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W. D. Ham

THE BYSTANDER.



2113

NOT PARTY, BUT THE PEOPLE.

A MONTHLY  
REVIEW



**THE BYSTANDER**

OF  
CURRENT EVENTS,  
CANADIAN AND GENERAL.

VOL II.  
JANUARY TO JUNE,  
1881.

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# THE BYSTANDER.

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JANUARY, 1881.

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THE terms of the Pacific Railway Agreement turn out to be pretty much what we assumed them to be in our last number. We were right in concluding that the road was to become permanently the property of the Company. The upshot is, that Canada will pay about fifty-six millions in cash or works for the political and military object of connecting the British provinces on this continent by a line running entirely through British territory. Had the commercial principle prevailed, and the North-West been laid out in lines of railway drawn simply with a view to the promotion of settlement and trade, not only would Canada never have been called upon to pay a cent, but, if the accounts given of the territory are true, there would have been a surplus, applicable to the construction of other railways, to the recoupment of the sum sunk in the "Inter-colonial," or to the diminution of the general burdens of the country. There are those who deem the political and military objects of the undertaking sufficient to justify the sacrifice. With unfeigned respect for what we have no doubt is patriotic sentiment, we have frankly avowed, and must continue frankly to avow, the opposite opinion. We do not believe in the perpetuity of the antagonism between the two divisions of the English-speaking race upon this continent, which the Anti-Continental policy assumes as its guiding principle, and as justification for leading the country into these perilous undertakings. To us, it appears that the social basis

of that antagonism is rapidly giving way, as the memories of old quarrels fade into the past; that the economical forces are everywhere sapping the barriers; and that so far, at least, as commercial interests are concerned, partnership, not rivalry, is our destined relation to our neighbours. This very enterprise, the grand Anti-Continental scheme, is committed for execution to a Syndicate, an important place in which is held by an American firm, while the basis and support of the whole combination is the proprietary of the St. Paul and Minneapolis Railway, an American line. Instead of perpetuating the complete severance, which Anti-Continentalists desire, a policy of vast enterprises, adding to the debt and increasing the embarrassments of the country, seems to us not unlikely to end in annexation on American terms; and when the opponents of such a policy are accused of Annexationism, if they care to bandy invectives instead of discussing commercial questions, they will not be without matter for a retort.

This, however, is not the point of view from which the Opposition is entitled to criticize the arrangement proposed by the Government. For there can be no sort of doubt that the Opposition, like the Government, has committed itself by its language, and still more by its acts, to the building of the whole line on the political and military principle, as a National and Imperial undertaking. The proofs of this fact have been produced and reproduced in the debates to satiety, and are present to everybody's mind. The Opposition before the late change in the leadership was the party of the *Globe*, and the late Managing Director of that journal was, in his closing years at all events, as Anti-Continental as it was possible for a Canadian to be. His paper advocated, with all its force, the immediate construction of the Pacific Railway. It is now in a state of oscillation, and holds language about the folly of proceeding with the unproductive portions of the road, which might be supposed to have been transferred from our pages. But less than a year ago, it was violently denouncing those who questioned the expediency of proceeding at once with the section of the road in the mountains

of British Columbia, a measure which manifestly commits the country to the rapid construction of the entire line. That Mr. Mackenzie, when he became Minister, hesitated on the brink of the gulf, cannot be doubted: if he had been strong enough to follow the dictates of his own judgment, he would have declined to proceed, and offered British Columbia, as the price of rescinding a ruinous bargain, either replacement in her original position, or a money payment which, looking to her general demeanour on the subject, it could not have been deemed indelicate to propose. Had he called a halt, we have not the slightest doubt that he would have had the sense of the country, which throughout this business has been ill represented by the politicians, on his side. But with the *Globe* pressing him behind, and the late Governor-General also, we suspect, urging him on, forwards he went, and his misgivings were betrayed only by a faltering and piecemeal mode of execution, which would probably have proved the most expensive in the end. It is true that Mr. Mackenzie is no longer leader, and that with the new leader, the spirit hostile to the enterprise, and to the policy of which it is the embodiment, has begun to prevail. But the change of mind, if it has taken place, has not yet been avowed, and till it is avowed, and frankly avowed, the Government will have a right to treat the difference between it and the Opposition as one regarding the best mode of prosecuting the enterprise, not regarding the enterprise itself.

The question between the Government and the Opposition is still further narrowed by the assent of the Opposition to the proposal to transfer the undertaking to a Company. On this point the country is unanimous. The revelations of the Pacific Railway Commission were not needed to show us that, besides the mismanagement and waste universally attendant on great commercial enterprises carried on by a government, we were being drawn into a bottomless slough of jobbing, and beset by a brood of schemers of which we might have been long in getting rid. Nor has any serious objection been urged

against the Syndicate except that it is identified with the St. Paul and Minneapolis Line. We do not say that this objection is devoid of weight; but without some such basis of local interest and connection as the ownership of a railroad in the adjacent country affords, would it have been possible to obtain a substantial Syndicate at all? That the great European firms, the Barings and the Rothschilds, would take up anything on so immense a scale, and so entirely beyond the sphere of their ordinary operations, always seemed to us most unlikely; and we were not in the least surprised that, in that respect, the mission to England proved, as it did, a failure. The members of the Syndicate, though not capitalists of the first magnitude, are men of wealth; they are trustworthy, able, experienced, and thoroughly understand what they are about. No serious exceptions have, in fact, been taken by the leading speakers or friends of the Opposition, to their character, nor has anybody attempted to point out where a stronger combination could have been found.

If the political and military line across the continent on Canadian territory is to be constructed, the sum expended must be vast. The only question is whether, under this Agreement, it will be too vast. That is a question which an expert only can answer. To an expert, accordingly, and, as we think, a trustworthy one, we have gone, and he, after comparing the cost of different Canadian and American lines, pronounces that the sum is not too vast. In the Prairie section, the appropriation to which appears large, it seems that drainage is likely to cost more than is commonly supposed. It must be borne in mind that the Company will have not only to bear the expense of constructing the railway, but, in all probability, of running it for some years at a loss. The portion of the line north of Lake Superior can hardly fail to be a heavy burden on their hands. Without a prospect of large gains, no body of capitalists could be induced to commit itself to such a work. There are articles in the Agreement which were obviously put in by the negotiators of the other party, not

by ours; but of the objections which strike us at first sight some are found on a closer inspection to disappear. The exemptions of the company's lands from taxation does not follow them into the hands of purchasers, so that they are, in that respect, left on the same footing with those retained by the Government. Great expense will be incurred in selling them, and in bringing emigrants to settle on them, so that it would be hard if, at the same time, they were to be eaten up by taxes. The exemption of the Provincial line and buildings from taxation is not a very important item, and may be a necessary safeguard against extortion. The exemption of the materials from Customs duties has an invidious appearance, and knocks a hole in the fiscal policy of the Government: it might have been better to commute it into a sum of money, roughly calculated, and to have lumped it with the subsidy: but its value has been enormously overstated, one Opposition writer putting it at ten millions. The doubt as to the standard of construction has been cleared up, nor can there be any real misgiving as to the intention of the Company to build well the line which it is itself to own and run. After all, there are parts of the Agreement which will depend for their interpretation on events. The value of the land subsidy, for example, is uncertain: it can be settled only by the rate of immigration, and this, again, will be determined by occurrences in Europe, which it is impossible at present to foresee. Nor is the value even of money fixed: its tendency at present is to decline. Forecast fails, and we have had to indemnify the Company against the chances of a doubtful future.

The worst feature of the arrangement, as it appears to us, is the establishment in the North-West of a great Railway and Land Grant power, if not with a monopoly, certainly with a control, practically unchecked by competition, of the main lines of communication and the channels of trade for twenty years to come. It is difficult, however, to see how this could have been avoided, if the enterprise was to be placed in the hands

of a Company at all. A Company would have hardly taken the Line without the power to make the branches, or without protection against ruinous invasions of its commercial domain: it would hardly have consented to be placed in a worse position than that in which the Government itself would have been, had it proceeded with the undertaking on its own account. The only alternative, as far as we can see, would have been to form a Consolidated Company, so to speak, of contractors, simply for the construction of the whole road, and to lease the road when finished: but to this plan, too, there would, no doubt, have been grave objections. The North-West, as it fills will grow strong, conscious of its strength and alive to its own interests. It will compel the Company to satisfy its reasonable demands. If fetters are imposed on its growing frame, it will burst them with the vigour of a young Samson and with the freedom from moral punctiliousness characteristic of the West.

The Canadian negotiators are undeniably able, and thoroughly masters of the subject; nor have we the slightest reason to suppose that they have not done their very best for the country. Their own position was staked on the result. It is suggested that they feared to fail in their mission; but this fear must have been more than balanced by that of laying before the nation an agreement which it would condemn. We are inclined, therefore, to believe that this is the cheapest rate at which the country can, as people think fit to put it, accomplish a great national achievement, or get out of a desperate scrape. In private, we take comfort from the reflection that the subsidy is apportioned to the different sections of the road, while agreements, by consent of the parties, may at any time be revised.

One strong point the Opposition had, if they had only put themselves in the proper attitude. The nation had a right to be taken into council on a question which the Minister of Railways, in the opening of his speech, truly described as the most important that had ever engaged the attention of that Parliament. "The people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them," was the frank saying of an English Tory prelate,

and the sentiment still lingers in the English Tory mind. Here it lurks beneath the milder form of respect for the dignity of Parliament. We detest "mob" rule and "Press" rule as heartily as any of those who have taken the side of Parliamentary prerogative on this occasion; we are just as anxious as they can be to introduce a Conservative element into our institutions; perhaps, if the truth were known, we go even further than they go in that direction. But the only Conservatism possible here is the Conservatism of the New World which sets out with recognizing, not popular impulse or passion, but the mature opinion of the community as the basis of all government and legislation. Members of Parliament appeal to their constituents on the questions which chance to be before the country at the time of election, and why should it be beneath their dignity to attend to the views of those same constituents on questions which arise at other times? Had the Opposition remained quiet, and imposed silence on its beldame organ till the Agreement was laid before it, and had it then, without rushing at once into hostile criticism, demanded time for itself and the country to consider so momentous a project, and one involving so many calculations and points for inquiry, its demand could not have been reasonably disregarded. In the interval thus gained it might even have reviewed its general position, and determined, when the discussion came on, to announce that, since the whole undertaking could be prosecuted, according to the Government, at no lower cost, it would move that all but the productive portions of the line should be postponed. But through the premature violence of the organ, and the pell-mell onslaught with which the Agreement, on its production, was at once received, this opportunity has been lost.

—Those who, like ourselves, have national government on the brain, will not have failed to note the illustration of the effects of Party on the public councils afforded by this debate.



Not a word of independent and faithful advice has the country been able to receive, on a question of overwhelming importance, from any of its public men. The leading organs of the Opposition had furiously condemned the Agreement before it was made, and with its production a faction fight began. Deliberation there has been none, but only thrust and parry. It is edifying to see journals which are vehement defenders of the Party system broadly insinuating that Ministerial members are kept away from the debates, and that their intellects are being drowned with liquor, to prevent their being converted by the arguments. In the Press, we beg zealots for the dignity of Parliament to observe, there has been something more like discussion. The *Newmarket Era*, for example, considers the question with perfect fairness. Looking upon the debate as a combat, and measuring praise accordingly, we may say that the speech of the Minister for Railways was eminently strong and skilful: he did wisely in opening with a full history of the transaction and pinning his enemies to their own acts and declarations. Mr. Blake's great effort was somewhat marred by a tendency which besets lawyers, and Chancery lawyers especially: he laboured all the points of the case, great and small, as he would be bound to do in pleading before an Equity Judge. He deserves gratitude, however, for having kept clear of the Pacific Scandal and for having stooped to no personalities. Sir Richard Cartwright did not follow the good example of his leader. His insinuation that Sir Charles Tupper had taken a bribe reproduced, in a condensed form, all the libels of the organ with which he and Mr. Mackenzie have the misfortune to be identified. If Sir Charles Tupper struck fiercely in reply, he might plead the most intolerable provocation. His allusion to a stranger present at the debate was wrong: but Mr. Gordon Brown, who has been all his life making butcherly attacks on helpless men, has felt, for once, what it is to be held up to public odium without the power of reply. Sir Charles Tupper has tendered before the Pacific Railway Commission an explanation of his conduct in the matter of the

contracts, which, if true, is sufficient, so far at least as the question of probity is concerned. If the matter is to be carried further, the proper mode of proceeding is by formal accusation, duly supported with proofs, not by irresponsible taunt and innuendo.

—Government journals continue to exult over the disarray and the internal troubles of the Opposition, which from their seat of unity and security they see weltering beneath their feet, as austere theologians tell us the denizens of heaven will exult over the sufferings of the lost in the next world. There can be no doubt that the Opposition has its embarrassments: it is divided on the subject of Commercial Union; it is hesitating and perhaps divided on the question of the Senate; it is not entirely of one mind about the Tariff; the Globite section of it still covertly wrestles against the new leadership, though the result of the election in North Oxford will go far toward bringing that struggle to an end. These are the weaknesses of a transition. They are also the weaknesses in some measure of all Liberal parties, which are parties of opinion; whereas Conservative parties are rather parties of interest; the tendency of opinion being to divide in proportion to its activity, while that of interest is to consolidate in proportion to its strength. But has the Conservative party in Canada really any very adamant bond of union irrespectively of personal leadership and connection? Some years ago two men were sitting together in the gallery of the House of Commons, one a stranger, the other an old Conservative politician, much renowned for shrewdness. They were listening to Sir John Macdonald, about the state of whose health at the time unfavourable reports were current. "If anything were to happen to that man," remarked the stranger, "the party would not hold together for ten days." "Not for ten minutes," was the old politician's reply. In the meantime we have just seen a Conservative party in England united as firmly as the

most complete identity of interest political, social and commercial could unite it, overthrown at the polls, and ousted from power by a Liberal party whose divergences ranged through the whole diapason from the Duke of Argyll to Mr. Bradlaugh. Unexpected things now turn the balance, which is more delicately poised in this intellectual and electric age than it was in the old times of the Blues and Yellows. The Government has owed much of its success to the seasons and to the general course of trade; it would suffer as much from a bad harvest or a commercial reaction, such as we fear is pretty sure to follow the present "boom." It would certainly lose seats, if an election were to come on now, in Ontario and in the Maritime Provinces; while it would probably hold its ground in Quebec. What will happen three years hence only a political Medium can pretend to say.

—As a matter of course there will be a debate about the Tariff. But the Tariff as a whole has fulfilled the proper purpose of all tariffs; it has raised the requisite amount of revenue. The Opposition can assail it successfully only by showing that a revenue sufficient to fill the deficit could have been raised in a better way, and this not one of their speakers or organs, so far as we have seen, has as yet attempted to do. There are items in the Tariff, such as the duty on light wines and that on high priced printing-presses, which, if the question were entirely open, the Finance Minister himself might deem fit subjects for discussion. The duty on light wines is adverse to the interest of Temperance, as seen from our point of view. The duty on high priced printing presses excludes an article necessary to the intellectual growth of the nation, which as yet cannot possibly be produced here. But the Finance Minister is right if he thinks that, when the shoulder of commerce has become accustomed to the burden, alteration is in itself an evil. What a Greek politician said of laws may be said with more justice of tariffs; the best framed if unstable are inferior to

the stable though less well framed. There is, however, one impost which no plea founded either on the general success of the system or on the inconvenience of change will suffice to maintain. Our readers may remember that in speaking of the tariff, we have always treated the Coal tax as different in character from the rest of the duties. It alone is in the objectionable sense of the term Protectionist; its avowed object being not to raise more revenue, but to enforce upon the Western Provinces the use of Nova Scotian coal. This object has not been attained, so far as anything West of Quebec is concerned, but Ontario finds herself at the setting in of what seems likely to be a hard winter saddled with a tax on one of the first necessities of life, the price of which, irrespective of the tax, is high. Nothing can make Canada habitable, especially for the labouring class, but abundance of fuel. A finance minister who regards either the prosperity of the country or the claims of the suffering poor will put the idea of taxing coal away from his thoughts for ever. If Sir Leonard Tilley should unfortunately prove obdurate on this point, we must look to the Opposition to do its duty.

—It is not very likely that the heavy cannonade which, during the recess, has been directed against the Senate, will be followed by an attack in force. Apparently the Opposition leaders have not made up their minds whether they shall declare for reform by the introduction of the elective principle, or for simple abolition. Their movement will not be much strengthened by the accession of advocates who but the other day were assailing it and all who bore a part in it with venomous abuse, and whose conversion, taking place without the frank avowal which always marks an honest change of opinion, is too plainly strategical to produce any moral effect. The end can hardly be doubtful, unless the nation falls into its dotage, or the shadow goes back on the political dial. Who can believe that, in a country where the elec-

tive principle has been established, and the national will accepted as the basis of government, a body of utterly irresponsible nominees, without any sort of title, except the favour of a Minister, will be permitted for ever to possess a legislative power co-ordinate to that of the representatives of the people, and to exercise an absolute veto on the decrees of the nation? What self-stultification could be greater than such a constitution as this imposed upon itself by a free people? The fact is that the people of Canada never did impose such a constitution on themselves; it was imposed on them, in disregard, as we conceive, of sound principle, without their concurrence, by a conclave of politicians negotiating with Downing Street, who could not avoid being biassed by the special interests and feelings of their own class. They had in their minds, no doubt, the British House of Lords, forgetting that the House of Lords rests on hereditary wealth and social power, while their Upper House rests on nothing. The Sovereign, as every body knows, has really no more to do with the nominations than she has with the nominations of Senators for the United States: they are wholly in the gift of the Minister, whose departure from power leaves his nominee absolutely without real credentials of any kind. Nor will the allegation that the Senate specially represents the federal principle, or secures federal rights, for a moment sustain comparison with the facts. No instance of its taking a more federal line than the Commons can be pointed out. The same political parties rule it which rule the Lower House: it is, in fact, nothing but a set of shelves for veteran and often superannuated partisans. The idea that anything but partisanship would be represented, if it was ever entertained, must long ago have been abandoned: the Minister could not, if he would, nominate any one but an old partisan. Many of our Senators are personally worthy of their position; but this does not justify the existence of the institution.

On the other hand, the Senate was intended, no doubt, to be the Conservative element of the Constitution, and the Constitution

needs a Conservative element, not an importation from aristocratic Europe, at once feeble and invidious, but one which shall be strong and effective, because it commends itself to the reason of the whole people. A statesmanlike revision of our policy, with this object in view, is more to be desired than a simple abolition of the Senate, or even a crude application to it of the elective system. But such a revision is hardly possible under the Empire of Party which would at once turn the deliberation into a faction fight, and therefore it would perhaps be no great matter for lamentation if the question should stand over till it can be settled by a really national government in the interest of the whole nation, provided always that the Senate can be induced to hold its anomalous powers in abeyance. If it crosses the will of the people on any question of great importance, the conflict will at once come.

—The meeting of the Ontario Legislature brings the question of Provincial Parliaments again to the front. An outcry has been raised against those who, as it is imagined, propose to abolish our Local Institutions. What is proposed is not to abolish these institutions, but to make them really local. At present they are donkey engines to the Dominion Parties, and the Ministers of Ontario and Quebec steer the Provincial barque with one eye always fixed on Ottawa. We want the entire devotion of Provincial administration to Provincial affairs, and at the same time liberty of serving the Province for all who are able to serve it well, whether they belong to the tail of a party leader or not. These ends can be reached only by the abandonment of the Cabinet system, with all the puerile apparatus of party government in Lilliput, and by the substitution for it of an executive regularly elected by the Legislature, on the principle of personal fitness for the particular office. There is nothing out of the way in this proposal; it is the mode in which commercial bodies generally, and municipal bodies in many cases, appoint their executive officers: in

the case of Switzerland it is the mode of appointing the Supreme Executive itself. No definite objection to it has yet been advanced. There is also a growing demand for a reduction of the expenditure which, under the present system, is excessive. We cannot concur in the proposal of biennial sessions, because, in the first place, it would involve inconvenient delay in the transaction of current business requiring legislative sanction, such as the chartering of commercial corporations, and, in the second place, it would diminish still further the practical responsibility of a Government which has already too much power. We do, however, heartily agree with the Peterborough *Examiner* in thinking that it would be well, both to reduce the number of members and to abolish salaries, limiting the indemnity henceforth to the payment of the hotel and travelling expenses of members on a liberal scale. When the number had been reduced, say by a third, men enough would be found to serve the Province for a month each year without pay; and the result probably would not merely be a financial saving, but a political gain. It is mainly by the system of political salaries that public life on this continent has been turned into a trade. Perhaps the evils attending the practice, and the danger with which it menaces free institutions in the future, are more manifest in Quebec than in Ontario. Supposing the Party and Cabinet system to be discarded, the office of Lieutenant-Governor, whose sole political function it is to appoint the Ministers at the dictation of the majority in the Legislature, would become evidently, as well as practically, superfluous, and upon the next vacancy after the introduction of the more rational mode of appointment, would naturally cease to exist.

—A threatening cloud hangs over Upper Canada College, the friends of which, last session, in a somewhat adventurous mood threw out a challenge to its numerous foes, by proposing to spend money on the improvement of its accommodations,

thereby bringing on a storm in which the Government totally lost control of its party. Should the enemy assume the offensive, the garrison would do well to remember that its case is not theoretically strong, and abandoning the high and somewhat invidious ground which it took on the last occasion, to found the defence rather on prescriptive association and the success of the College under the present arrangement. It is difficult to vindicate on principle the duplicate system of local high Schools combined with a great Central College for the same class of pupils. The College is, in fact, a survival from the educational era before High Schools. If the Minister of Education pleads, as he did last session, that the tone of the College is superior to that of the High Schools, the Schools will, of course, reply that it is unjust to tax them with inferiority so long as the College is kept up, at the public expense, to take away their best pupils, depress them and throw them into the shade. There is more force in the argument that wealthy Canadians would send their sons to the public schools of England if there were no Upper Canada College for them here. Not that it is possible to produce an English Public School in Canada: we might as well try to grow English evergreens in the College yard. Eton and Harrow are the product, not so much of an educational, as of a social, system. They reflect the character of the English gentleman, his good manners, his strong sense of honour, his veracity, his idleness, his excessive addiction to sports, his want of frugality, his luxurious habits, and even his more serious vices. They did so at least till, like the Court, they were flooded by the new possessors of wealth in quest of patents of gentility, by whose presence in large numbers the economical part of the training, at all events, has not been improved. A specially high sense of honour is, perhaps, more likely to be fostered by a military college, such as that at Kingston, than by any other institution which we can create here; though it is not probable that the country will continue to pay for the education of cadets for whom it has no commissions. The hunters are beginning to dispose of the bear's



skin before they have killed the bear. To divide the endowment of Upper Canada College among all the High Schools would be to fritter it away without effect. The foundation of a college for women, where Art of every kind and grade, music and everything else specially pertaining to female culture, might be taught, would be a far worthier application of any fund which the Government may find placed at its disposal.

—It is not unlikely that Public Education generally may form a subject of debate. No want of respect either for the founders or for the administrators of the present system, no disparagement of its general fruits, is implied in saying that it is in some measure experimental, and that the time for reviewing the results of the experiment may have come. Still less do we mean to betray any want of loyalty to the general principle of popular education, the sheet-anchor of democratic institutions. The growing expense is the least serious part of the matter, though it demands attention on grounds not of economy only, but of justice. By nature every man is bound to find proper education, as well as food and clothing, for the children whom he brings into the world; and if, from considerations of policy, the duty is assumed by the community, and the expense of discharging it cast upon the taxpayer, it ought to be kept strictly within the limits traced by the exigencies of the State: if it is not, there will some day be a revolt against the school tax altogether. But the more important question is whether the course of instruction at present established in our public schools is the most judicious? Are the brains of children over-tasked, as some medical men declare? Are subjects included in the programme which cannot be thoroughly taught, or which are practically useless? Is Algebra, for example, of any use to a young farmer? Is the instruction carried too high? Are children set, by over-education, against the callings of their parents, and made ambitious of entering

others which they fancy more worthy of educated persons, but which are already over-crowded? In the United States there is unquestionably a dangerous tendency among the children of farmers to leave the farms and flock into the cities, and many Americans say that the source of the evil is in the public schools. The system of our High Schools, we have just been told with reference to the case of the young lady who demands admission to University College, is such that much of the instruction is thrown away unless the pupil comes on to complete the course at a University. This, again, suggests matter for consideration. Many would think, looking to the circumstances of the country, that the course at a High School ought to prepare, as a rule, for a business life, or, in the case of girls, for family occupations, and that the few who are specially qualified for University studies ought to provide themselves, or be provided, with the means of a special preparation. A zeal which is not only excusable but laudable leads masters of schools, and those engaged in the administration of the Department, to aim at a high ideal, and to push their exactions as far as possible, perhaps without sufficiently considering, in all cases, the necessity of keeping the system of public education in unison with the general circumstances and needs of an industrial community. In truth, no practical excesses of any educational enthusiasts can go beyond the rhetorical extravagance of public men when they dilate upon this flowery theme, People who have looked into the matter listen with dismay to orations recommending a University course for the population at large, and confidently asserting that it will unfit nobody for the counter, or even for the plough. A Commission of Inquiry would not be premature, and might be of use, at all events, in dissipating misgivings, if they are unfounded, and assuring us that we are in the right path.

Six years ago the Council of Public ~~Institution~~ was abolished, and a Minister of Education was appointed. To the connection of Education with politics and Cabinet Government there were obvious objections; yet there seemed to be strong reasons for

the measure at the time; it certainly was inevitable, if the government did not feel itself at liberty to control the proceedings of the Superintendent of Education. The member of the government appointed to the post was the one best entitled to it by his culture, and he has performed his duty with the most conscientious industry. But the experiment has not been wholly successful, and there are some who think it advisable to restore the Council of Instruction, or to institute some body of experts mature in judgment, unconnected with politics, and placed above the suspicion of outside influences, for such functions as it might be fitted to perform. The number of those functions would be limited, in the case of a restored Council of Public Instruction, by the dispersion of the members over the Province, the consequent rarity of their meetings, and their inability to spare much time from their regular occupations; but it would certainly include the regulation of the text books, and it might include a general control over the subjects and course of instruction. The administration, general and financial, as well as the representation of the department in the Legislature, would be left to the Minister of Education. It seems not unlikely that this question also may be mooted in the coming Session, though we trust it will not be in any connection with the imbroglio about University appointments, which, the objectionable proposal of the Government not having been adopted, ought now to be consigned to oblivion.

—Since the Roman Senate was convened by a mad Emperor to deliberate on the cooking of a turbot, there has hardly been a more wonderful assembly than the meeting of the Toronto City Council to determine what honours would be adequate to the civic merits of the winner of a rowing match. It is proposed, that in acknowledgment of his great public services, he shall have the freedom of the city conferred on him, with exemption from taxes. Some appear to think that he ought

to be placed above the law, at least one of his admirers threatens with maltreatment a builder who has dared to bring a suit against the Champion about a contract, instead of giving up his rights at once as he ought in common decency to have done. All this, like many other strange fashions and fancies, sensible and self-respecting citizens will have to bear while the mania lasts. Horsemanship is a higher accomplishment than rowing; there is skill distinctly human in it, while the oarsman might be beaten by a machine; yet the most betting city in England would feel itself insulted by a proposal that it should confer its freedom on the jockey who had won the Derby. Once more we are treated to the parallel of the honours paid the Greek athletes. This world of gambling, roguery, and boat-sawing resembles Olympia about as much as its heroes resemble the models of Phidias. The only point of analogy is that, in the days of Greek athleticism, honest industry was despised and consigned to the slave. This is the sentiment which we, an industrial community, are doing our utmost to revive. What young man would toil and sweat for a dollar and a-half a day when he can win a fortune, with public honours and boundless applause into the bargain, by abandoning work for "sport?" Any one, with wind and muscle, may hope, by merely leaving productive labour, to become a champion. It is not a question, as some would make out, between physical and intellectual worth, but between worth of any kind and that which is worthless. Three members of the Toronto Fire Brigade the other day, in the path of their duty, saved lives by their bravery: them let us honour and leave the Betting Ring to honour its own. No part of the affair is more offensive than the suggestion that Canada is indebted to a professional oarsman for redemption from obscurity and contempt. One enthusiast goes so far as to say that the English would never have looked upon us as anything better than "savages" had we not, in an auspicious hour, produced the champion sculler. A proud thought for the Dominion and a high compliment to the good sense of the English people! Let Canada produce the champion fighting-cock, and her place

among the nations will be higher still. The Champion appears to be better than his trade ; so far there is reason in the worship of him, and we are willing to get all the comfort out of the fact that we can ; but the sporting papers in England say that he is completely in the hands of a Ring, which has purely commercial objects in view, and no doubt plays the usual game. In the last race he seems to have shown a want of respect for the feelings of a vanquished opponent, which is not likely to exalt our chivalry in English opinion. The worst, however, is the betting. Our City Fathers, when they thus vie with each other in paying homage to the idol of the hour, of course mean to do no harm ; they only want to earn a little popularity ; but the ruin of youth may hereafter be laid at their door. We have ourselves seen a young man, the son of worthy parents, and originally of the best character himself, betrayed into the practices of a felon by betting on races. He would no more have gone into a gambling-house than he would have gone into a brothel ; but betting on races was sanctioned by the example of respectable persons, and by the preaching of respectable journals, which filled their columns with the transactions of the Ring. In this country we have not even, as they have in England, a Jockey Club composed of men of rank and influence to keep the system from sinking to the lowest depth of vileness. Beelzebub has few defenders ; but even clergymen and pious people, if they set a high value on popularity, are a little apt to bend the knee to a more fashionable fiend. It is stated that, in the grand scene of civic champion-worship which called forth these remarks, no one was more forward than certain religious leaders who, it seems, make themselves all things to all men, that by all means they may save some votes. The question now goes before the Local Legislature in the form of a Bill empowering the city to exempt the Champion from taxes, and we shall see whether the representatives of the Province are as eager as the City Fathers to encourage the Betting Ring, and exalt "sport" above the honest labour by which the community subsists.

If any clap-trap could surprise it would surprise us to see Sir

Charles Tupper pretending to fancy that a change of feeling towards Canada has been produced in England by Hanlan, with whom he couples that equally respectable agency, the blundering rodomontade of Lord Beaconsfield. The feeling of England towards Canada needed not to be changed; it has always been as good as possible. The interest of Englishmen in Canadian investments has been increased by the accumulation of money seeking employment; their interest in Canada as a place for emigration has been increased by the agricultural crisis which has compelled a number of English farmers to look out for new homes. This is the simple fact: the Hanlan-Beaconsfield theory is fiction.

—Sir Francis Hincks is now fairly in the arms of the sympathizing *Globe*, where we are well content to leave him, though we might twine for him a pleasant garland of the flowers which the *Globe* was showering on him a few years ago. If he, the *Globe*, and that great power of good, the *Canada Presbyterian*, together, cannot crush one wicked little magazine it must be because Evil is permitted to reign for a season, or because, in this world of accidents and surprises, while it is usually the stone that is broken, sometimes it is the hammer.

On the subject of loyalty and disloyalty we have only one word more to say. We both understand and respect the position of those who desired to maintain the real government of the Crown in this country. Apart from mere sentiment, there was a good deal to be said in favour of the rule of a British nobleman or gentleman representing the sovereign, a man of high breeding and high principle, one who could not be suspected of being accessible to any corrupt or sinister influence, and who, while placed above faction here, was responsible to the Crown and to public opinion at home. Such a régime might be preferable on the whole to crude democracy, though we live in the hope that democracy will not always be crude! But while we can understand, we find it difficult to respect,

the position of those who having, by a course of political agitation, involving not only language but acts which strong monarchists might not unnaturally deem seditious, stripped the Crown of the whole of its real power and appropriated the spoil to their own use; having left really nothing of the Royal government but a figure-head, a name, and a fountain of what they are pleased to call honour, flowing for their own benefit; now turn round and in solemn tones bid us be loyal—to themselves.

—President Hayes has come to the end of a career marked by good sense, simplicity, and single-hearted devotion to the public service. Comparatively little known before his Presidency, he has, by his conduct in it, afforded welcome proof of the existence, beneath the political surface, of a fund of practical wisdom and integrity on which the Republic, at her need, may draw. The most unequivocal success of his term has been the finance, the credit of which belongs, mainly, to the Secretary of the Treasury, though commerce has always felt assured that the sound and honest mind of the President would be on the right side. To Mr. Hayes, personally, have been ascribed the policy of the Administration towards the South, and its conduct in relation to Civil Service Reform. The policy of moderation towards the South will be proclaimed a failure by the advocates of severity: not a single Southern state has been won over to the Republican party, while Mr. Hayes is constrained to admit that the negro is still deprived of the suffrage, by fraud if not by intimidation. On the other hand, the temper of the Southern people has, apparently, been softened: they have borne their defeat well. Education of the negro, Mr. Hayes thinks, will complete the good work, by rendering the negro capable of asserting his political equality. An education which would turn the negro white, might have the desired effect; but one which leaves him black will leave him without hope of mingling, by intermarriage, with the dominant race. Races which do not

intermarry, cannot be socially equal, and without social equality, political equality can never really exist. The negro's only chance is division among the whites. Such divisions there appears to have been in some of the Southern States, on domestic questions and in the elections of State officers; but in Federal politics, White Ascendancy is likely always to keep the South united and separate from the North. The utmost that can be done is to mitigate the antagonism, and Mr. Hayes' policy has apparently had that effect.

In relation to Civil Service Reform, Mr. Hayes has set his face in the right direction; but, hampered by the demands of party and blocked by the Machine, he has not been able to go far. The spoils system remains almost untouched, and the party tax is still levied upon the place-holders. Mr. Hayes asserts that he has applied the examination test on a considerable scale, and with success. He seems inclined to think that it is the panacea. But he must take care lest in mending one hole he make two. Serious consequences might result from inciting so many thousands of young Americans, instead of going into regular callings, to compete in examinations for official appointments. The effect of the system would extend beyond the competitors, and might aggravate the tendency, already dangerous, to desert ordinary industry and live upon the country. Not unfrequently, also, youths might be tempted by a prize, great at the moment, to enter a service which, in a few years, would disappoint them. A principal motive with the English statesmen who introduced competitive examination, was the desire to deliver themselves from harassing importunity. It is the Spoils system, as we have said before, that is the great evil; and for this, we repeat, the simplest and most effectual cure appears to be a Constitutional Amendment providing that no one in the service of the United States, saving members of the political executive and Ambassadors, shall be dismissed except for cause. If the Democrats opposed the measure, on the ground that it would give the nominees of the Republican party a permanent tenure of their places, they might be reminded that it would, at



the same time, render the office-holders unavailable for the future as electioneering agents, and unamenable to political assessments, so that the party in power would practically lose, perhaps, more than it would gain. The chief obstacle, however, will be the unwillingness of the politicians, on both sides, to diminish the fund of patronage which is the stake of their pernicious game. No Bill prohibiting political assessments will practically protect holders of offices from the exactions of Party, so long as Party has it in its power to deprive them of their bread.

—From the official returns it appears that the popular majority of the Republican candidate is small. We ought to strike out of the account the Southern States, where the Republican party was prevented from voting by means, the use of which in itself demonstrates the utter unfitness of the South, in its present frame of mind, for conducting a constitutional government. Still, it cannot be said that the defeat of the Democratic party amounts, in its numerical aspect, to a rout, or that the future of the party would be hopeless if it had a firm ground of distinct principle whereon to stand. But to designate such a ground is not easy. The Free Trade movement has proved a failure, and the probability is that, with the growth of manufactures in the South, the strength of the opposition to a renewal of the movement within the party itself will become greater and not less. Mere outcries against centralization awaken hardly any response in the breast of the people, who are not sensible or apprehensive of any serious encroachment, and, if they reflect, must rather see reason to rejoice that a civil war, which half the world expected to end in a military despotism, has left local liberties practically intact. It can hardly be said that the power of the Central Legislature is excessive, when the Federal law respecting the suffrage is set utterly at defiance by the South. A party in power is sure to make mistakes, and mistakes furnish the Op-

position with issues, but general question, so far as can be seen, there is none. It does not appear likely, however, that the Democratic party will disband. These organizations are extremely tenacious of life: a personal, social, and even hereditary connection remains, though the support of political issues may be withdrawn. At bottom, the main bond of union is the corporate desire of the spoils. Though the Democratic party does not command, and has, at present, little chance of commanding, the central government and patronage, it continues to command a number of State governments with the patronage attached to them, as well as a moiety of the seats, both in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. This fund is sufficient to pay for the organization, and at the bottom of the chest is hope. The party will still have a very solid, though most objectionable, basis in the South. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it will keep the field under its present name and flag, provided the conditions of politics remain as they are. But the proviso is not superfluous or unmeaning. Influences are at work by which the condition of politics in the United States, in relation to the organization and antagonism of the parties, may be greatly changed. Beyond all doubt, the spirit of independence is growing, especially among the young, and "scratching" is becoming more and more the order of the day. Party tyranny, with its wirepullers, its Bosses and its spoils, has been carried to such a point that it has caused intense disgust, and given birth to an effective reaction. The auspicious mutiny which broke out in New York, a year ago, was directed against the despotism of the local Boss, but its springs were not merely local, and its extension may be confidently predicted. Official returns show that the Greenbackers greatly overrated their vote: instead of being half a million, it was but little over 300,000. Still, this is a gain for them of 220,000 upon last year, and proves the existence of a large, and what, in certain contingencies, might be a commanding, force, outside the regular parties. Greenbackism, in the strict sense of the term, has, we trust, received its quietus

The Americans must have strangely fallen away, both from their good sense, which is proverbial, and from the probity which, if it is not proverbial, really belongs to them as a nation, if they can be persuaded to try a fraudulent currency as a mode of giving new life to commerce and improving the condition of the people. It is to be hoped the career of Nationalism is also at an end, so far as the term is identical with Kearneyism and denotes the consignment of commercial institutions generally, as well as in California, to the hands of a despotic crew of industrial Terrorists, to be sacked and ruined in the name of the nation. But so far as Nationalism denotes the preference of the material interests of the people to the objects and the regulation issues of political parties, there is no reason why it should not live and thrive. On the whole, the statesmen and public writers of the United States have plenty of reasons for giving their attention to the question, how the commonwealth is to be governed when party organizations shall have lost their force? We think we know, and we hope they know better still.

A believer in the party system must have his faith pretty sorely tried when he looks down from the gallery of the House of Representatives upon that assembly, the session of which has just commenced. How can legislation be carried on, or a country governed by such a mob as this? is the question which the amazed spectator asks himself, after sitting in that gallery a few days. Not only at moments of excitement, but every day, and all day long, the House is a bear-garden, in which not only every trace of senatorial dignity, but all semblance of deliberation, and even of debate, is lost. Deliberation might as well be looked for in a street mob, or at an Irish wake. But days may pass without your hearing a debate, or so much as a speech, without your witnessing anything but a wearisome and disgusting abuse of the forms of business for the purposes of faction, under the name of filibustering, or some name equally expressive of roguery and indecorum. Of course, the real deliberation goes on, not in the House, but in caucus, where

the object, with which counsel is taken, is not the promotion of the public interest, but victory over the rival faction. To the House the factions come only to register the conclusions at which they have arrived in caucus, or to carry into effect the manœuvres which they have planned behind the scenes. The councils of the Republic are not really open, no real discussion ever reaches the ear of the nation; all the guarantees for the conscientious discharge of the legislative trust which publicity affords in the case of other elective assemblies are practically cancelled. Whatever formal nullities may fill the Congressional Globe, the secrecy of a conspiracy broods over everything that really determines the course of legislation. Then comes a contested election case, decided by a strict party vote in the very teeth of the evidence, after the fashion usual in the more corrupt days of the British Parliament, or a vote of fifteen millions of public money, in the shape of a Pension Ar-rears Bill, for the private electioneering purposes of the sworn guardians of the national purse, and the spectator is at once and too completely convinced that the integrity of the assembly is on a level with the dignity of its proceedings. This is Party, which most people suppose to be the indispensable and immutable foundation of free institutions, while others begin to see that it is filling them with corruption and preparing their overthrow.

—An American Consul in Switzerland has sounded a wild note of alarm about the dangers, political and social, with which the United States are threatened by Immigration. He must be of kin to the feathered saviours of the Capitol if he thinks that it will be necessary to have an army half a million strong. The Republic is one vast immigration. So, if we go back far enough, is the inhabited world, except that spot, whether in Central Asia or in Central Africa, where men first appeared. The immigration into the United States has been on the whole of a much higher quality than that by which other

countries were peopled. It included, at the critical moment when the foundations were being laid and the character of society was being formed, a large proportion of settlers sent forth from their original homes, not by the want of food, which sets a hunter tribe in motion, nor by the desire of plunder, which impels the hordes of Clovis or Genghis Khan, nor by the lust of gold, which stimulated Cortez and Pizarro, but by love of freedom and truth, and by the lofty hope of realizing a religious and social ideal. To these exiles of the past has been added, in our own day, a number of kindred spirits flying from despotism or privilege, and, in many cases, driven across the Atlantic by their connection with abortive revolutions. Often the refugees have brought with them wild theories and tempers envenomed by conflict, so that the Republic, when she received them, might have seemed to be taking questionable foster-children to her bosom: but their revolutionary fanaticism has for the most part been dissipated in the larger air, their bitterness has been sweetened by social justice, and they have become useful citizens, adding spirit to the mass without disturbing order. A Canadian journalist who had himself changed his country, under circumstances to which it was not very discreet to provoke attention, welcomed the opportunity afforded him by the Consuls' manifesto of insulting "political immigrants;" and one of the immigrants on whom he pitched as a specimen of a black sheep was Carl Schurz! The mass of the recent immigration, Irish and German, has been economical, though not without, a political and social tinge. How the United States could have carried on their industries without the reinforcements, it is for the Know-Nothings to say. For the last two generations, at least, the rough work has been done, the railroads have been constructed and the cities built by the Irish solely or with German aid. Few native Americans will stoop to rough work, none will stoop to domestic service. Besides, the Anglo-American of the pure breed is, we take it, becoming rather rare. The diminution of population in the New England States may be ascribed to migration

westward ; but any one who has lived in the States and looked round him must be aware that the number of children is small. It seems to be a general law that as a race grows dominant, wealthy, and refined, restraints are imposed on its multiplication by social pride ; and the education of women in the United States, whatever may be its intellectual advantages, is not well calculated to fit them for bearing the burdens of maternity. Without Irish and German immigration, American industry would have become a regiment of officers without privates. To keep the ports open to labour has been, and is, not a matter of choice or benevolence, but of sheer necessity.

A sensation has been created by the discovery that the Swiss are in the habit of shipping off their paupers and even criminals convicted of small offences to the United States. A pauper is a man in want of work, which, when he has found, he ceases to be a pauper : so it is at least except in the cases of age, infirmity or disease, which are not likely to be often sent across the Atlantic. The deportation of crime to another country is an insult : so the English thought when they one day awoke to the fact that the Channel Islands were in the habit of deporting to England. But the extent of the evil cannot be very serious, and petty offences in the Old World are often indications not of criminality of character, but of sheer want of bread. It is well ascertained that in London at the setting in of winter petty offences are often committed by the children of misery merely for the purpose of obtaining food and a warm lodging in a prison. A criminal element of this kind can hardly be very formidable : where there is plenty of bread it will probably cease to be criminal at all.

Still immigration in large masses is attended with danger both social and political. Local enquiry convinced us that the authors of the Molly Maguire troubles and outrages in the mining district of Pennsylvania were foreigners, and mostly wild spirits who had taken an active part in the strikes of the Old World ; and the same, we believe, may be said with regard to the authors of the savage labour riots, of which, a few

years ago, Pittsburg was the principal scene, and which, at the time, gave a serious shock to society in the United States. American socialism altogether is evidently an importation from the Old World, finding more or less of pabulum in times of suffering here. In the political sphere, the assimilating power of American institutions is marvellous, and rapidly converts all recruits, in any measure congenial and tractable, into citizens capable, if not of guiding themselves, at least of being guided by the veterans of self-government. But the mass to be assimilated is immense, and taxes the machine to the utmost, though not sufficiently to content some enthusiasts who wish to treble the danger and merge the self-growing and really republican element altogether by pouring in the votes of all the women in the United States. The political safeguard is strict enforcement of the naturalization law, which the Democratic party in the days of its misrule fatally relaxed in favour of its Irish retainers. The social safeguard is a standing army, not so large as to threaten public liberty, but large enough to ensure to order at its need a swift victory over anarchy, and to render conspiracy hopeless. That the Democratic party, in its intense hatred of centralization, is disposed to reduce the defences of society forms a strong reason for rejoicing that the government remains for the present in other hands. The army of the United States has never by its conduct given the shadow of ground for alarm to the most sensitive friend of freedom.

The Chinese question stands by itself. It presented itself during the late election in the hideous shape of the murderous attack on the poor Chinamen at Denver, in which, as we hear from an eyewitness, the negroes took part as well as the Irish. Kearneyite jealousy of cheap labour, though natural perhaps, is entitled to no respect and must certainly yield in the end to the exigencies of commerce. The more serious problem is that presented by the gulf, moral, social, and political, which severs Canton from Boston, and which public schools, local institutions, and the ballot, potent

as they are, seem not potent enough to bridge; though the rapid adoption of European civilization by Japan renders it probable that the teachableness of these long-secluded nations, the quaint curiosities of the human museum, when once the winter of their isolation is broken up and vernal influences get access to them, may be greater than we had supposed. Japanese progress is of course mainly material, but it is also intellectual and apparently moral. The rule of politics is the common good against which no plea of right can be set up. If the common good requires that political power shall be withheld from the Chinese, justice will sanction the precaution. Without the ballot, the Chinaman will have no influence, and will scarcely affect the tone or habits of society more than the tool which he wields. His special immorality, in its grosser features, is due to the disproportion between the sexes, which, when immigration is legalized, will disappear.

An alarm is raised not only of immigration, but of conquest. China, it is said, is organizing, drilling, buying Krupp guns and precision firearms, building ships of war: she will follow up her immigration with her arms, and make the Pacific coast her own. It is not unpleasant to learn that a nation, long marked out as an easy prey of Jingo buccaneers, is likely to be in a position not only to defend herself, but to inspire fear. She has enemies near at hand, however, in Russia and Japan. If her vast reservoir of population overflows, the stream will probably set towards those countries in which there is least resistance. Australia and the Polynesian Islands are more likely to become Chinese than the Pacific Coast. It has long appeared to us, though we seem to be singular in the opinion, that it was an open question whether the Anglo-Saxon race would prevail in Australia or the Chinese. By her union with British Columbia Canada has, among other things, brought the Chinese question upon her hands, and it is not unlikely that it may assume a practical form.



—There can be no doubt that the relations between England and the United States, both social and commercial, are undergoing a momentous change. After the Revolutionary war there was necessarily an estrangement, though in the breasts of the old English party, of which Washington and Hamilton were the chiefs, respect and even affection for the mother country was still strong, and would soon have prevailed over the memory of the quarrel, had not the ultra-democratic and French party succeeded in plunging the Union into the war of 1812. In the war of 1812, and the catastrophe of the Hartford Convention, the old English party found its grave. With Jackson, the victor of New Orleans, ultra-democracy and Anglo-phobia together mounted to power. Then came the great development of slavery, brought about by the invention of the cotton gin, and produced a deadly antagonism between the slave-owning South and the power which had emancipated the slaves in its colonies and was crusading against slavery on all seas. To the Anti-British feeling of the south was added that of the Irish, who now began to cross to the United States in increasing multitudes full of burning hatred of the Saxon. The leaders of the party which was made up of these two elements during its long tenure of power, of course, lost no opportunity of bullying Great Britain in Southern and Hibernian style. The acts and language of a government or a ruling party are naturally taken by foreigners for the acts and language of the nation; and few Englishmen were sufficiently acquainted with American politics to distinguish between the sentiments of Washington and those of New England. Thus the disruption of the Union was ignorantly hailed in England as the downfall of an inveterate and insolent enemy by many who, if they had known their real friends from their real foes, might have ranged themselves on the other side; while the aristocracy, guided by the infallible instinct of class, made common cause with the slave-owners, launched the *Alabama*, and would unquestionably have brought on a war had it not been held in check by the strong anti-slavery sentiment of the masses and

the feeling prevalent, not among the masses only, that England could not fight for slavery. Hence another period of estrangement, terminated by the Treaty of Washington, which accomplished its moral object, open as it was to serious exception in its diplomatic and pecuniary details. After that settlement there remained no special source of Anti-British feeling except Fenianism and Protectionism, the latter of which had been greatly strengthened by the irritating conduct of the British Tories during the civil war. The Democratic party having been overthrown, and its Irish wing having shared its fall, Fenianism is no longer the power in American politics that it was ; and since the Rebellion there has been a great subsidence of the revolutionary sentiment in the United States, and of the traditional antipathy to the old governments. Protectionism is rivalry in trade, and involves no hatred of British institutions or of the British nation. On the side of England hostility to the American Republic lingers only among the Tory aristocracy, not one of whom, however, it may safely be said, would object to the marriage of his son with an American heiress : in truth it would not be surprising if the English nobility were largely to indemnify themselves in that way for the reduction of their rents by the importation of American grain, as they would have little difficulty in doing, for no people in the world are so fond of rank as a certain class of rich Americans. The unifying influences of blood and language are now acting with their full force, and their power is greatly increased by the close connection and daily intercourse into which the two continents have been brought by the enterprise of Cyrus Field, as well as by the multiplication and improvement of the lines of steamers. Each nation follows the doings of the other, social and intellectual as well as political and commercial, with almost as keen and intelligent an interest as its own. Inter-marriages are growing more common ; the sons of English Dukes and of English Tory statesmen go into commercial houses in New York ; and the climax is capped when an American sportsman is elected by an English county to the Mastership of the Fox hounds, an

office practically of more importance than that of the Lord Lieutenant. Perhaps the Republic has as much to fear from the social influence of the British aristocracy as the British aristocracy has to fear from the political example of the Republic. Congresses and organizations of all kinds are becoming Pan-Britannic. English periodicals circulate largely in the States, and now the brilliant magazine literature of America is invading England on a large scale. Something in fact like social fusion is going on, while in the political and intellectual spheres the influence of the countries on each other becomes daily more marked and important. War has become a moral impossibility, and every body knows that fishery disputes will end, at worst, in litigation. The time may come when the union of the English speaking race may receive even a more formal recognition.

—In Ireland the outlook grows not brighter, but darker ; the only visible ray of sunshine is the news that Mr. Parnell has been out with Lord Waterford's hounds, which, if true, seems to show that he cannot be a very desperate character or have utterly broken with society. Undoubtedly he is a mere demagogue, anxious only to keep the agitation raging, not a leader like O'Connell, who had a definite object in view, and with whom terms could be made : his character is one of the great difficulties of the situation. He avows that to make mischief he would have tried to throw out the Disturbance Bill in the House of Commons, if he had not felt sure that it would be thrown out by the Lords. Few can now doubt that the Lords did wrong. Even if the Bill was open to exception, it was the measure proposed by the responsible captain of a ship in a great storm : it could not have taken anything from the landlords, who can get nothing as it is ; it might have allayed the rage of the people for the moment, and arrested the growth of the illicit organization which now appears almost to have ousted law and government over a great part of the country.

On the other hand, we remain convinced that the Government ought, by a thorough application of the Arms Act, to have removed from the peasantry that which at once tempted them individually to acts of violence and inspired them collectively with sense of power to resist the law. To say that it is impossible to disarm a country is absurd ; it has often been done. No doubt there is a party in the Cabinet opposed to any measure of coercion, though as British statesmen know how to hold their tongues, and do not hector at each other, we have attached no weight to the reports of threatened resignation cabled to us every morning. The landlords seem to make but a poor show : they can only throw themselves helplessly on the Government and appeal to the sympathetic fears of the same class in England. Evidently the estrangement between them and their tenantry was complete, and the social system was, in that respect, thoroughly rotten. It is said that the agitation is assuming a strongly political character, and the notion prevails that it is thereby rendered more dangerous. But were it to take the form of armed rebellion and appear in the field it would be crushed in a moment. The real reason of its unparalleled strength has been that, unlike previous movements, it has so far been not political but agrarian, has appealed not to sentiment but to interest, and called upon the people not to sally forth and strike, but merely to stay at home and refuse to pay. To collect by force the rents of a whole people, or evict a whole people for non-payment, is for a Government as difficult an undertaking as it is easy with regular troops to beat a mob in battle.

Advocates of arbitrary government of course proclaim that the Liberal policy has collapsed. There were in Ireland at the beginning of this century three great evils: the Catholic disabilities, the Protestant Establishment, the absentee and alien proprietary. The first two have been removed, and with the results which always follow great measures of justice, though the effect would have been far better had the concession not been so long delayed by the obstinate resistance of

the Tories. But they were mistaken who persuaded themselves first that the law imposing disabilities on the Catholics, and then that the Protestant Establishment was the sole source of discontent, and that when once it had been abolished Ireland would have peace. The third evil has now come to a head, and Ireland cannot have peace till this also has been removed. Yet no one who is acquainted with the country can doubt that, since 1828, its condition has on the whole greatly improved, the political disaffection has grown weaker, or that the allegiance of large classes, Catholic as well as Protestant, has been won for the Government and the Union. We are persuaded that, if the standard of insurrection were raised, this would at once appear. Even agrarianism, though still violent and murderous, is not so violent or so murderous as it was half a century ago.

We have confidence in the ability of the Government to frame a measure, if a measure can be framed. Framing great measures is Mr. Gladstone's forte, while his rival's forte is strategy. But the failure, as a final settlement at least, of the legislation of 1873, shows plainly that the mere state of the legal relations between landlord and tenant is not the root of the evil. There is evidently an agrarian war between two classes, strangers and aliens to each other, for the ownership of the land. There is also beyond doubt over-population, which has led to desperate competition for the occupancy of the farms and engagements to pay rents higher than could possibly be paid. It appears that the Government is sensible of this fact and is meditating a measure of emigration, which it is to be hoped will be framed with discretion, if it points to our North West, potatoe-growing being an indifferent apprenticeship for the work of the pioneer farmer, though Irish labour will be welcome on the Railway. Peasant proprietorship is to be desired, if it were only to give the people an interest in the land and put them on the side of property; but the fact that the greater part of Ireland is grazing land, and cannot raise grain in competition with American harvests, militates against small holdings.

No legislation can in a moment conjure away the barbarism of Irish agriculture, or raise the character of the Irish peasant. Ulster Tenant Right you may extend to Munster and Connaught if you please, but there are other things in Ulster which are not so easily extended. The British Government cannot be too quick in putting out a fire which, if allowed to blaze much longer, may spread to the houses of the neighbours. If a landlord House of Lords chooses, at the instigation of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, to help the fire against the firemen, it will illustrate the madness of faction at serious cost to itself.

The Liberal Government has inherited a rich legacy of trouble from its Jingo predecessors, whose violent annexation of the Transvaal is bearing its natural fruit just at the moment when all the forces of England are employed at home. Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury evidently are on the alert, and hope to profit by the embarrassment of their rivals. But the elections go for the Government, and the nation has sense enough to see that a return to Jingoism and wars for scientific frontiers would not be the best mode of extricating itself from the difficulties of the situation. What would the condition of England be if the quarrel with Russia were still on her hands? Lord Beaconsfield, lucky in everything, was lucky in the timeliness of his fall.

—The wild project of re-imposing political disabilities on the Jews has been rejected by the good sense of the German people. Not only was it a violation of all modern principle; it was practically foolish, and would only have made bad worse. But it is not likely that the agitation against Semitic ascendancy will die out; certainly it will not if the growth of Jewish influence in Europe continues as formidable as at present, and the Jews persist in their present courses, political, as well as social and commercial. It is, therefore, desirable that the movement should be understood. There is a persistent belief, which

some of our own journalists seem to share, that the agitation has its source in a surviving prejudice against the Jewish religion. Were this the case, it might well be thought that Germany was still lingering in the darkness of the Middle Ages. But it is not so. The Germans understand religious toleration as well as any people in the world : the struggle between the Teuton and the Semitic for ascendancy in Germany is entirely one of race : it falls, in this respect, under the same category as the conflict between the Bulgarian and the Turk, or that between the Anglo-Americans and the Chinese. If there is any other ingredient in the cup of bitterness, it is the feeling aroused by the conduct of the Jews in Germany in relation to the education laws and some other national questions. In by-gone times, all the world was intolerant, all the world was persecuting, and the Jews were not less so than the rest, for they persecuted Christianity wherever and so long as they had the power. At the present day, we repeat, the question is entirely one of race, and of the social and economical antagonism into which the races in the struggle for ascendancy are brought. The Germans are striving, or fancy that they are striving, to save their country from passing under the sway of aliens. If the sentiment of race is a prejudice, it is a prejudice which is cherished at least as much on the side of the Jews as on that of their enemies. The Jews continue to refuse, as polluting, inter-marriage with the other citizens of the communities in which they have been admitted to equal rights. The marriage of a daughter of the house of Rothschild with an English noble called forth an explosion of their unsocial feeling ; and a great literary exponent of their sentiment habitually speaks with insolent contempt of the blood of Shakespeare. Those who, by refusing inter-marriage, cut themselves off from brotherhood, can hardly expect that other people will regard them as brethren. The advocates of the Jews, on this occasion, admit that their clients regard the Germans with contempt. The Germans can hardly be expected to requite contempt with love. The Jews are a wandering nation, with

strong national character and distinct interests. That they have objects of their own, apart from those of the people among whom they sojourn, is implied in the admiring rhapsodies of "Daniel Deronda," as clearly as in the angry protests of the Germans.

It is time people should know that, in this old quarrel, there has been wrong on both sides, though self-accusing Christendom, in its repentance for mediæval persecutions of the Jews, has been apt to admit that all the wrong has been on its own side alone. Perhaps it would be nearer historic truth, as well as less censorious, to say that the dispersion of the Jews has brought calamities on the other nations, as much as on themselves. Suppose we Canadians were all to leave our own land, spread ourselves over the earth, wander from nation to nation in quest of lucre, thrust ourselves in swarms on all communities, whether we were welcome or not, and never handling the plough or the loom, to suck up the produce of other men's labour, and fleece them of their property by usury and other extortionate practices, plying at the same time on a large scale other trades of a still more objectionable kind: suppose, while doing this, we were to display an intense and almost ferocious pride of race, cherish a tribal religion, which proclaimed that we alone were the chosen people, distinguish ourselves by a tribal mark, treat those among whom we lived as Gentiles with whom it was pollution to inter-marry, and deal with them as Egyptians, made only to be spoiled: should not we be generally odious, and would not our unpopularity be natural? If we were anywhere successful in engrossing the wealth of a country and climbing over the heads of its natives, would not our success breed jealousy, and should we be warranted in saying that the jealousy was nothing but envy of our superior excellence? Suppose, again, that being strong Protestants, we intruded ourselves into Roman Catholic communities in a low stage of enlightenment and fanatically attached to their faith, should we not have too much reason to expect that the difference of religion would aggravate the national feeling against us,



and that we should be exposed to maltreatment, especially if the communities at the time were engaged, as European Christendom was at the time of the Crusades, in a desperate struggle against an inrolling tide of equally fanatical invasion, and we were believed to sympathize with the enemy. No doubt, the hatred of the Jews in the Middle Ages was partly religious, and to that extent was unchristian and vile ; but its main cause was the cruel extortion which they practised on the people, both on their own accounts and as the apt instruments of a tyrannical Exchequer. If any one wants to know why the Jews were detested by the English in the twelfth century, let us once more refer him to the account of Jewish usury, from the Chronicle of Brakelond, given in the fourth chapter of Carlyle's *Past and Present*. A Daniel Deronda, who was so profoundly versed in the Jewish mystery as to be able, by compound interest and dexterous reckoning, to make a debt of twenty-seven pounds mount up to one of twelve hundred pounds, would have stood a good chance of incurring some unpopularity among his debtors, and, perhaps, in rough times, of getting his bonds destroyed and his own head broken, even if there had been no Crusades. If the Jews have been the most hated of all races, it is, in plain truth, because they have done most to provoke hatred. Other races which have done the same things, on a smaller scale, have been hated in proportion.

It is easy to be philosophic in another man's case. Enlightened persons, who have no Jews climbing over their heads, shower upon the Germans charges of illiberality and Philistinism. Perhaps common people have cowered long enough under the dreadful imputation of Philistinism, which every popinjay has learned to brandish. The selfishness which makes the German unwilling to see his country fall into the gripe of the crafty Semite is hardly distinguishable from the patriotism which, the other day, bade him shed blood for that country at Sadowa and Sedan. Those who appeal to national feeling for extraordinary efforts of self-devotion, must not expect to see it, as soon as those efforts are over, deny itself and humbly welcome

a foreign yoke. To the Germans it signifies very little whether an alien race invades them by force or cunning, whether it comes with the sword or with the stock list and the ledger in its hand. They are specially exasperated by seeing that the system of national defence, which they deem necessary to guard the country against a revengeful foe, is assailed by the Jews, who, if Germany were conquered, could either decamp with their gathered wealth or remain to trade with the conqueror. The great Teutonic nation, united and redeemed at so vast a cost of noble effort and heroic blood, is a part of the heritage of humanity which the Semite cannot be lightly allowed to corrupt and devour, nor can he be allowed to use its force, as, if he gets the control of it, he certainly will, for the furtherance of his own ends in Europe, which are those of a vast money power adverse to the higher interests of the nations, as the Jewish press of Vienna does not fail to apprise the world. It may be very true that the Hebrew excels the German in certain arts which lead to success in life; but there are arts which lead to success in life without qualifying their possessors, morally or politically, for the supreme guidance of a nation. Whatever the Germans have done in the way of violence, insult, or injustice, we must all heartily condemn. They cannot be blamed for wishing to keep the government and the destinies of their country in patriotic hands, for desiring that German, not Semitic, ideas and morality shall prevail on German soil. There are legitimate and constitutional means by which they may work in this direction without doing any man wrong, or violating any liberal principle; and they may move their government to take measures, in conjunction with the other powers, for the restoration to the Jews of their own land, with as much of the adjacent territory, now to a great extent vacant, as they may choose to fill. The return to Palestine of the Jews settled in the West, on a large scale, is out of the question: but the flow of Jewish migration from the East towards the West might be arrested, and Europe might to that extent be relieved. The mass of the Jews already domiciled in her or wandering over her, she will have to assimilate as best she may.

Some of our contemporaries seem desirous of inviting the Jews here. But to attract such an immigration, there must be something rotten in ourselves. Poland, the most unsound of all communities, has the greatest number of Jews: Scotland, the soundest, has none. In the United States their numbers increased during the Rebellion, with the growth of gold-gambling and the trades that are plied in the wake of war. We prefer, for our part, an immigration of Germans, for whose naturalization, we are glad to see, better provision is to be made. They may not be so acute as their rivals but they are producers, not sponges, and they will come to us the more readily if they are not preceded by the Jews.

It must be owned that, in a certain sense, the blame of Jewish pride and exclusiveness rests on Christians, who persist in investing Judaism with fictitious importance and wasting money on the conversion of what they call the Chosen People. If there ever was a Chosen People, there is one no longer: there is nothing but a tribal religion, with a tribal Deity, a tribal morality, and a tribal mark of separation, surviving, in its obsolete narrowness, in the midst of races which have embraced the broad religion of humanity. Spiritually, the Jews are the residuum of the nation, the *élite* of which heard the Gospel, and acknowledged the universal Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Invite the Jews to come into the pale of humanity; that is the conversion which they need, and which the higher members of the race in all countries are happily undergoing, though enough to frighten the Germans remain in their pristine state.

—The close of the year 1880 finds the civilized world still celebrating the birth, in a stable, of a Galilean peasant as the great event of history. That it is the great event of history, at any rate, may be taken as beyond dispute. From it all genuine civilization flows; for the civilization of Greece and Rome, however brilliant and intellectually fruitful, cannot be

called genuine, since it was based on slavery. With it commences that morality, beyond which the world cannot be said yet to have passed, since the latest and most advanced exponent of the new philosophy tells us that when the period of transition and reconstruction is over, Ethics will probably resume a form substantially identical with the Christian code. As a religion Christianity is undeniably unique. Its alleged rivals are Mahometanism and Buddhism. But what have Mahometanism and Buddhism produced? Morally, politically, socially, intellectually, aesthetically, what is the state, and what are the hopes of Islam? What is Buddhism, with its countless millions, but one vast Dead Sea of torpid resignation? The strong monotheism and the universality which are the highest parts of the religion of Mahomet, and the source of such spiritual life as it has, are really borrowed from Christianity and Judaism. Buddhism is in truth no religion at all, but a humanitarian sentiment too extravagant to be effective, combined with a philosophy of despair.

Mr. Herbert Spencer and other physicists have laid down laws, couched in scientific phrase of impressive sound, according to which they say all nations with mechanical regularity arise, are developed, and fall into decay. Having established their hypothesis on grounds of general science, they do not think it necessary to verify it by comparison with the facts of history. Heathen races have indeed run what seems a course of fate, though the fate has been not mechanical but moral; when the heyday of their physical vigour and their military force was over they have gradually sunk into a death from which there was no hope of resurrection. Such has been the lot of the Ottoman, the Mogul, the Tartar, and even of the ancient Greek and the Roman. But no Christian nation has yet died, none shows signs of dying. Trampled into clay by the hoofs of Ottoman or Tartar conquest, like the Danubian communities of Russia, ruined by misgovernment or priestly usurpation, like Spain or Italy, they have in them a vital principle which cannot be destroyed: the lamp of their life burns low but is not ex-

tinguished; the smell of the grave may be on them, but roll away the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre in which they have lain for ages, and they come forth. There is something here that calls for explanation from historical philosophers, especially from those who, like the late Professor Clifford, hold that the eighteen centuries of Christianity have been a dead loss and a lamentable halt in the progress of mankind. It is remarkable too that nowhere, so far as we know, in the writings of Greeks or Romans, or in any writings independent of the influence of Christianity, is there an expression of hope for the future of mankind. Greece and Rome looked back to the bliss and glory, for ever lost, of the Golden Age. Virgil's Eclogue is nothing more than a courtier's salutation of the opening reign of Augustus. But the Apocalypse is a triumphant prediction of the final triumph of Good over Evil.

Among the great religions beside Christianity, we ought perhaps to have mentioned the Vedic, about which so much has been said by scholars that it is imagined by many people to be the remote source of Christian theology and morality. We received the other day six volumes of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East." Everyone knows the exquisite passage of *The Antiquary* in which Hector McIntyre is induced, with some coy reluctance, to give Mr. Oldbuck a specimen of the primitive Gaelic minstrelsy, on the beauties of which he had descanted with patriotic pride. We were forcibly reminded of it when on opening the *Upanishads*, translated by the renowned scholar himself, the first passage that presented itself was this:

"TWELFTH KHANDA.

"1. Now follows the udgitha of the dogs. Vaka Dâlhbhya, or as he was also called, Glâva Maitreya, went out to repeat the Veda (in a quiet place).

"2. A white (dog) appeared before him, and other dogs gathering round him, said to him: 'Sir, sing and get us food, we are hungry.'

"3. The white dog said to them: 'Come to me to-morrow morning.' Vaka Dâlhbhya, or as he was also called Glâva Maitreya, watched,

"4. The dogs came on, holding together, each dog keeping the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth, as the priests do when they are going to sing praises with the Vahishpavamāna hymn. After they had settled down, they began to say Hin.

"5. 'Om, let us eat! Om, let us drink! Om, may the divine Varuna Pragapati, Savitri bring us food! Lord of food, bring hither food bring it, Om!'"

We do not say that there is nothing in the *Upanishads* better than this, but we do say that there is nothing in this passage which strikes us as at all out of keeping with the rest, and that theology or morality worthy of the name we can find none. Of formalism and ceremonialism there is plenty, but formalism and ceremonialism are the negation of morality. In the *Institutes of Vishnu* there is morality, but it is of this kind.

"If a low-born man, through pride, give instruction to a member of the highest caste concerning his duty, let the King order hot oil to be dropped into his mouth.

"If a low-born man mentions the name or caste of a superior revilingly, an iron pin, ten inches long, shall be thrust into his mouth red hot."

Of the other Sacred Books of the series the *Zend-Avesta*, so much of it, at least, as we have before us, is what Cobbett would have called a heap of clotted nonsense. The idea of the Power of Good working, and the Power of Evil counter-working, is there, and it is interesting; but it is in the coarsest and most childish form. In the Sacred Books of China we are struck by the expressions of earnest attention to the work of government; but of morality in the proper sense of the term or of religion there is hardly a grain. Nothing in these revelations makes Christianity less unique.

— The last volume of Mr. Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, lagging far behind its fellows and appearing a quarter of a century after the events, when the objects of the war have come to naught, Kars and Bessarabia are in the hands of Russia and Turkey is a wreck, is like a voice of wailing from a Crimean

grave. Who cares now about the questions between Lord Raglan and the Press, between Lord Raglan and the Government, between Lord Raglan and the Duke of Newcastle, between Lord Raglan and Lord Panmure? Yet interest will always attach to the figure of Wellington's old companion-in-arms, in his wintry camp on the bleak Crimean hillside, struggling with desperate difficulties, amidst heart-rending sights of suffering, and at the same time contending calmly and proudly, though with a wounded spirit, against misconception and detraction at home. Of the generals of the allied army before Sebastopol not one was great: but in the judgment of Lord Lyons, a very competent observer, though not himself a soldier, Lord Raglan was far the best. Lord Raglan was formed in an old-fashioned and simple school of military duty, before the days of newspaper correspondents and popular opinion, when the commander stood not so much on political support as on his own feet, and when the soldier looked only to the approbation of his commander. The Duke of Wellington deprecated the multiplication of crosses and orders of merit, because "you would have everybody trying to distinguish himself." The phrase did not commend the sentiment, yet in the sentiment there was an element of good sense. The desire of individual distinction, though a motive power of the highest value in war as well as in peace, may sometimes interfere with perfect loyalty to the common cause. It did so more than once in the American Civil War, where everybody wanted to shine in the reports of the newspaper correspondents. General Sickles, for example, the favourite of the newspaper men, nearly brought the army to ruin in trying to distinguish himself at Gettysburg. Lord Raglan did not know how to deal with the correspondents; he did not venture to send them away but he was too stiff to recognise them, put himself into relations with them, and control their pens: the consequence was that they angered and scandalized him by conveying information to the enemy. Nature has broken the mould in which his character was cast. He has been fortunate in finding such a chronicler as Mr. Kinglake.

—About the truest and certainly not the least pithy of the criticisms on *Endymion* is "We asked him for a serpent; he has given us a fish, and the fish is none of the freshest." Of the expected sting and pungency there is not much; and that the fish is none of the freshest, seems to be indicated by some passages relating to Ritualism, the tone of which belongs to a bygone time. Forty years ago *Endymion* was making what he calls "a combination" with that school of religious thought, but the exigencies of more recent "combinations" have led him to frame an Act of Parliament for its suppression. Like its predecessors in the series this work is hardly a novel in the proper sense of the term: it is a work not of the creative imagination but of portraiture and caricature. Imagination is displayed only in setting the head of one figure on the shoulders of another, a somewhat mechanical exercise of genius, which, while it takes the composition out of the region of history, hardly raises it into that of art. Personality under the guise of a work of fiction is a style of composition which has its advantages: it enables a man to write novels without the power of inventing plot or character, and if he has any enemies it licenses him to malign them without limit, since he can introduce them with marks of identity as clear as their names and ascribe to them any infamies that he pleases. It was practised a couple of centuries ago, with pecuniary success, by two female writers, Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Aphra Behn, the savour of whose memories is not sweet: after their time it lay dormant, so far as we are aware, till it was revived by the genius of *Endymion*. In fact, we cannot conceive the generous Fielding or the high-minded Scott introducing personalities into their novels. Besides the portraits which the writer intends to paint another is always presenting itself, sometimes in the way of complacent allusion, more commonly in that of involuntary self-revelation. It is that of an aspirant who sets out with remarkable gifts, and with a freedom from moral superstitions equally remarkable, to spoil the Egyptians by political legerdemain as other scions of a race which he is always puffing spoil them by finan-



cial skill. He has oriental powers both of invective and of flattery, amazing aptitude for coining phrases and framing programmes, matchless art in contriving "combinations." He carries his wares first to the Radical market, then to the Tory: for a time he is trying both markets at once. To learn how the cat jumps is his aim: he calls it "studying the spirit of the age." He fastens himself on "Hyperion," as Sir Robert Peel is styled in an adulatory passage of one of his earlier fictions, and addresses to him perhaps the humblest solicitations ever addressed to a great man in English public life. Hyperion, who prefers integrity and work to phrase and flattery, having proved obdurate, Endymion sells his stiletto to the infuriated Protectionists, who want Hyperion stabbed in the back. That he has himself satirized Protection and avowed his belief in Free Trade is a circumstance which occasions him not the slightest embarrassment. In a passage of this work it is said that Sir Robert Peel injudiciously set aside his Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in debate on a question relating to the Department, and thereby "made a personal enemy of one who naturally might have ripened into a devoted adherent, and who from his social influence as well as his political talents was no despicable foe." This is not the true version of the incident: that is the true version which we have just given. It is the fact, however, that the rejected aspirant was "full of revenge and unceasing combinations," and that he deemed his revenge a sufficient warrant for changing sides on a great question, opposing with all his might a measure which he knew alone could save masses of the people from famine, and overturning a Minister whom he had declared to be the hope of the nation. Such is the career to the end. Extension of the suffrage is denounced year after year as a revolutionary measure and worthy of Jack Cade; till one day it occurs to Endymion's mind that it might be a good stroke of tactics to enfranchise the lowest and most ignorant populace of the cities, because it is capable of being turned by beer and corruption against the respectable middle

class. At last the country finds the game growing expensive and brings it to a close. This writer's ideal of life is always the same — gorgeous palaces, gilded saloons, upholstery of ravishing splendour, gold and silver plate, diamonds, pearls and rubies by the peck, silks, satins, and velvets by the bale and of fabulous cost, footmen innumerable, with powdered heads and the longest canes, horses and equipages as fine as those in any circus, money without limit, and everything regardless of expense. It is the day dream of Houndsditch. Endymion's taste in dress, which is constantly exhibiting itself, is that of the debutant who presented himself to the House of Commons in a bottle-green frock coat, Dick Swiveller waistcoat, with a network of chains, and fancy pattern pantaloons. In imagination he is always living with Dukes, but it may be doubtful whether Dukes are quite as vulgar as he paints them, and whether he has been quite so intimate with them as he would have us believe. An aristocracy knows how to take a politician into its service, and even to give him a gorgeous livery and magnificent wages without pressing him socially to its bosom. The man who is himself in soul a tuft-hunter naturally suspects everybody else of being so, and depicts Thackeray under the name of St. Barbe as a social sycophant. Other traits of character appear. We do not suspect the writer of affected cynicism when he says that all literary men hate and envy each other, and are silent in each others' company for fear of having their good things stolen. He has reason to know that there is such a thing to be apprehended as literary theft.

"Endymion" is said to have brought its author far more than what Scott earned by the best of his novels. Nevertheless, we are of opinion that the best of Scott's novels, perhaps even the worst of them, was worth more than "Endymion." There are different kinds of success in the world, and Sir Robert Peel, as well as Scott, is sometimes for the hour eclipsed by some amazingly clever charlatan. After all, the final judgment of the world on this singular career will depend very much on the decision of the question, which cannot be

said to be yet decided, whether public life is a line of duty or a game.

—Mr. Trevelyan's work on "The Early History of Charles James Fox" is a very lively book, showing in a curious manner the influence of Lord Macaulay's style on the mind of his nephew. It is almost too lively; there is something smart in every sentence, and the reader grows weary of unflinching pungency, while attention is not seldom drawn away from the matter to the form. A good style is that which interposes nothing between the fact or thought and the mind to which it is presented. But Mr. Trevelyan has done his work, and made us as thoroughly acquainted as we can desire ever to be with one of the dirtiest episodes in political history. Such was the rule of aristocracy! A putrid sea of the most selfish intrigue, of the most shameless corruption, of the foulest jobbery, of the vilest venality, combined with the most scandalous neglect of the public service and of all the great ends of government. The king himself is the arch-corruptionist, and runs half a million sterling into debt on his civil list, in providing bribery with what His Majesty is pleased to call its "golden pills." In the political arena the perfidy, treachery, and falsehood are not less revolting than the corruption. Aristocratic pride of the most insolent type will stoop to the most unutterable acts of meanness for place and pelf. Noblemen and gentlemen, in whose eyes a family alliance with honest industry would be a crime, and who were scandalized beyond measure at the thought of seeing Sir Joshua Reynolds a member of Parliament, were bought by the score, not only with places and pensions, but with hard cash thrust into their hands to carry a disgraceful peace. One of them was not ashamed to draw a large salary as the holder of the sinecure office of Turnspit in the King's Kitchen. Their private morality was on a level with their public virtue, and there was scarcely one of the whole noble crew who was not a drunkard. It may be safely said that

there is nothing in the annals of democracy equal in turpitude to the oligarchy of the eighteenth century in England. Democracy makes a great mistake if it uses the shame of aristocracy as a mantle to cover its own sins. But one lesson Mr. Trevelyan's history teaches us with a trumpet tongue. It bids us put away forever the thought of getting rid of our political distempers by going back to the past, and firmly set our faces towards that which is our appointed goal, the reconciliation of stable, wise, impartial, dispassionate government with the democratic spirit of the New World.

Fox gambled madly and drank deep. He threw himself into the political arena in the same spirit in which he went to the gambling table. During the first years of his Parliamentary life he was a reckless champion of high prerogative, and distinguished himself above his fellows in the Wilkes case and on all similar occasions by his insolent hostility to the liberties of the people. His Liberalism was developed with suspicious energy when the Coalition Government, formed by his scandalous union with North, had been turned out by the King. That there had been always something in his character that was noble, generous, and capable of taking a liberal direction is true: his worst errors were the escapades of boyhood; and the proscription with which, for his brave sympathy with the cause of human rights, he was honoured by George III., makes history more than willing to draw a veil over his early career. But fate did humanity an evil turn in giving the leadership of the Liberal party in England to such a man at the outbreak of the French Revolution. Had the Liberal leader been a man universally respected for morality and consistency, and at the same time wise in council and temperate in speech, he might possibly have allayed the panic of the ruling class, persuaded them that the case of England, even with an unreformed Parliament, was very different from that of France, and saved the country from calamitous participation in the crusade against the French Republic. But Fox, in spite of his genius, was in the eyes of moral and sober-minded Englishmen almost disrepu-

table, and his apologies for the Revolutionists were marked by the same impolitic and alarming vehemence as his diatribes in favour of "General Warrants." He aggravated the reactionary passion which it should have been his object to soothe and allay. The result of this, combined with other untoward circumstances was the greatest train of disasters in history. Nothing can be more certain than that the French Revolution, had it been let alone, would have burned down in its socket: it would probably never have become terrorist, certainly it never would have become military and conquering. Kaunitz, the Austrian statesman, saw this: he said, draw a cordon round it, and let it expend its force. But the monarchies, England among them, insisted on tapping the crater and drawing the lava flood over Europe.

—"Liberal Methodism" is the title of a farewell sermon preached by Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, to the Methodists whose communion he is leaving, they pronouncing him heterodox, while he is resolved "to be free—free to live and think and grow with the life of his age, and this at any cost." The questions on which he secedes are the Atonement, the Inspiration of Scripture, and Eternal Punishment. On all, the Church may rest assured, it will have to grant more liberty or die. The moral sense of the enlightened part of mankind has rejected a theory of vicarious punishment, which, by contradicting morality, cuts away the ground for believing in the existence of a God, while, in truth, it rests on nothing but a literal interpretation of figurative passages of St. Paul. We commend the rulers of the Church to Dr. Campbell's work on the Atonement, from which they will learn that it is possible for them to hold all that they really value apart from a form of statement which no moral being can accept. The inspiration of the Scriptures is a subject on which, we need hardly say, we are not disposed to embark. We do not here inquire whether two historical books, at variance with each other as to facts, can both be, in

the orthodox sense, inspired. The third question, that of Eternal Punishment, is probably the main cause of Dr. Thomas's secession. The doctrine is peculiarly repugnant to the strong and all-embracing sentiment of humanity, which marks American society and democratic society generally, in contrast to the sterner sentiment generated by social privilege, the military system, and cruel penal laws in the communities of the Old World. We have already remarked that the only Church which has sprung from American soil owes its existence to a revolt against the doctrine of Eternal Punishment. A benevolent gentleman once observed to a scholar, that the question turned entirely on the real meaning of the Greek word *aionios*, and proposed to set it at rest by giving a prize for an essay on the signification of that word. The scholar replied, that in the first place, so far as he was aware, the Greeks could not be shown to have drawn a clear distinction between indefinite duration and eternity; and that, in the second place, though Christ's words are recorded in Greek, they were spoken in Syriac, so that the philological examination of a particular Greek expression would be of little use. The second observation is one which verbal commentators on Christ's words might do well to bear in mind.

Of all the modern Churches the Methodist was called into existence and moulded by circumstances most nearly resembling the origin of Christianity itself. It was born, not of doctrinal antagonism, but of pure desire to reclaim a godless and vicious world. Dogma, though not absent, has sat lightly on it, and, like the first Apostles, it has preached chiefly to the heart. This, we are persuaded, is the secret of its vitality and expansive force, in comparison with other Churches at the present day. For the same reason it offers probably the best centre for union, should union, formal or informal, ever become possible. Those who have it in their keeping, therefore, if they wreck it by dogmatic exclusiveness, will show a want of insight into its character, and do a great injury to Christendom. To secede from it lightly will be unwise; equally unwise will it be, by blind tenacity of dogma, to force upon those who, like

Dr. Thomas, cannot bear "chains," the unwholesome alternative of secession.

—We beg our Roman Catholic friends to observe that it is not against the Roman Catholic Church, but against Jesuitism, that any shafts of ours have been levelled. Utterly alien to the spirit of historical philosophy must his mind be who can speak with narrow-minded disrespect of the Church of St. Benedict, St. Anselm, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis, Godfrey de Bouillon, Louis IX., Edward I., and Dante, the Church which produced the Christian art, and organized the Christian civilization of the Middle Ages, albeit its annals were sullied by the encroachment of usurping Popes, and by such fearful deeds of fanaticism as the Crusade against the Albigenses. In the doctrines and system of that Church we cannot believe, and not believing in them we must hold that they are destined to pass away: we see that they recede, and the power of its priesthood with them, before the advance of Science, free thought and popular education; yet we recognize the spiritual life which, on any hypothesis, they contain, and we are as far as possible from associating with them any idea of immorality or fraud. But modern Ultramontanism, of which the Society of Jesus is the most pronounced and the most sinister embodiment, is a radically different thing from the guileless Catholicism of the Middle Ages, as everyone whose perceptions are determined by historical facts, not by Papal theories of immutability, must know. A Jesuit Doctor is no more like Thomas Aquinas or Thomas à Kempis, than Philip of Spain or Ferdinand of Austria is like the Catholic barons, devout men after the fashion of their day, who gave England the Great Charter, and the House of Commons, or than a Jesuit Church with its modern finery is like those wonderful hymns in stone, the Catholic Cathedrals of the Middle Ages. We regard Jesuitism as it was regarded by Pascal, by Arnaud, by the Catholic Parliament of Paris, by the Catholic statesmen who



demanding its suppression, by the Pope who suppressed it; as it is regarded, we suspect, by the mass of the Catholic clergy at the present day. It is not a religious Order, in the proper sense of the term, like the Benedictines or Franciscans: its object is not to train the soul for heaven by prayer, contemplation, and an ascetic life, but to fight against freedom, intellectual and political, for the purpose of putting the world again under the feet of the Papacy, though so skilful have been its machinations that the power to be defended has become the puppet of the defenders. Educated the young it has, and in a narrow way, it has educated them well; not, however, that it might enlighten them, but that it might gain an influence over them, and through them over society. It is simply a great conspiracy, belonging to the same historical category as that of which the Old Man of the Mountain was the chief, and operating in a manner equally criminal; for the use of intrigue in fomenting wars, international and civil, persecutions and political usurpations, is not less wicked, less noxious to mankind, or less alien to Christianity, than the use of the dagger. No feature of conspiracy is more detestable than the surrender of conscience into the hands of a chief for the object of the league, by which the neophyte divests himself of moral being. The Jesuit is required to be a "living corpse" in the hands of his Superior. It is true that in the obligation to obedience sin is formally excepted; but is a Jesuit likely to see the sinfulness of anything which his Superior tells him is essential to the interests of the Papacy? History, from the days of the Catholic League to those of the Sonderbund and the Franco-German war, gives us a terrible reply.

—To the shocks which popular religion is receiving from all sides another will soon be added by the appearance of the Revised Translation of the Bible. The revisors have, no doubt, executed their task in the most conservative spirit: still some familiar and cherished texts, such as that of The Three Witnesses and the passage in Job, "I know that my Redeemer



liveth," must unquestionably disappear; and there will be enough generally of verbal change to disturb the minds of those who have not only believed in verbal inspiration, but practically in the verbal inspiration of the authorized English version. The authorized version was, of course, itself a novelty when it appeared in the reign of James I.; but there were at that time so few readers that the shock must have been limited in its extent, and the period was not one fraught with danger from general scepticism as is ours. It will not be surprising if the minds of the unlearned are greatly bewildered by the conflict between the new version and the old. After all, the revision will amount to very little if, as is to be presumed, the titles of the books are to be left unrevised. The most momentous question is as to the authenticity of the writings which have hitherto been ascribed to Moses, Isaiah, and Daniel, in the Old Testament, and to Apostles in the New. Is it certain that the First and the Fourth Gospels are the works of the writers to whom in our Bible they are ascribed? If it is, we have the testimony of two eye-witnesses to the life and acts of Jesus. So important in this case is the question of authenticity which the titles raise, that it almost swallows up all the rest. It is singular that throughout the discussion, so far as we have observed, nothing has been said upon this vital point.