out with her husband and children for her Saturday excursion as "bowed down and ragged and with a look of hopeless weariness on her face," would happily be absurd. But the responsibility rests on Justice herself if she represents the Maker of the Universe. He it was, not the lady with pearls or her compeers, who ordained that instead of a planet full of mechanics with high pay and short hours there should be this vast and varied scene, the inequalities and

contrasts of which, if you take into view all races, all times and all stages of civilization, are infinite, and throw those between the classes of any one community completely into the shade. The same Power has decreed that level as you will, and whatever violence you may use in the process, as soon as the havoc is over, the inequalities and contrasts shall again emerge. Bray society in the mortar of revolution: you will not annul the different powers of earning and saving inherent in its individual members any more than by breaking up a mass of matter you will annul the chemical properties inherent in the particles of which it is composed. Perhaps by the time this trial takes place, the great mystery will have been cleared up. Supreme Justice will have vindicated herself and all who stand at her bar will know why it was that she distributed her pearls so unequally. Not her pearls only, for if we could see into the bosoms on which they rest we shall find inequalities of happiness deeper and more mysterious than inequalities of pearls. When one class tells another that the "handwriting is on its wall," this is merely a mystical way of expressing envy and hatred, neither of which has so far done much to improve the lot of man. The handwriting is not on the wall of any set of people who in this most imperfect world are trying to do their duty in their station. It is on the wall of everyone who is not trying to do his duty, on that of the mechanic who, by scamping the plumbing poisons a household, as well as on that of the frivolous woman of fashion who squanders what she has not earned in selfish luxury and vulgar show. That pauperism waits on wealth and that to remove it you have only to abolish the wealthy class is a notion much cherished in certain quarters, but belied by facts. Nowhere is there more destitution than in barbarous or decayed communities where there is no wealthy class. Suppose the roof of the Toronto Club House had fallen upon the whole "synagogue of caste," would the mechanics of Toronto have been better off the next morning? Amusements every class must have of a kind suited to its tastes and means, and a ball costs no more in proportion

than a great Labour Procession or a day at the Industrial Exhibition. Not that we desire to break the force of any rational warning against selfish luxury, extravagance or vulgar ostentation. There is too much of them all among us, and we shall have to look to our ways, if not from higher motives, from fear of the mine which the bitter feelings excited by the reckless and vulgar display of wealth are charging beneath our feet.

—In the papers before New Year's Day appeared with equal honours the following brace of announcements:



GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
TORONTO.

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILL HOLD A RECEPTION AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE ON WEDNESDAY, 1ST OF JANUARY, BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 4 AND 5 O'CLOCK.
FREDK. C. LAW,
COMMANDER R. N.,
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

ST. MICHAEL'S PALACE.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TORONTO WILL BE AT HOME ON
WEDNESDAY, THE 1ST OF JAN.,
BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 3 AND HALF-PAST 5 O'CLOCK, AT ST. MICHAEL'S PALACE,
TO THOSE DESIROUS OF CALLING.
J. F. McBRIDE,
SECRETARY.

In the report of the receptions, that of the Archbishop, whose office and position are unknown to the Commonwealth, was placed between that of the Lieutenant-Governor and that of the Mayor and on the same footing with theirs. It is surely time to put a gentle check on social as well as political encroachment, and upon the by no means harmless servility which is engendered. Not long ago a Protestant, who was at the time Speaker of the Senate, was seen to go on his knee before a Cardinal at a reception. No doubt he knelt, and knelt not in body only, but in soul, before the Catholic vote. The representative of the Roman Catholic Church in this

Province is entitled to the same measure of social respect as the representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist Church, and to no larger measure. But he apparently wishes to arrogate to himself a much larger measure; and people are so prone to worship title, even when it is assumed without warrant, and pageantry however hollow, that a *caveat* may be in season. Let a man call himself His Grace, or the Grand Patriarch, or the Most Worshipful Grand Arch, or Illustrious Brother, or anything else that he and his sect or society please within their own pale. But let not unauthorized rank be foisted on the Commonwealth, especially when it ministers and is intended to minister to political aggrandizement.

—The Modern Language Association had a very successful meeting to which interest was added by the presence of the two new occupants of our chairs of literature, Professors Alexander and Cappon, who promise to give fresh life to that study. A paper on Comparative Philology read by Mr. Chamberlain made us feel that since men who are now fifty went to school a new science has grown up and is bearing fruit not only for the historian but for the philosopher, the theologian, and all whose study is Man. With regard to the critical and scientific study of literature it was rather aptly remarked that the country in which English was studied least was that in which English literature had been produced. We are in some danger of making rules for seeing the glory of the sunset and smelling the sweetness of the rose. Alexandrian criticism came when Athenian production had departed. But there is a middle path which our professors will no doubt keep. As to style, we should almost despair of cultivating it by rule or system. To imitate the style of a great writer would be like imitating Jupiter's nod. All that most of us can do in the way of style, or ought to aim at doing, beyond grammatical correctness, is to know exactly what we mean to say, to say it, and have done with it. The best school of pure and graceful English is the

society of those who speak it, as the golden road to perfect mastery of Italian is to be born a Tuscan.

—Our new Professor of Moral Philosophy has given his inaugural and has proved, we believe we may say, to competent judges that he is master of his subject. He promises to connect philosophy with life. If he keeps his promise he will do what has been hardly done by any modern philosopher except the despised Paley. The others have devoted themselves to the quest of some sanction for morality other than the Will of the Author of our being and superior to experience which, as the debate still continues, they can scarcely be supposed to have found. Paley, who had no turn for metaphysical speculation, assumes at once that the sanction of morality is the Divine Will and proceeds to give practical rules of life. There is something of the same practical character in the lectures which Frederick Maurice gave as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. Discovery in the region where the physical passes into the moral has completely changed the field and it is vain to suppose that a new professor can tread exactly in the footsteps of Professor Young.

—MR. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, who in the Boston *Unitarian Review* does us the honour to notice our criticism of Renan's *Agnostic Manifesto*, thinks that we have unconsciously thrown ourselves into the arms of Agnosticism by admitting that we can know nothing of infinity or eternity. We must frankly confess that if a knowledge of infinity or eternity were essential to religion and morality we should, so far as we can see, be reduced to Agnosticism. But the one thing needed, as it appears to us, to save us from Agnosticism, religious and moral, is a well-founded conviction that we are under the government of a Being whose character and objects are indicated by our moral nature, who will deal with us as we keep the moral law,

and who, through all the perplexities of this temporary scene, will in the end bring out moral good. Mr. Abbot quotes with sorrowful amazement our admission that nothing can be inferred from time as to eternity. "What," he asks, "is eternity but unlimited time? And how can either the presence or absence of limits in time change in any degree the nature of time itself?" Try, we would say in reply, to think of time without limit. Your mind will simply sink down under the effort. Eternity, as it appears to us, is the negative of all the characteristics and conditions of time. The "confluence of two eternities," each eternity limited by the point of time at which we start, of which Carlyle talks, is unthinkable. It is this notion that eternity is an extension of time which gives force to an Agnostic objection to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. No white robes, no palm branches, no harps, can make the idea of time without limit other than one of insupportable weariness. We do not doubt of course that physical science tells us physical truth, but as it can only present things in space and time we do not see how it can give us a knowledge of infinity and eternity; nor do we see how, being merely the systematized report of our senses, it can give us the knowledge of anything supersensual. But we do not confine "Science" to physical science. Science is merely the Latin for knowledge, and if the indications of our moral nature are trustworthy they are just as much science as anything observed through the crucible or the telescope. It is rather important to bear this in mind, that physical science may not be invested with a false glamour at the expense of knowledge derived from other sources.

—The comparative longevity of animals is a subject which seems not to have received from science so much attention as it deserved, considering that an inquiry into it appears more likely than anything else to throw light on the nature of Life and Death. Darwin seems never to have taken it in

hand, though the phenomena which it comprises are apparently among the most curious and pregnant of Evolution. Dr. August Weismann, of Freiburg, takes it in hand in a series of essays, a translation of which has been published by the University of Oxford. We cannot attempt in our narrow space to summarize the scientific results. But they are somewhat melancholy for Man. For him, the crown, as he thinks, of creation, Nature seems to feel no special care. To man is allotted at most one century, to an elephant are allotted two. The longevity of birds is wonderful: ravens, parrots, eider ducks, eagles, vultures and wild geese reach a century. A falcon is said to have lived 162 years, and swans are said to have lived 300. It appears, according to Dr. Weismann, that Nature's ground of discrimination is purely physical and that she measures out life not by the dignity of the being or his capacities of development, but by the necessities of reproduction. A bird which lays only one egg in a year and is liable to having that one egg destroyed by a number of accidents, would not be able to keep up the race if it did not live long enough to lay a great many annual eggs; though why the bird lays only one egg remains to be explained, and the explanation seems to involve another Evolutionary process requiring almost unlimited time. We gather, too, the unconsolatory impression that if there is any care it is not for the individual, who is so dear to each of us, but only for the race. The removal of generations by death seems in like manner to be determined by the consideration that "the unending life of the Metazoan body would be a useless luxury," and that as the individuals would become damaged in course of time would be not only valueless but harmful to the species. Death is not universal: the lowest organisms do not die but propagate by fission. However, where biology with its centenarian geese and undying amoeba ends, moral philosophy begins. It cannot be contended that the moral and intellectual development of man has no object but reproduction or physical perfection. What physical purpose is served by poetry? By what physical process

can poetry have been evolved? Was reproduction Nature's aim in giving birth to Shakespeare?

—Mr. Bellamy, of "Looking Backward" fame, proclaims on the other side of the Line the death of domestic service and tells us we shall all have to take to co-operative house-keeping. He seems hardly to know how deep and far-reaching a change in our whole life the renunciation of separate homes would imply. The cause of the disturbance he, like us, takes to be "the democratic spirit of the age which has rendered and is rendering the relation of personal servitude unpopular. "Domestic Service," he says, "implies a sacrifice of personal dignity in the relation of the employee to the employer which at the present day is required of no other class of workers and would be endured by none." The consequence is a perpetual effort on the part of the servant girl to assert her dignity by mutiny. Masters and Mistresses, says Mr. Bellamy, exact of their servants a submissiveness and even obsequiousness of manner not required in any other relation. This is not true of the best masters and mistresses, who are as careful of the feelings of their domestics as they are of those of their guests. Why are subordination and respectfulness of manner more intolerable in a household than in a regiment or a ship? If household service were degrading a girl in service would be a degraded being. But is she so? If she is in a good family is she not rather raised by intercourse with a more highly educated class? Would not a sensible man just as soon take her as a factory girl for his wife? We are misinformed if the discipline of factories is not full as strict and full as rough as that of most households. The factory girl goes where she likes in the evening, but the real value of the privilege depends upon where she likes to go. In rural France a maidservant wears the dress of her order with as little sense of degradation as a soldier wears his uniform. On this democratic continent we are trying to live up to a Jeffersonian

ideal, according to which the worst of evils is subordination, though the sage himself so far stooped from the ideal to the practical as to hold slaves to the end of his life ; like his Master Rousseau, who, having preached the most sublime doctrines of parental duty dropped his own infants into the basket at the Foundling Hospital. The trouble is, however, not confined to the New World. Carlyle believed himself to have ascertained that of the distressed needlewoman in London a good many were, in his phrase, "mutinous servant girls come to the net upshot of their anarchies." However, Mr. Bellamy has laid his finger on the sore point. Be very careful of the feelings and studious not to wound self-respect. This is good for both parties. Remember, too, that the restlessness of servants is caused in part at least by the restlessness of employers. The old English households to which we wistfully look back were the households of people who instead of crossing the ocean every year in search of pleasure and turning their domestics adrift staid at home and did their duty.

—Lord Lorne's muse has brought forth, under the title of "Love and Peril," the Canadian love story with which she was announced to be in labour. The story, we cannot help thinking, is a schoolboy production and not above schoolboy level in sense or taste. Allusions to the "bird cages" of the ladies of Toronto and to their dressing their hair over old sponges are not high-class wit. The political moral to which the story leads up through an account of the North-West rebellion is that Canada ought to have a standing army as well as a Governor-General's body-guard, a Royal Society, a Royal Academy, and the other paraphernalia with which Lord Lorne's genius endowed her. With all deference for the opinion of an ex-Governor-General we cannot think that the necessity for a standing army is proved by an insurrection which, whatever Lord Lorne may say, could put only five hundred men at most, and those very imperfectly armed, into the field. That

of which the North-West rebellion proved the necessity was a government with eyes and thoughts for something besides the working of the party machine. Nothing seems more certain than that with timely attention to the claims of the Half-breeds and timely lenitives applied to their simple fears, the rebellion might have been prevented and nine millions, besides many lives, saved to the country.

—Of Mr. Kingsford's "History of Canada" it may be said that it is an addition rather to the archives than to the literature of the country. It takes not so much the form of a narrative as that of a thorough and erudite investigation of a series of chapters in our early history. The last chapter dealt with in the last of the three volumes which have at present appeared is the Expulsion of the Acadians. The false and calumnious version of this affair has been made popular by the barley-sugar composition which is styled the poetry of Longfellow. Perhaps the moralists will some day give us, for the benefit of history, their opinion as to the proper limits of lying in verse. The episode, as Mr. Kingsford admits, is painful, but as he clearly proves is not disgraceful to Great Britain. The Acadians were not Arcadians, but very much the reverse, and they were under the influence of incendiary priests. In defiance of treaties they obstinately refused to come into British allegiance, or to abstain from hostile action against Great Britain. As Mr. Kingsford well puts it, they were a party in a besieged fortress conspiring and co-operating with the enemy against the garrison. There was nothing for it but to remove them, and this was done in as humane a way as possible, the only inhumanity shown being on the part of their own kinsmen at Quebec, who received such of them as having escaped deportation made for that Province with the coldest indifference and allowed them to starve. We owe to Sir Adams Archibald the first strenuous confutation of the false belief that England had committed in Acadia a second Massacre of

Glencoe ; but Mr. Kingsford's confirmation is the fruit of independent research. What would the Germans do with a people of a district in Alsace-Lorraine who now persisted in remaining in arms against Germany ?

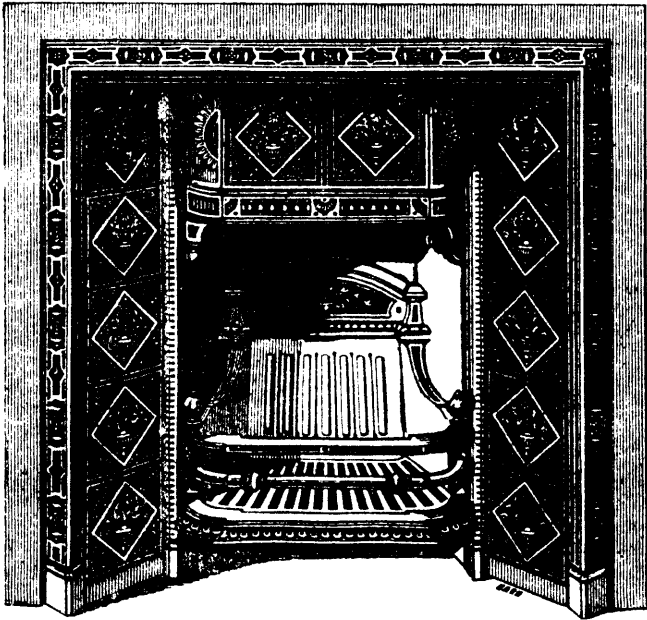
—Few chapters in the unwritten history of Canada are more full of romance than those relating to the Fur Trade and the rivalries of the two great Companies. In M. Masson's *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Toronto: Williamson & Co.) we have an account of one of the companies known as the "Nor'-Westers," whose headquarters were at Montreal. We learn a good deal, however, about the great English company of the "Hudson Bays," the area of its operations, and some of its hardy factors, who distinguished themselves by their explorations in the region long known, to geographers at least, under the name of Prince Rupert's Land. Amid the vicissitudes of nations this chartered company held the territory for two hundred years, until it passed to the British Crown and subsequently to the Canadian Dominion. Till the end of that period colonization knocked at the door in vain. For a hundred years the Hudson Bay Company did little to open up the country, contenting itself with establishing a few trading-posts on James Bay, to which the Indians of the Athabasca and Saskatchewan region resorted for trade. Meanwhile the great plains of the North-West had been explored by way of the Ottawa and Lake Superior, first by the adventurous French, and, after the conquest, by the equally adventurous Scotch of Montreal and Quebec. The result of this probing of the continent by the waterways of the St. Lawrence system was the speedy diversion of the peltry trade from the routes it had been wont to follow, and the awakening of the Hudson Bay Company to the active rivalry of the traders of Montreal. In 1784, the latter organized themselves into a trading corporation, known as the North-West Company, the history of which has now been given us by M. Masson. The

story told in his pages comprises the dramatic incidents in the career of the company, from its organization in 1784 to its amalgamation with the Hudson Bays in 1821. It is a story of almost continuous strife, peril and bloodshed. The ill-starred relations of Lord Selkirk and his Red River Colony with the Hudson Bays, and the long and bitter contest between the settlers and the wintering partners and employees of the North-West Company, are the chief incidents of the story. In narrating them, the author shows a manifest animus against the Hudson Bay Company and the philanthropic nobleman who sought to found a colony on the Red River. So partisan is M. Masson in dealing with this portion of his work, that the reader will have to seek elsewhere for the materials of a soberer judgment. The chapters dealing with exploration in the region we take to be more trustworthy, and they are certainly very entertaining. Pleasant also is the account given us of the magnates of the Montreal Company, and of the lordly hospitality in which they indulged at the annual gatherings of the partners at Fort William. Very welcome, to the wintering partners at least, must have been those times of cheer, for desolate indeed was the life of the early fur-traders in posts remote not only from civilization but from contact with their kind. Interesting matter will be found in the latter half of the book, which deals with Alexander Mackenzie's expeditions to the Arctic and the Pacific oceans, with Simon Fraser's voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the coast, with an exploratory tour with Captain (afterwards Sir John) Franklin, and with various trading ventures among the Missouri Indians. The author has derived the materials for these interesting narratives from the hitherto unpublished journals of servants of the fur companies. The work, as a whole, is a valuable addition to the literature of the North-West.

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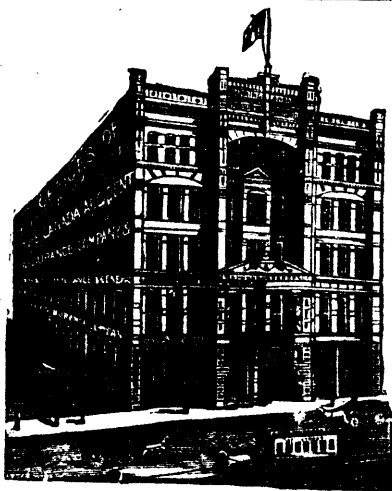
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