THE BYSTANDER.

JANUARY, 1883.

A MONTHLY issue was found too constant a tie, and too frequent an interruption of other work: but THE BYSTANDER has reason to believe that there are some among his old readers to whom, in default of a monthly, a quarterly issue will not be unacceptable, and however few they may be, he writes for them with pleasure.

In beginning a new series, he has no new professions to make. He still is, or desires to be, loyal to that policy, and to that policy alone, which may promise to bring wealth, happiness, and the virtues which follow in their train to the homes of the Canadian people. To Party government he is more than ever opposed, and more than ever wishes to see it superseded by a government of the nation. But he takes things as they are, and judges the character and conduct of public men, as equity requires, by the standard of the established system. Few Canadian writers, as he believes, love the Mother Country better, or have more reason for loving her, than he. It is in her interest, and for her honour as well as in the interest of the Colonies, that he deprecates the perpetuation of dependency, and wishes to see it replaced by mutual citizenship, and England made the Mother of free nations. In this case, again, however, he takes things as they are, and only protests against the waste of the people's earnings in a hopeless conflict with the ordinances of nature.

The strength of the Macdonald Government appears to be unimpaired, though its motley host of followers, in which the Orangeman marches by the side of the Ultramontane, could hardly be held together by any other chief. Its finance prospers, its outlook generally is bright, except that a cloud has risen on the horizon in the North-West. Its victory at the last election could surprise no one: it had the wind of reviving prosperity full in its sails: the harvest had been good: a new market had been opened in the North-West: commercial interests had been created which looked to the Government as their author and protector: boundless hopes had been excited, and speculation as well as manufactures fought on the Ministerial side. In the three hundred Colonization Companies, it may be surmised, were not a few Grits who cast a vote in favour of Colonization under the friendly cover of the Ballot. Gerrymandering was a blunder as well as a crime: it was a blunder such as tacticians who do not rightly estimate the strength of the moral forces are apt often to commit. But the moment for the Dissolution was wisely chosen; and though there are the strongest objections to a practice which makes the duration of Parliament depend not on the law, but on the conning of the weathercock by a party leader, such is now the game; and cutting short the life of a Parliament for a party purpose by an exercise of the prerogative is not so bad as lengthening it for a similar purpose by a quibble. The majority was unexpectedly large; but as the people grow more educated and quicker witted, as the influence of a metropolitan press increases, as local ties become weaker, and opinion more capable of shifting, large majorities are likely to be the rule, and great effects may be expected from anything which, like National Policy, impresses the mind of the people strongly at the time of an election. The Opposition fought not only under an adverse star, but in imperfect array. They had changed their leader, they had not changed their editor; and the editor crossed the policy of the leader on the main question in the decisive hour. Nor was the policy of the leader well defined. It is not in commercial questions that

he is most at home. Had he felt himself strong on the main issue, he would scarcely have sought adventitious strength by a convulsive clutch at the Home Rule vote. Moreover, the party still suffers in some degree from the effects of the late management. In England the Liberal party owes its long ascendancy to the wisdom of its great leaders in making room within its pale for all the shades of opinion which, so long as it corresponds to its name, it will be certain to contain. Here, before the change of leadership, exclusion instead of comprehension was the rule; and uniformity was enforced by coercion exercised in a way which no man of spirit ever forgives. Whipping independent minds into the traces is an operation which, when the horses are of British blood, is more likely to end in the upsetting of the coach than in the submission of the team.

Meanwhile, in the fiscal sphere, a serious change has come over the scene. In 1878, Adjustment was the word. To Adjustment Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues carefully confined their manifestoes. Now carried away by financial success, partly mistaking its sources, and urged forwards by their manufacturing supporters, they have openly declared for Protection; and the Finance Minister has apparently surrendered himself to the fond belief that he can create prosperity by taxation. A momentous question is thus brought before the country, and the people will have to make up their minds upon it without delay, for if a Protectionist Ring forms and gets possession of the Government, the power of deliberation will be lost. The BYSTANDER'S conviction on this subject has been avowed before; it is that not of a purist in Free Trade, but of one who takes the rule of political economy to be expediency, in the broadest sense of the term, embracing the future as well as the present, sanctioning the special fostering of infant industries, if it can be profitably done, and anything else that will sooner or later and through one channel or another bring wealth to the nation as a whole. But it is necessary to hold fast the distinction between that which brings wealth to the nation as a whole and that which suits the interest of a class. The advantage of internal free trade no one is insane enough to deny: no one proposes to run a Customs line across any terri-

tory, however large, which is under a single government: Napoleon, reactionary in economy as he was, established free trade between the countries included in his vast empire, and in that way made up to them, in a great degree, for the oppressiveness of his Continental system. Enlarge the area from the territory of a single government to the whole world, and the economical principle remains the same. Free Trade among all nations, if it were possible, would be the greatest of blessings to them all. But in the present state of the world it is not possible: every nation is practically compelled to raise revenue by customs; each must have its own tariff, and each will adjust its tariff to its own circumstances, giving its own industries all the advantage in its power. England has her tariff and adjusts it to her own circumstances like the rest. To adapt the Canadian tariff to the requirements of Canada was right; it was right to raise the sum required by increased taxation instead of continuing the fatally seductive policy of loans; it was right, supposing the system of Commercial Separation from the rest of the Continent to be retained, to put the Canadian producer on an equal footing with his competitor over the Line; while the increase of the receipts, combined as it was with an increase of the trade, vindicated the revenue character of the measure. Now it is time to halt and review the situation. Protection, in the ancient sense of the term, that is the imposition of taxes not for the purpose of revenue, but for the purpose of excluding foreign goods and enabling the home manufacturer to sell dear, has been proved by calamitous experience, and is pronounced by every independent authority, to be the most costly and the most objectionable of all ways of enriching a few at the expense of the people; the most costly because it not only takes money out of the pockets of the people but misdirects the investment of capital and perverts the course of industry; the most objectionable because it fills the country with Rings, with smuggling, and with corruption of all kinds. To the argument that internal competition will keep prices down, the answer is that possibly it might in the absence of Rings, and provided the country were not too small. The United States are a Continent producing almost everything except tea and coffee in itself, yet

there can be no doubt that they pay heavily for Protection, in a commercial point of view, whatever political or social advantages they may have reaped from it or may fancy that they have reaped. Prosperous they are, as it is, for their resources are immense and so are the energies of their people: yet they would be much more prosperous with Free Trade. Their mercantile marine has been annihilated, and with all their skill and inventiveness their exportation of manufactures is small, their chief exports being grain and cotton, which Protection cannot assist, which it must injure by making machinery dear. But in the case of a country such as Canada, the consequence of a Protective system would be an exodus of the people, especially if living should become cheaper on the other side of the Line. Were our Finance Minister to mount the platform with a table of prices, showing the increased cost of living, round his neck, his prosperity orations would lose force. Not that the increased cost of living is to be ascribed entirely, or even mainly, to increased taxation: it is to be ascribed mainly to the exportation of our farm produce and the new facilities of distribution which are equalizing prices all over the civilized world, greatly to the inconvenience of fixed incomes in this country; but the increase of taxation plays its part. Some of our manufacturers are making money fast. Wisdom surely bids them be content. To base their prosperity on a Protective system would be to build their house upon the sand. If Free Trade should prevail in the United States, Canadian Protection would at once fall.

The ultimate result of this controversy, unless the economical forces lose their power, may be pretty certainly foretold. That free access to the great markets of this Continent, with full partnership in the circulation of its capital and in its commercial life, would greatly add to the wealth of the people of Canada, no one can seriously doubt. Distant markets in Australia or Brazil, to open which spasmodic efforts have been made, will never indemnify us for exclusion from those which are close at hand. But the commercial interests of the people at large are overridden by those of a political class which has a special interest in the present system, and fancies that commercial union would bring

political union in its train, though, curiously enough, some of these very men have done their best to weaken, by partial Reciprocity, the bulwark the removal of which by complete Reciprocity they cannot contemplate without transports of alarm. This may go on for some time, because the political class holds the power, controls the initiative, and commands the most powerful organs of opinion, while its position is strengthened by the lingering memory of an ancient feud between the two portions of the English-speaking race; but it will not go on forever; and if the commercial barrier, instead of being seasonably removed, is allowed to stand till it is burst by discontent, control over the political situation also may, in the course of the struggle, be lost.

—For the present, criticism of the fiscal policy and of the conduct of Government generally is almost suspended by "the Boom": the name, suggestive of unreasoning excitement, answers too well to the thing. The general revival of trade in which Canada has shared, the good harvests coming simultaneously with bad harvests in England, the opening of a new and lucrative market in the North-West, constitute a genuine increase of the wealth of the country. They form a sound basis, as far as they go, for a development of commerce on the same scale. But on this limited foundation an Aladdin's palace of speculation has suddenly soared to the skies. Within three years, as the Toronto *Monetary Times* in a warning article has shown us, the Banks have added to their store of gold and silver half a million; they have added to their indebtedness fifty-one millions and a half, including their bills, which Greenbackers call money, but which the rest of us call promissory notes. What is there to sustain all this? Nothing, apparently, but the resources, which fancy paints as boundless, of a visionary future. We are the dupes of our own rhetoric. Canada, apart from the North-West, is an agricultural country, almost all the good land of which has been already taken up, while, as the Agricultural Report for Ontario showed, some has been partly worked out. That is the fund; and the income at any time is to be measured by the harvest here, taken together with the price of grain in England. This is enough for well-being;

but it is not a basis upon which a vast edifice of speculative commerce and banking can be permanently reared.

It would have been strange indeed if Inflation had not in some degree affected the integrity of our commercial institutions. Two of the Toronto Banks have been the subjects of public criticism. In one case large sums had been advanced to Directors, with perfect safety no doubt in the particular instances, yet in contravention of a general principle, the value of which was fatally proved by the catastrophe of the Bank of Glasgow; in the other case there appears to have been machinery for doing indirectly that which could not be directly done. The thanks of the community are due to journals which have watched closely for us interests so vital. Of gambling in stocks there has been a wild burst, by no means confined, it is to be feared, to professional speculators. The passionate desire of making money without work, whether at the card table, in the betting ring, or on the Stock Exchange, is always strong, always makes those who yield to it rogues, and very often makes them fools, as the history of South Sea Bubbles and Colonization Companies shows.

It is assumed that the growth of cities, notably of Toronto, is a proof of increasing prosperity, and of the soundness of our fiscal policy. To some extent it undoubtedly is, but perhaps not to the full extent supposed. Whether the cause be popular education or mere love of society and pleasure, there is everywhere a set of population from the country into the cities. Alarm has been excited by this tendency in the United States, where they apprehend the desertion of the farms. Enthusiastic advocates of peasant proprietorship should note the fact, which indicates that the taste of the people is becoming opposed, rather than favourable, to their scheme. As economy also is unquestionably on the side of large farms, it would not be strange if the next generation should see a decided movement in that direction, and a great growth of city life, fed by scientific agriculture carrying on cultivation upon a large scale.

—Manitoba disallows Disallowance. This was sure to come as soon as she began to grow, and to feel the sap of life in her veins.

It has come even sooner than might have been expected, and perhaps before there is force enough in the youthful Province to assert its freedom against the power of the Ottawa Government. The local leader of the Government party, however, seems to feel that for the present it is useless to contend against the storm, and that his only course is to put himself before the wind. The heads of the Syndicate are men of sense as well as honour; they cannot fail to see that enactments restraining the free development of a new country, by whatever authority framed, can never be enrolled in the statute book of nature. The Pope's grant of Monopoly Clauses to Spain after the discovery of the New World was very likely legal, as the public law of Europe then stood, but was treated by enterprise as null. That the Province would permanently allow its commercial interests to be sacrificed to those of a line laid out with a political object, could not seriously be supposed. On the other hand, the public faith must be kept; the contract has been solemnly made; and if the Company gives up its restrictions in compliance with the protest of Manitoba it will have a right to a full indemnity at the hands of the Dominion. More money Canada will hardly be induced to give. From first to last she has already paid, or bound herself to pay in different ways, some sixty millions besides land grants. Her people must begin to see that great as is the acquisition of this new country to the world at large, the gain is not likely to be great to them. For the present she has the command of the North-Western market; but as soon as the fiscal restrictions are severely felt, the Province will rebel against them as it has rebelled against those of the Railway Charter, and insist on buying what it pleases in the most convenient markets, wherever those markets may be. In the meantime, Ontario loses her best farmers and the value of her farms is reduced. It is scarcely possible to touch the political question without setting passion in a flame. But does any one seriously believe that a great country like the North-West will remain under the political dominion of a small country like Canada, from which it is separated by an inland sea, or by a wilderness which, even when a road is made through it, will be as estranging as any sea? At present the bulk of the population are

Canadians, and Canadian Parties have been imported, though they have, as it were, gone through in bond, and some of the goods consigned to the Grits appear to have been delivered to the Tories. But Americans and people from other countries are coming in, and the motley multitude will care little for Ottawa or for the authority of its party chiefs. The distance is too great for administration, while unfortunately it is not too great for intrigue and jobbery. The Land Regulations, though conceived in no illiberal spirit, have done some mischief and driven away some settlers because they have been tinkered by the officials of a remote Capital. By one edict, we are told, all Southern Manitoba was, in effect, suddenly withdrawn from settlement, and some hundreds of settlers were thereby sent over the Line. An appendage of Eastern Canada the North-West cannot long remain. Every one who thought at all must have seen from the beginning that if Canada bound herself by a political chain to this vast mass, instead of controlling it, she would in all likelihood be drawn by it in the direction in which it might itself gravitate, and which would probably be one little contemplated by the framers of our policy. Enough has already been paid for a dream. But Canada may ask the Company, if Manitoba cannot be otherwise appeased, to relax the monopoly clauses, while she on her part, relieves the Company of the obligation to build through the impracticable wilderness to the north of Lake Superior a road which can have no branches, no large passenger traffic, no trade along the line, nor be of real use to anybody but those who wish to be made knights. The Syndicate is a Land Company as well as a Railway Company, and will gain by everything that promotes settlement and prosperity.

The line taken by the Local Premier, who must be presumed to be acting in concert with the head of his party at Ottawa, seems to indicate that the Dominion Government is not inflexible, but will at least, before repeating its veto, hold itself open to negotiations. However that may be, and whatever may be the issue on the present occasion, the conflict between the laws of nature and those of an artificial policy can only have one end. Without the free construction of railways the development of the

country is impossible, and soon, if not at once, the fetters will surely be burst. As soon as the Grand Trunk, through its Western connections, or any other line demanded by commerce, comes in sight on the Southern frontier, where the boundary is merely conventional, a rail will be run out to it, and the attempt to cut off Manitoba economically from the region with which she is by nature identified, in deference to a political theory, will end as everybody who studies, not the balance of parties, but the action of the great forces, must from the outset have been sure that it would end.

Does not the whole of this history show how difficult it is even for the best and most liberal of Mother Countries to manage wisely the affairs of people three or four thousand miles off? Had Nature been allowed to take her own course, the North-West would have been settled quietly, and in a healthy way; the land would have gone to the settler, the price, which would have been measured by the expense of organization, to the State; the railroads would have been laid out on the lines which commerce required; there would have been no monopoly clauses or monopoly of any kind; no harpy organizations, under Ducal or any other auspices, to exact toll of the settler; no vexatious and shifting regulations; no picking out of the eyes of the country by an abuse of opportunities on the part of officials; no such spectacle as Members of Parliament scouring, the summer long, on buck-boards, plains which present little to interest either the legislator or the tourist; no shoal of landsharks blackmailing or driving back the settler; no setting out of a vast gambling table of speculation to taint with roguery the life of a young community at its source. Instead of this, the gates of Nature's bounty were long barred against mankind by the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company: then a colossal land grab was thrown suddenly into the hands of the politicians. The Pacific Railway Scandal was the first result, and it was followed in due course by all the rest, including the facts disclosed in the report of the recent Commission. We all thought that the terms of the Syndicate were high; but the country, with a groan, assented to the bargain, as the only mode of escape from a bottomless gulf of political

corruption. Two or three knighthoods are the sole fruit of the business, and form our only consolation.

The collapse of two hundred and eighty out of three hundred Colonization Companies, and the sickly condition of some of those which remain, may be taken as a welcome indication that the worst of the gambling fit is over. Still land-sharking goes on to the detriment of the honest settler. It is interesting to know the land-shark's game, the more so as the knowledge throws light on some regulations of the Government which have been undeservedly taxed with injustice. The great shark, we are told, hires a number of half-breeds or other wanderers by the month, and sends them out to squat on promising town sites, and on spots where it is likely that the Pacific Railway will cross rivers. An Order in Council was passed, in the May of 1880, warning squatters on town sites that their claims would not thereafter be respected; but that Order seems not to be enforced with inflexible rigour. The small shark goes out himself and takes up his position on the best section or half-section that he can find; pitches his tent; makes a pretence of ploughing by scraping up a few yards of sod; and sits down to await his victim, the genuine settler whom he blackmails; then he goes on to another lot and repeats the operation. Not a few genuine settlers, we are assured, were driven back in the spring and summer of this year from the Qu'Appelle valley by disgust at these impositions. The great shark robs the Government, the small shark robs the settler: vigorous efforts are being made to extirpate the small shark: the great shark, like the great of every species, has his friends.

Other grievances the settlers have besides the buying up of lands and the want of railways to bring their crops to market. We are told they already wince under the Tariff, which adds the cost of transportation to the price of goods, taxes the canned eatables which are an important part of their dietary, and forces them to import much of their lumber from far distant mills in Canada, instead of buying it freely at those of St. Paul and Minneapolis. For want of lumber to build houses the settler has to pass the winter under canvas; for want of lumber to build

barns he has to stack his wheat in the field; and by the addition to the expense of building, house rent is raised against him. This cannot last; no power of the Ottawa Government will long be able, in a perfectly open frontier, to keep up a Customs barrier between the North-West and its natural markets. On the other hand, it does not appear that the Syndicate, apart from the jealousy sure to be excited by overweening power, has done anything to provoke the resentment of the people. It has gone about its work in thorough earnest and with extraordinary energy; its workmen must have been great purchasers of food, and it has kept entirely clear of politics. The rates, which are the chief ground of complaint, are, in the opinion of competent and impartial judges, not excessive, considering the absence of return freights, and the paucity of centres of distribution, which makes the distances over which goods have to be carried great and the charges inevitably high. It is true, that the existence of any commercial company, with powers so great, is itself an evil: for this the members of the Syndicate are not responsible: they merely took what, had they not presented themselves, others would have taken, and they have done their work in a way entirely creditable to themselves and to the country. With them there is no ground of quarrel; the ground of quarrel is with the legislative restrictions alone.

Amidst these disturbing influences, which after all are partial and temporary, the North-West is working out the great problem of its destiny, the elements of which are on one side a boundless expanse of the best wheat land in the world; on the other, a very cold, though dry and healthy climate, the difficulty of keeping stock, the danger of late and early frosts, and the scarcity of fuel, with some minor drawbacks such as the alkaline character of the water, and the contingency of grasshoppers, which, however, does not seem to be much feared. The question of fuel is the most serious of all: on November 3rd, a snow storm having set in, coal was $15 per ton in the yard, and $16 50 including delivery. If good coal has been found in the Territory, as some geologists aver, it has not yet been brought to market. On the whole it may safely be said that the balance between the grounds

for hope and the grounds for fear inclines decidedly to the favourable side. Winnipeg, if it is to remain the chief centre of this vast grain region, stands no bad chance of becoming a Northern Chicago. Already she illustrates by her improvements that union of all the appliances of civilized invention with the virgin fertility of the wilderness which has been reserved for the railway age, and her Press shows that her intellectual development is not likely to lag behind her material prosperity. Nearly fifty thousand immigrants went into the North-West last year. The prospect in the main is unquestionably fair: this seems to be the real fact, to go beyond which is worse than useless. Mere mischief is done by word-painters, with their overcoloured delineations. If the settler is told beforehand that he is going to a land of perfect happiness, where there is no difficulty to be encountered, he is sure to be disappointed, and his disappointment will find a voice. Even the British rustic has sense enough to trust the genuine utterance of a single man of his own class more than the rodomontades of any number of touters. In a speech appended to our "Annual Register," the Governor-General draws what may be called an after-dinner picture of the North-West, pouring scorn on the spiritless and skulking few who have turned away unsuccessful from a land which, according to His Excellency, presents not a single disadvantage, being covered with a network of wood, containing plenty of coal, having by nature admirable drainage, with perfectly wholesome water, and combining all the accommodation which a good settler can desire, with a rate of wages for builders equal to the pay of a colonel in the British army. The unhappy objects of His Excellency's denunciation, if they dared to lift their eyes to angry Jove, might plead that the hardships bravely borne by the denizens of the drawing-room at Rideau, or even by a tourist of quality travelling over the summer prairie in a Railway President's Palace Car, were an imperfect measure of those encountered by a poor settler with his family under canvas in a bracing and invigorating temperature of forty below zero.

Of the immigration, the bulk, as from the first seemed probable, is Canadian or American, much the larger portion, so far,

being Canadian. From these quarters were sure to come the best pioneers. The young British farmer may also do well; the middle-aged farmer, fixed in his Conservatism, is likely to find himself more suitably placed on a farm in Ontario, where he has everything prepared to his hand, the roads made, and the mechanic always near. British, German, and Scandinavian peasants or farm-labourers are excellent, if you can get them. But in England they have now hardly any good farm hands to spare, though there is a refuse of which they are willing to be rid: the Germans follow in the track of their kinsmen to the United States, and the Scandinavians are few. Of destitute Irish, thousands seem to be offered: but these hapless people are not farmers; they would come utterly unprovided, and would hardly be able to face the hardships of the climate. As navvies on the railroads they might do well, and they might afterwards take to the farm, though such is not their tendency on this Continent, however keen their land hunger may be in their native country. The Canadian Commissioner in England has sent out a consignment of Russian Jews. He must have been moved more by compassion than by expediency, for he had before him the Consular Reports, plainly telling him what the habits of these unfortunates were, and what was to be expected of them in any land which might receive them as colonists. Everywhere they refuse to work, and prefer to feed upon the workers. They have sucked the blood of the peasantry in Russia, in Germany, in Poland, in the Danubian Principalities; and the Anti-Jewish movement in those countries, with its deplorable excesses, is the inevitable result. There is in that movement, as all who have carefully examined it now admit, hardly a particle of religious intolerance: it is simply the uprising of the maddened people against insufferable extortion. No man is more free from the tendency to religious persecution, or, in spite of his coarseness and ignorance, has a kinder heart, than the Russian peasant. Unfortunately, Jews of the worst class do not confine their operations to usury; they corrupt that they may afterwards devour. In the United States the result of the experiment has been precisely the same that it has been in Manitoba. The Commissioner had better hold his hand,

unless he wishes to import the worst of moral and commercial plagues into the country.*

* "It might not be devoid of interest to mention the views expressed to me on the subject of the Jewish disturbances during last year by a Lutheran clergyman, who has for many years resided in the Provinces of Volhynia and Kieff, and whose district contains sixteen colonies, or about 3,000 persons. 'My experience of the Jews,' said the clergyman, 'extends over a period of many years, and, without entering into the subject of their relations with the indigenous Russian population, I have always found that they are highly prejudicial to the welfare and interests of the colonists. I can cite instances of colonies which were happy and prosperous a few years ago, and which are now quite the reverse, and this change I attribute to the Jews. They resort to all manner of devices to obtain the right of residence in a colony, and when once they have succeeded in their object, you will find that nearly all members of the colony are in debt to the Jew, and gradually get so tightly involved in his meshes that they give up all idea of ever getting free. Small loans, artfully pressed at first, gradually mount to considerable sums, the payment of which is generously deferred, in consideration of which the debtor is made to agree to easy bargains in the sale of crops and produce of all kinds, besides tilling the ground, and performing other services for his creditor, whose position daily becomes more powerful, and the man himself more overbearing and exacting. If the victims, driven to desperation, attempt to free themselves, the screw is put on, not on the offender alone, but on others, which process generally results in victory for the Jew. Moreover,' continued my companion, 'the Jews are notorious horse-stealers, and the depredations committed by them, in the Province of Volhynia especially, would seem incredible to a person unacquainted with the facts. There have been several cases of lynching Jewish horse-stealers by the colonists within the last year or two, and the number of offences has much decreased in consequence. If,' concluded the clergyman, 'the Jews prove more than a match for my poor colonists, whose enemies will not refuse to give them credit for industry and temperance, what must be the condition of the Russian peasant, idle, intemperate, and weak in character? The Jews' two great factors in dealing with the Russian peasant are *vodka* (native gin) and a few roubles at a pinch, and with these powers he enslaves and uses him for his own ends. Look at all the large properties in this province belonging to influential and hereditary Russian noblemen. They are, with few exceptions, rented out to Jews, because the proprietors find that they pay higher rents than the Russian tenants. But why are they able to pay higher rents? Firstly, because their system is to draw as much profit out of the estate as possible within a certain space of time without regard to its future impoverishment; and secondly, because they make the Russian peasant work for them almost for nothing. He tills their ground, and carts their produce and material, all in payment of interest on loans generally contracted in a state of intoxication, and for the purpose of obtaining more liquor. This is all very deplorable; but, whatever may be the faults of the Jews—and I confess they are not few—they cannot be remedied by violence and plunder such as occurred in this city, and no Christian man can for a moment justify such outrages. The real source of the evil lies in the mental and moral condition of the masses, and it is there where the remedy must be applied.' Such are the views expressed by a person who enjoys the respect and confidence of both the Christian and Jewish communities of the place where he resides."—*Russian Corrrspondent of the London Daily News.*

The Emigration question is one which interests not only Manitoba but the whole Dominion. Ontario, there is reason to believe, has employment for a large number of good farm labourers, if England could only spare them, which, as has just been said, is more than doubtful. But there is no employment and there are no means of subsistence here for castaways taken from the purlieus of the cities, or for any of those of whom the parish in England usually wishes to get rid. In old Canada there is, so far as can be ascertained, no demand at present for additional mechanics in any of the trades, and the Canadian artisan, though he has not a right to exclude from the labour market any who come there of their own accord, may fairly protest, as the members of the legal or medical profession would protest, against an artificial importation which deprives him of the fruits of his thrift and prevents him from improving his condition.

—It is a very small matter, yet we cannot help repeating the wish that some taste may be shown by those who name the places in the North-West. Why brand the new born with vulgarity? Indian names are often musical; old English names are pleasant; pleasant too are names pregnant with historical associations, whether political or religious, such as the Puritan names of New England. Names taken from local features are good, and good in their way are names such as Hope and Enterprise which speak of the pioneer. If the first settler wishes to give his own name to the place let him affix an English termination such as *ham*, *by*, *ton*, *borough*, *bury*, and eschew *ville*, unless he wishes to embalm his memory as that of a snob for ever. Classical names are utterly detestable: a district in the State of New York has been peppered with them by an admirer of the ancient republics, who apparently did not know that Cicero and Tully were the same man. "Regina" might just as well have been Queensborough, unless the object was to veil loyalty under the decent obscurity of a learned language. There is not much to be done in that line of propagandism. Society, as it goes west, always becomes more thoroughly democratic; and in the land of which Regina is to be the capital, to dissipate sentimental illusions, the aristocratic Land-grabber and Guinea-pig have appeared.

—In Ontario an election approaches. The Opposition is very weak in men, and Provincial jealousy has been somewhat awakened against it by the too imperious language held at the late Conservative convention, as well as by the conduct of the Dominion Government in the matter of the disputed Boundary. The result, therefore, will most likely be what the bye-elections already indicate: the Government will win and the yoke of a dominant connection will be fastened more tightly than ever on the neck of municipal independence. To arraign particular men in this question of Provincial government would not be just: a bad system is bringing forth its fruit. Even those who deem that in national politics Party is desirable or inevitable, will admit that it is an absurdity in Provincial affairs. So far as the business of Ontario is concerned, Mr. Mowat is no more a Liberal than Mr. Meredith, Mr. Meredith is no more a Conservative than Mr. Mowat; if they are party men it is in connection with the Dominion parties in the conflicts of which the Administration of the Province is thus to its great detriment involved. In Ontario it is simply a competition for office between two sets of men. Yet we have all the evils of party government, the sacrifice of conviction to discipline, and the corporate defence of individual maladministration by colleagues in the Cabinet and partisans in the House. An attempt to inquire into the state of any department, however well supported by reasons, would be voted down at once by the majority at the beck of the Government. The representation also suffers: it is taken out of the hands of the people by the Machines, and good local men, who might serve the Province well, are excluded because they are not slaves. In the absence of principle, patronage becomes the party bond; it acquires unmeasured influence and is exercised with a narrow regard for the interest of the holders of power, which is scarcely possible where there is a real division of principle and opinion is the title to preferment. Soon even literary and educational appointments, over which the Government directly or through its partisans has control, will be confined to the following of the Premier. Everything that can be a source of influence is grasped, and while the eyes of the people are following the finger of the Attorney General, pointed in a transport of indig-

nant eloquence to the North-West Boundary, danger threatens self-government nearer home. The system calls for the aid of squadron of subordinate wirepullers and intriguers, who appear and must be fed; nor can the Minister be much blamed for satisfying demands which it would be an effort of heroism to resist. We are going over old ground here, but the need for the discussion remains the same.

—Patronage and the personal power of those in whose hands it is have practically received a great addition through the License Act. It is pleaded that more Conservatives than Reformers have been licensed. A large majority of the applicants was pretty sure to come at first from the Conservative party, to which the publicans have belonged, because it treated them with less severity than its rival. But have these Conservatives, after receiving their licenses, remained Conservatives and acted in politics with the same freedom as before? That is the practical question. To reward supporters is the ordinary use of patronage; but it serves its purpose just as well if it puts an opponent under the screw. Moral crusades in the cause of temperance, as well as in other causes, have done so much good that even in their errors they command our respect; yet it cannot be denied that they are apt to make the crusader reckless of considerations and even of principles which stand between him and the reform on which he is bent. A man must have been carried by his enthusiasm beyond the reach of argument if he cannot see the political objections to putting a great and influential trade into the hands of a party government. Nor is this the right road to the Prohibitionist's object, if his object is the extinction of the trade: nothing, not even a fallacy or a fee, is more tenacious of life than a fund of patronage in the hands of party.

—Another pillar of the connection stronger than the License Law and fully as objectionable is the Catholic vote, the relation of the Government with which may now be said to be manifest and almost avowed. The Province which is dragooned does not suffer

more, nor has it more reason for protesting against the intrigue, than the Church which is degraded. Whether it is the Catholic Church or the Methodist matters not; we give all churches their rights, and treat them with due respect; we do not want to be governed underhand by any of them. The Catholics enjoy full citizenship; let them learn to be citizens and to vote, not to conspire. What is too plain is that the Province is now in their hands, or rather in the hands of the ecclesiastics, by whom they are brought to the polls. Under the elective system, and where the texture of political society generally is loose, everything compactly organized has a power out of proportion to its numbers, and, to the fancy of the politicians, looks even more powerful than it is. A decisive argument against party is that it gives selfish combination a fatal advantage over the patriotism which eschews conspiracy. Hence the two parties in this country are always desperately bidding against each other for the Catholic vote. They were bidding for it when, in emulous self-abasement, they both of them supported the Costigan Resolutions, and they are bidding for it in the ridiculous controversy about the use of *Marmion* as a school-book. To feel the foot of its ecclesiastical manager upon their necks would seem to be the highest happiness to which either of these sets of Britons can aspire. Orangeism itself has bent the knee and through its representative embraced upon the platform Popery slightly scented with Fenianism, vowing that there should be a fair and brotherly division of the spoil. The community at all events understands the game. A spiritual manifesto published by a pair of Opposition Catholics against clerical intervention in politics, though penned with a skill totally fatal to its authenticity, is either treated with indifference or met with derisive allusions to the political connection of the distinguished signatories with the *Bleus*; and the counter-manifesto of Government Catholics, albeit the number of signatures is doubled, and increased unction thrown into the style, meets with no more respectful treatment.

—It was in the scuffle for the Catholic vote that Walter Scott, of all characters in the world, was sucked into the mill-race of Party

and revolved for some weeks upon the wheel, piteously dripping with the muddy stream. The noise of the controversy reached England and filled that discerning public with exalted ideas of our moral fastidiousness and the ardent interest taken by us in literary questions. To any one not in quest of Catholic votes, it is needless to say, that the morality of the glorious Scotchman is as pure as the burn that runs down a heathery hill-side. He was too perfect a gentleman to touch anything unclean. A churchman who finds licentiousness in *Marmion,* must himself, to use Johnson's expression, be highly combustible. On the subject of duelling, Scott thought like other men of honour in those days; this is his only weak point. Otherwise, he gives us ground for thankfulness, that in him, as in its other great Masters, British fiction is pure. Evil betide man or woman who sullies its purity! There are criminal characters in Scott's Tales, as there are in the Bible, but, as in the Bible, they meet their doom: Constance, Marmion, and the King of Scots all suffer for their sins. That the walling-up scene, and some other passages in *Marmion,* are offensive to Roman Catholics is perfectly true, and had this ground been frankly taken when the book was withdrawn, there would have been no more to be said. Unluckily, the false ground of immorality was taken, in order to hide the wires, when the wirepuller, not content to possess the substance without the form of power, suddenly thrust from behind the curtain his Most Reverend head. To insinuate that Scott was driven by his straightened circumstances to pander to Protestant prejudices, is the most preposterous injustice: he was not in straightened circumstances when *Marmion* was written. Nor had he any prejudices of his own: not being at all ascetic or ritualistic, he felt no special sympathy with the religion of the Middle Ages, which he treated simply as a part of the antiquities, and in a conventional, sometimes in a jocular, style. But by bringing the Middle Ages generally into fashion, he practically gave an impulse to the Neo-Catholic movement, and in Catholics to traduce him is ingratitude.

—Will the people ever see that this game of party government for a Province is being played at their expense, and that its cost

is not money only, but a sacrifice of Provincial interests? What does Ontario want with these sham parties? What does she want with a party cabinet which is nothing but a clique, with a Party policy which can be nothing but patronage, with a waste, in Debates or on Party Addresses, of time which ought to be devoted to practical affairs? What does she want with the phantom of a Constitutional Monarchy and Speeches from the Throne read by a functionary in Court Dress who to-day condemns at the bidding of his Provincial Advisers that which yesterday he was supporting as a member of the Dominion Parliament? A really local assembly such as might be formed by delegations from our Municipalities, doing the Provincial business in a practical way, and electing such executive officers as are needed, is what Provincial administration really requires. The abilities of Mr. Mowat and his colleagues would be just as much at our service under that system as under the present. It would be chimerical to expect the change till the evils of the present system have been more severely felt; but if it could be made, not only should we benefit ourselves, we should set an example of a rational and practical government without any necessity for strife or jobbery, which might in time be followed in other Provinces and perhaps in other countries.

—In the course of the Scott controversy reference was made to Collier's *History of England*, which had been revised by the Council of Public Instruction to clear it of language offensive to the feelings of Catholics. That revision was effected quite quietly and without a bitter word. Such is the difference between a political and a non-political Department of Education. The thoughts of the community are being directed to this subject. People begin to see that we can no more afford to have education turned into a political cockpit than we could afford to have commerce treated in the same way. The Council of Public Instruction had defects, but they were not irremediable, nor were they the cause of its fall. It was overturned by the wrath of the Chief Superintendent, because, in the performance of its duty to its constituents, it limited his autocracy, revised his text-books, some of which were

in dire need of revision, and inquired into the management of his wasteful, or worse than wasteful, Book Depository. As he was supposed to wield the Methodist vote, the Government bowed to his displeasure, and in its haste to gratify him forgot even the usual courtesies of public life. At the pass to which things had then come, a change of some kind was inevitable, and a Ministry of Education was an experiment which there seemed to be good reasons for trying. It has been fairly tried. The Minister appointed was the member of the Government best qualified by his intellectual acquirements for the post, and there can be no doubt that he has devoted himself conscientiously to its duties. But the result is decisive: Education is rapidly becoming the football of party, and the state of the Department is such as to excite grave misgivings in the minds of men well qualified to judge. Many voices are heard in favour of a reorganization of the Council, for the purpose of general regulation, such as determining the subjects of instruction and examination, selecting text-books, and fixing the qualifications for certificates. For administrative purposes a Chief Superintendent would, of course, be required as before. The mode of his appointment might be so arranged as to secure to him the confidence both of the Legislature and the Council of Public Instruction; and if the Chairman of the Council were named by the Government he might form a useful channel of communication between the two bodies. Let the Opposition take up this matter in earnest and they will not be without support. Nor is the question confined to the Public Schools. The friends of the University also are beginning to desire its emancipation from political influence, which has already bred trouble, and which, if exercised in a narrow spirit, might estrange half the community from an institution which ought to be the common pride of all.

—In the ensuing Session of the Dominion Parliament, Disallowance is likely to be the main question between the parties. It is one on which the Opposition might be expected to rally in force, if only the leaders knew their own minds more thoroughly, and were better prepared to take the bull of Anti-Continental policy by the horns. But the weakness betrayed in their speeches against the Contract

will probably reappear in their treatment of Disallowance. As a bombardment of the National Policy is for the present hopeless, at least from the quarter in which the Opposition batteries are placed, the only other question of importance is likely to be that relating to the Senate: even with this it can hardly be expected that much way will be made, for the country is just now in a commercial rather than in a political mood. Argument on this subject is exhausted. If the politicians who imposed a Constitution on the Canadian people had taken to themselves, in their own names, the nomination of a branch of the Legislature, everybody would have stood aghast at their assurance; but when they took it in the name of the Crown, though all the world knows that the Crown is a constitutional figment, nobody cried out; so completely are we fooled by phrases. That nomination by the Prime Minister is an indirect mode of election by the nation cannot possibly be maintained in the face of some recent appointments; but even if it could, an irresponsible tenure for life is against all reason and all principle. Belief in a superior order of legislators lifted above Party, caring for subjects for which Party does not care, and moderating the rash impulses of the popular House, must long ago have departed from the most confiding breast. The Senate is a bribery fund in the hands of the Government, and a paddock for the "Old Wheel Horse" of the party, nor, on its present footing, will it ever be anything else: the nominations grow worse instead of better. A Minister cannot help himself: the goods, in the shape of party services and expenditure on elections, have been delivered, and he is compelled to pay. It is alleged that the Senate must be preserved as the Federal element of our Constitution. On what occasion has its specially Federal character appeared? It is nominated by the head of a Dominion party. The American Senate is far more Federal in its composition, inasmuch as all the States, great or small, have the same number of members, and the election is vested, not in a Central authority, but in the State Legislatures. Yet the American Senate is so controlled by the Central Parties, that it can hardly be said ever to have acted in a peculiarly Federal way. A revision of our Constitution, which, as an experiment, has by this time had or will

soon have had a fair trial, would be far preferable to dealing with the Senate by itself: but here again Party comes in; such a process, if attempted, would speedily become a fierce and fruitless strife.

—The birth of a National Liberal Association in Toronto has a little alarmed the regular politicians who abhor the thought of a third party, being amid all their dissensions steadfast in the common faith that the loaf is not more than enough for two. Not a third party, but a union of good citizens in an effort to put the nation above all parties is, from the BYSTANDER'S point of view, the thing to be desired. But if we are to have the system at all, there is, at this juncture, not only room but a manifest necessity for a third party in Ontario. Both the existing Machines are, as we plainly see, in bondage to the Catholic vote: one Machine is in bondage to the Irish Catholic vote in this Province, the other Machine, through its connection with Dominion Conservatism, is in bondage to the French Catholic vote of Quebec. Unless some delivering power appears, sectarian domination seems likely to be the doom of Ontario, and, be the sect which it may, Catholic or Protestant, sectarian domination is a thing which we are all bound to resist, alike in the interest of the State and of religion. The machines are strong, fearfully strong, yet there is so much feeling on the subject that a struggle for emancipation would hardly be hopeless if once a standard were set up. The programme of the National Liberal Association is too theoretical in its character and too complex to make that broad impression on the minds of the people which is essential to the success of a new movement; not to mention that some of the articles, such as that favouring an Imperial Zollverein, by no means commend themselves at once even to those to whom it may be presumed that the framers specially appeal. If Mr. McMurrich and his friends could organize something strictly Provincial, with a view of giving Ontario a government which should not be the donkey-engine of an Ottawa party, and at the same time of setting us free from sectarian and anti-social influence, they would certainly do us a service, and they might look for a fair measure of support.

Whenever a third party is mentioned, the Machinists seize the opportunity of trampling, as they think, on the ashes of "Canada First." That certain politicians took "Canada First" for a party, or something that was going to furnish materials for a party flirted with it in that belief, and jilted it when they found out their mistake, is true; and there were some interesting revelations of character on that occasion. But the sincere promoters of the movement, it is believed, had no such thoughts. They never sought that which professional politicians always seek; that which professional politicians do not always seek, they sought. Their object was to advance a principle and to cultivate a sentiment: nor did they in reality fail, either "ignominiously," or, as it is possible to fail, with honour. Both the principle and the sentiment have been constantly gaining ground, and receiving the involuntary homage of their professed enemies. What are our National Policy and Commercial Autonomy but tributes to "Canada First"? "We will govern our own country. We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to misgovern ourselves, we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland, or Scotland to tell us we are fools. We will say, if we are fools, we will keep our folly to ourselves. You will not be the worse for it, and we will not be the worse for any folly of yours." Such is now the language of a Conservative Prime Minister. Not many years ago he would have been accused of seeking the dismemberment of the Empire, and perhaps, by the more hysterical Imperialists, of wanting to bring about a civil war. When "Canada First" came into existence, the very utterance of the name Canadian nation was denounced as treason. Who denounces it as treason now?

—Co-operation, which has paid us a visit in the person of its great promoter and historian, Mr. Holyoake, is a name of terror to the retail tradesman. Distributive Co-operation we mean, or in plain English, Co-operative stores, not Co-operative works, which appear to have decisively failed in England, though in France the greater sociability of the artisans and their readier submission to discipline seem to have achieved a certain measure of success. There

can be no obstacle to the success of the Stores, provided their officers are thoroughly trustworthy, and can be relied on to exercise the same care in making the purchases on behalf of the Association which is exercised on his own account by the retail tradesman. In England the stores are doing an enormous business, which is increasing every day. The best and soundest part of the system however is ready money payment, the staff of independence, comfort, and self-respect to the working man; and this may be adopted by any ordinary store. Long credits, as everybody says, are the bane of Canadian commerce; they extend in a fatal chain from the purchaser here through the retail merchant up to the producer in England; and they are apt to entail not only high prices but the necessity of putting up with inferior goods. Let our merchants generally introduce the sounder system, if they can, and adhere to it strictly, so that those who pay may feel sure that they are not making good the default of those who do not; and Co-operation will soon lose its terrors.

—Interest in the question of Education is being shown in many ways. Here, as elsewhere, contending parties feel that they will have society greatly under their influence if they can clap a padlock on the minds of the young. An important deputation of the Churches urges the Attorney-General of Ontario to make religious instruction obligatory in all the schools. It is not difficult to sympathise with those who wish the child to be trained up not only in knowledge and intelligence, but in the love of good, the hatred of evil, and the fear of God. But the difficulties which stand in the way of a universal and compulsory system hardly need re-statement. In the divided state of Christendom, and with a growing body of citizens who object to religious teaching altogether, perpetual conflicts, perpetual agitation, would ensue; the power of the State would be constantly called into action against what would present itself as freedom of opinion, and the practical consequence to religion is not doubtful. After all, too great a value may easily be set on religious teaching in the form of a task; so every one who has been compelled to attend divinity lectures at College will say. Let us be content,

then, with local discretion, guarded by a proper conscience clause, and let the Church, the Sunday-school, and, above all, the home, do their proper work. The "Cotter's Saturday Night" is worth all the compulsory clauses in the world. The London *Advertiser* suggests that a manual of the great moral truths might be framed and used as a school-book. It might be framed by a neutral authority commanding the general confidence of the Province; but if the task were undertaken by the Education Office of a Party Government, we see what the result would be. The adoption of a law making religion a part of the programme would shut out for ever the hope of giving unity to our system by the abolition of Separate Schools. Otherwise, that object may be kept in view. To perfect securities for the conscience of their children the Catholics, in common with other citizens, have a right; these there might have been a reasonable doubt of their enjoying at the time when the Separate Schools were conceded, and when the memory of persecution was still fresh; there can be no reasonable doubt now; and it is not the duty of the State to provide special institutions for the purpose of keeping a portion of its citizens under the social and political control of the priesthood of a particular Church.

—Once more the zealous Collector of Customs at Toronto is in trouble about his censorship of books. The law enjoins him to exclude indecency, but it does not enjoin him to exclude heterodoxy, and with heterodoxy all sensible men will unite in imploring him, if he cares for religion, not to meddle. Even in the case of indecency, there is great difficulty in drawing the line between obscene writers and classical writers tainted with obscenity, such as Swift, Fielding, Smollett, Balzac, Cervantes, and the whole train of Elizabethan dramatists, not excepting Shakespeare: still in this case the ground of the restriction is firm, and the vendors of pruriency are such reptiles that the community may put its heel upon them without compunction. But censorship of opinion, however extreme and repugnant to general convictions the opinion against which it is directed may be, is as much a thing of the past as the thumbscrew or the stake. Any

attempt to exercise it does mere and unmixed mischief to the cause which it is intended to serve. Paine's *Age of Reason*, which is the present subject of contention, is an ignorant and shallow, as well as coarse and violent book, the practical answer to which is, that the Christianity which Paine saw and assailed—that of the corrupt, indolent, and intolerant Establishments of England and France—was a depravation of the religion of Christ, not less hateful to His true followers as than to Paine himself; while Paine's invective, being at least sincere, is less deeply offensive to Christian earnestness than the advocacy of political religionists, such as Burke, who uphold the Christian Church as an engine of State and its clergy as a black police.

— If Ontario is not yet ready for a change in her political institutions, perhaps Quebec is: no honest man in Quebec at least can desire that things should remain as they are. The desperate state of the finances is not the worst feature of the situation, though it is leading the politicians to lay their hands upon the Commercial Companies, the consequence of which will be a flight of capital from the Province. It is impossible at a distance to sift to the bottom the charges of public theft, jobbery, and corruption brought against Mr. Chapleau by the author of *Le Pays, Le Parti, et Le Grand Homme*, or to investigate the galaxy of scandals which seem to be ever gathering round the central figure of M. Senecal. This much is certain, Party in that Province has degenerated into the vilest faction: public life has become a cesspool of intrigue, and government will soon be a domination of scoundrels. With Quebec, at all events, reform is a matter which admits of no delay.

—Long possession of power corrupts every political party. After twenty years of ascendency the Republican Party in the United States had degenerated into a Machine worked by the hands of jobbers who subsisted on the memories of the Civil War. The indignation of the people was rising against it and threatened it with overthrow. Its better members, with the Editor of

Harper's Weekly in their van, made a gallant effort to restore its character and save it from its impending doom. They triumphed, after a desperate conflict with the corrupt wing, in the nomination and afterwards in the election of General Garfield, though to carry the election against the Democrats, they had to make terms with evil and concede the Vice Presidency to Mr. Arthur. In a dark hour for the country Garfield fell, and power once more passed into the hands of the corrupt wing, which soon began to creep back into its old paths. Popular indignation rose again, and Pennsylvania became the scene of a distinct revolt against the local Boss and the Machine of which he was the manager. To read the moral signs of the times is not given to Bosses; and the men about Mr. Arthur remained firm in the belief that a more corrupt use of patronage, more strenuous jobbery, more tyrannical enforcement of party discipline were all that was needed to fortify their position and dispel the storm. But in truth had they been assured that they might keep power if they would resign corruption, the answer of their hearts would have been, that to resign corruption was to give up the only thing which made power worth keeping. The result has been a national insurrection at the polls, by which the Republican party has been overthrown. Such seems to be the true account of the sudden revolution which has taken place in the politics of the United States.

This is not a victory of the Democrats, it is a defeat of the Machine, and as a defeat of the Machine it is a triumph of public morality. It does not surely portend the election of a Democratic President. Yet it puts the Legislature into the hands of the Democratic party. What use will that party make of its power? Hitherto it has reigned only to show that of all political combinations the most pestilent is an oligarchy of wealth in alliance with a mob. Will it now reform? There are in it men, such as Mr. Bayard, at whose hands reform might be expected. But combined with these men, and exercising a formidable, if not an overweening, influence are the very worst political elements in the United States. When Tammany begins to purify politics, we may expect to see the Prince of Darkness beginning to purify his own realm. That there will be an attempt to tamper in any serious

respect with the settlement of the Slavery question or any of the other results of the Civil War is most unlikely. The spirit of the Nation would at once be aroused to arms; the utmost that need be feared in that line is an ostentatious display in Congressional appointments, and on every available occasion, of sympathy with Ex-Confederates which may wound loyal feeling but can do no substantial harm. Any recognition of the Confederate debt is utterly out of the question. Nor is there much reason to apprehend a revival of the Southern doctrine of State Right, or an attack upon the unity of the nation. Each party is centralizing when it is in power, and Jackson, the father of Democracy, threatened to hang Nullifiers for treason. The thing most to be feared, prehaps, is a reduction of the army, to which the Democrats cherish a mob antipathy, increased by the services of the soldiers in the civil war, while the force is already too small to guarantee the safety of American society against the anarchic tendencies of the foreign element, as the labour war a few years ago too plainly showed. The Executive will still be in the hands of a Republican President, who refused to re-call Mr. Lowell, otherwise we might expect the Irish to exert an influence over the foreign policy which would lead to embroilments with Great Britain, and once more break up the moral union now almost consummated between the two great portions of the Anglo Saxon race. The Democratic leaders however must know that they owe their victory to independent votes, and that if they pursue their old courses, the same votes will be cast against them at the Presidential election. In the meantime American institutions will be severely strained, as they were in the troublesome times of Andrew Johnson, by an antagonism between the Executive and the Legislature, which the framers of the Constitution failed to foresee, as they failed in fact to foresee anything which has its source in the influence of Party.

—Free Trade has not triumphed in its own name. Yet it has gained a practical victory, inasmuch as the national vote is a protest not only against Machines and Bosses but against the needless burden of taxation. To keep up the necessity for income is

obviously the game of all who have a selfish interest in a high tariff. This policy has been unmistakably condemned, and though there is in the Democratic party a body of Protectionists large enough to deter it from inscribing Free Trade on its banner, it will hardly refuse to obey the national demand for a reduction of taxation. Internal taxes may be perhaps the first reduced, but the turn of the import duties must come.

—Sudden interest seems to have been excited in American politics among the people of England by the utterances of a novelist combined with those of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Anything which can be turned against Mr. Chamberlain's caucus finds a ready hearing. On this side of the water "Democracy" had run its course when it began to enjoy a new life of popularity in England. It is sparkling and, for satire, true; yet hardly more important as a political study than the satires of Mr. Granville Murray Bosses and Lobbyists there are, and the morality of the nation is now in full revolt against them. There is flunkeyism in the little travesty of a Court at Washington and there is still more of it, and of a viler kind, among the Shoddy at New York; but it has its root in Europe and is at present a social evil rather than a political peril: what might have happened had a military presidency been perpetuated in the White House is fortunately a matter of speculation. Mr. Spencer's diagnosis of the political malady is somewhat vitiated by a false parallel. The liberties of the Italian cities, the fate of which he holds up as a warning example to the Boss-ridden people of the United States were extinguished largely by military adventurers, by usurpers who had at their command a military power, or by the arms of foreign invaders. Among the chief sources of their downfall were the incessant wars between the petty commonwealths. Between the States of America war is precluded by the Union, which thus is the guardian of their liberties as well as of their peace. At the time of Mr. Herbert Spencer's visit to America, the Boss was the Demon of the hour against whom all good citizens were preparing to fight, and this may possibly have made rather an undue impression on the philosopher's mind.

The Boss and the Machine are not the disease, they are only symptoms, though of the gravest kind. The disease itself lies deeper, and has two main sources. One is the system of Party. So long as there are parties and the government is made their prize, there must be organizations, which inevitably become Machines and soon fall into the hands of regular Machinists or Bosses whose evil energies are professionally devoted to this work while worthier citizens are raising grain and keeping stores. It never has been otherwise, it never can be otherwise; and if each of the existing Machines were to be broken to-morrow and every living Boss hanged or put to honest labour in the Penitentiary, the next day new Machines would begin to be constructed and new Bosses would arise to work them. Purifying faction is washing the negro white; and when a white negro is found we may hope to find a political party which does not bribe in some form or other, which never intrigues or conspires, and which encourages independence of mind. English parties bribe with Peerages, Baronetcies, and social grade, while American Parties bribe in a coarser way. The other source of the disease is the election of the central legislature by direct popular suffrage. Of the different portions of the American Constitution, one is a distinct success. That one is the Senate, elected not by direct popular suffrage, but by State Legislatures, themselves elected for local purposes by the people. The Senate, like everything else, is swayed and marred by Party; but no one can doubt that in average ability it rises decidedly above any other legislative assembly in the world. To it the nation looks for wise council at need. It would form an excellent government, if the depraving influence could be removed. The House of Representatives elected by direct popular suffrage is far inferior to the Senate, both in ability and in character; in character indeed it is as low as possible, and to good and sensible citizens its meeting is always a cause of dismay and its departure an unspeakable relief. In the Pension Arrears Bills, and other villainies and follies, it squanders the earnings of the people more recklessly than they are squandered by the most prodigal of monarchies or aristocracies. Experience has now sufficiently shown that though the people can elect they cannot nominate

except within the limited area over which the personal acquaintance of a common man extends, so that the nominations fall into the hands of wirepullers by whom the power is invariably abused. As to the elective Presidency, it is the curse and bane of the country: more than once it has brought on convulsions serious enough to paralyze commerce and fill the community with alarm; once it has brought on civil war. Unarmed civil war is in fact a fair description of the state in which it now keeps the nation two years at least out of every four. Changes more radical than the overthrow of Messrs. Cameron and Conkling, or, even the reform of the Civil Service, valuable as that would be, will some day force themselves on the consideration of the American people. A great step was taken when the flower of the Republican party, to restore public morality, set discipline utterly at defiance and vote for Democratic candidates. The Machine so broken will not be easily mended, and though the immediate result will be the installation of the rival Machine, the whole Party system is in serious peril. Perhaps the transition to national government may be effected through the formation of a party of Reform in which the better men of both the existing organizations will find themselves united against Stalwart Republicanism and Tammany Hall. Here, again, we are harping on an old string, but the repetition is needed, and is likely to be needed for many a day.

—In another deliverance, Mr. Herbert Spencer has repeated the stricture of Mill in the over-tension of American life. He says that the Gospel of Work has been preached enough, and it is time to preach the Gospel of Relaxation. But the Gospel of Relaxation is already preached aloud, by the daily advertisements of countless places of amusement, and of scores of summer resorts, by programmes of tours and offers of every facility for travel, by announcements of new games, and by the publication of novels without end. What is needed to tranquillize those anxious spirits and smooth those care-worn brows is rather a gospel of contentment, of indifference to inordinate wealth, of the peace and calm of mind bred by the secure possession of some moral treasure, the value of which does not fluctuate with the price of stocks. But it is diffi-

cult to see where such a treasure is at present to be found, except in the Teachings of a Master whom the most intellectual portion of the world seems to be making up its mind to disown. Mr. Spencer, however, is in this matter, like most European visitors to the United States, the victim of an illusion produced by seeing only the life of cities. In the business parts of New York or Chicago the faces are, perhaps, more eager and careworn, the step more nervous and hurried, than in the business parts of London or Liverpool; but life in an American country town, though industrious and thrifty, is not wanting in repose. True, life in the country town is still religious.

—Female Suffrage has received a severe check in Nebraska. Not that State only, but the Republic, is saved from a peril into which it had been brought by unreflecting philanthropy and the passion for revolution. He must be a believer in Woman's Rights indeed who can persuade himself that the women of any country in the mass are fit to be at once entrusted with the exercise of political power, which, where they are the majority, would make them mistresses of the State. The foreign vote, wielded by electors who, as immigrants or the children of immigrants, are hereditary aliens to republican principles is one of the most serious dangers of the Union, and the large, and as now appears increasing, number of enfranchised negroes must be carried politically to the same account. The blindest enthusiasm alone can fail to see that if to these are at once added all the women, the non-Republicans in the Republic will be to the Republicans at least as three to two. The case would, in fact, be still worse, for we may be sure that the female constituency would fall under the operation of an inverted law of natural selection; the most refined women and the best representatives of their sex would shrink from the political arena; while the termagants of the platform would rush into the fray, and Bridget would everywhere be sent by her spiritual adviser to the poll. There can be no doubt as to the political tendencies of the sex; even women, who in general sentiment were strong Liberals, such as Mrs. Barrett Browning and Miss Mitford, worshipped Louis Napoleon, though he was nothing but a dazzling ursurper. What-

ever might be the lot of forms and names, in substance the Republic would not long survive the free use of the Ballot by all the women. But the consequences to a particular form of government would not be the whole or even the gravest part of the matter. The gravest part of the matter would be the consequences to the family. Hitherto the family has been a political unit. The separation of the political interest of the wife from that of the husband, and the introduction of political antagonism between them, would be another step in the progress of disentegration, which has already been carried far, not only by the increase of the facilities for divorce, the effects of which have been statistically demonstrated by Mr. Roy, but by the severance of interests, the tendency of which is to convert marriage from a perfect union into a copartnership, to use Miss Susan Anthony's favourite term; and to array commercial jealousy in opposition to conjugal affection. As it is, the husband and wife may confront each other as parties to a suit in a court of law, and if the Woman's Right movement in Nebraska had been victorious, we might have had them everywhere confronting each other on the platform and at the polls. Such innovations may be wise and right: it is possible that the time for them may have come: it would be alike foolish and wicked to refuse them a serious consideration out of regard for any tradition or for any privileges of sex. But it is a serious consideration that they demand. Hitherto people have allowed themselves too much to be governed by mere sentiment and gallantry, or have surrendered their judgments to the pity excited by particular instances of abuse, such as are incident to all relations, the parental as well as the conjugal, and prove nothing against the beneficence or the necessity of the general institution. Let us now have a pause, and reflect a little before settling the most momentous question that can be submitted to social man. The family is more important than the State: it is a deeper source of character and happiness; so long as its integrity is unimpaired it has power to regenerate the State, whereas the State has not the power to regenerate the family.

—In the Irish agitation there is a lull, and the Government begins to plume its wings and utter notes of joy, as though the storm

were over. The storm, at least the worst of it, is over, if the Agrarian question is really settled. But is the Agrarian question really settled? Will the people be content to pay the judicial rents now fixed by the Lands' Court to landlords against whom, as a class, fierce hatred has been excited by two years of conflict, and who, as their interest in the country has been reduced, and the annoyances of their social position increased, are likely to be more absentees than ever? Will not the first bad potato crop be the signal for an insurrection against what is left of the rental? Will not the men who have subsisted by the movement find means of preventing a pacification which would deprive them not only of consequence, but of bread? Will the Land Act even work as it is intended to work by its illustrious author? It in effect creates a number of interests tantamount to so many beneficial leases for fifteen years. There seems to be nothing practically to prevent these interests from being sold, or money from being borrowed on them, in which cases the rent will virtually be put up again to the full value of the land; in other words, the land will be rackrented once more. Violence and breach of principle will have been combined with futility: the property of the landlord will have been confiscated, yet the tenant will be no better off than before. An attempt to fix the value of a particular commodity, be it land or anything else, is so contrary to all recognised principle, that success alone can demonstrate its wisdom; and the value of land happens at this juncture to be specially indeterminable, because, from the development of the grain trade, the price of agricultural produce is undergoing rapid change. An alteration in the Land Law there was which was clearly desirable, and had long been advocated for the whole of the United Kingdom, but especially for Ireland. Abolition of primogeniture and entail would have increased the number of proprietors, and have severed the Irish estates of the great families from their English estates, thereby diminishing absenteeism, which, as the Irish clansman loves to look up to a rural chief, is a most serious evil, however true it may be that the estates of some absentees are among the most liberally managed. Strange to say, this obvious reform, which involved no breach of principle, has been neglected, and feudalism is

left flourishing in all its obsoleteness by the side of socialistic legislation. To grant facilities for the purchase of freeholds by tenants, and thus to increase, if possible, the number of the land-owning class, was wise; but a reason has already been given for moderating the enthusiasm with which peasant proprietorship is often and not unnaturally regarded. The economical reason is not less strong. A great agriculturist in Dakota is said to raise from the vast area which he tills as much grain with four hundred farm servants as could be raised by five thousand peasant proprietors in France. A commercial loss so vast can hardly be balanced by any moral or social gain. For the distress which in some districts is caused by overcrowding the only relief is depletion, while the only permanent cure is a change in the habits of the people such as would bring an increase of the thrift and social self-respect which unfortunately are not inculcated by their religion. In these cases what was wanted was an extension of the poor law so as to make public provision for emigration. No alteration of tenures could in any way meet the need. To root people to a soil on which they cannot possibly find a livelihood is to do them and the community nothing but harm.

The political movement in Ireland has never been strong in itself; under O'Connell it was a total failure, or rather it was little more than a pretext for collecting the Liberator's Rent; under Smith O'Brien and his confederates it ended in laughter, though the men who led it then were superior to those who lead it now. Its strength on the present occasion, so far as Ireland itself was concerned, has been derived almost entirely from its conjunction with Agrarianism, which appeals to the pockets of the people; though political and religious antipathies have helped to add bitterness to the struggle and the landlord has been more eagerly despoiled because he was a Protestant and of British blood. A secondary source of life it has found in American Fenianism, a branch of Nihilism, which has supplied funds, as well as the inspiration of terrorism and the instruments of assassination. England is now being told by the Radical allies of the Irish Revolution that Fenianism is a power before which the nation which overthrew Napoleon ought to quail. It has undoubtedly received a great stimulus from the events of the

last two years, and from the apparent inability of the British Parliament and Government to meet its attacks with vigour. But Canadians, whose country it has twice invaded, and who have a near view of it, will not readily be brought to tremble at its name. Its chiefs are now washing in public the very dirtiest of dirty linen, and accusing each other of every sort of knavery, without any breach of veracity, we may be sure, on either side. Nor is its union with its allies in Ireland very likely to hold firm: to keep money flowing into the chest of its Dynamite and Skirmishing Funds it needs unflagging excitement, which the present policy of the Land Leaguers forbids them to afford, and it is always pushing Mr. Parnell and his associates to the brink of a precipice from which they manifestly recoil. The split is, in fact, already pretty wide. Mr. Godkin, an eminent Irish writer on the New York press, tells England that all the Irish in America are filled with a hatred of her which is likely to increase rather than diminish, in which case, as it already amounts to "frenzy," it will come to a fearful pass at last. It is remarkable that in Canada, though the Irish are the kinsmen in all senses of those in the United States, and here the emblems of British connection are always before their eyes, they exhibit no signs of frenzy, but live on tolerably good terms with the alleged objects of their internecine hostility, while the liberating armies of Fenianism have twice appealed to them in vain. May we not reasonably surmise that the feeling on the other side of the Line is in part at least the work of professional incendiaries such as O'Donovan Rossa or of Tammany politicians angling for the Irish vote, and that if left to itself it would gradually subside? Trouble it may give, and serious trouble, in case any awkward question, such as that of the Fisheries, should arise between Great Britain and the United States, though it is hardly conceivable that the people of the United States can allow their foreign policy to be used as the bowie-knife of an Irish feud. Military force it manifestly has none, nor is it capable of supplying any to its allies in Ireland. That the Dynamite Wing, when its hopes of a Red Republic in Ireland are dashed, may run amuck, is very likely: the contingency is one for which governments ought to be prepared: but a Fenian conquest of Great Britain is beyond the range of our imagination on this side of the Atlantic.

In the meantime, infinite mischief has been done, and the prospect of peace and prosperity for the ill-starred country has been deplorably overcast. The land has been filled with lawlessness, with contempt for the rights of property, and with disregard for contracts; the soul of the people has been steeped in conspiracy and terrorism. Deadly hatred has been kindled between classes. A series of crimes has been committed which leaves a fearful stain upon Irish character, and covers the British Government with dishonour. Many a step painfully taken towards aptitude for self-government has been lost. Investment has been rendered unsafe, and commerce has been paralysed. It is not surprising to hear of a renewal of the distress which always waits upon disturbance. All this might have been avoided if Parliament, which is now really the Government, could at the outset have looked the situation in the face, recognized it as one of domestic rebellion combined with foreign attack, and at once put forth the limited amount of force necessary to repress revolt, and to assure to loyal citizens the protection of the law. With constitutional agitation for any political object, even for the Repeal of the Union, no Liberal would desire to interfere. But this was not a constitutional agitation: it was an avowed attempt on the part of the Fenians, with whom the Irish Land Leaguers were acting in open concert, to kindle civil war. The indispensable condition of all free government, and of all moral progress, is submission to the law, which in a free state is combined with perfect liberty of discussion and unfettered use of the suffrage. No commonwealth violates the principles upon which it is based by using the powers necessary to preserve it from disruption. The Swiss Republic did this; the American Republic did this on the most colossal scale, and in neither of those cases has liberty been impaired. Less injury would in truth have been done to constitutional principles and sentiment by prompt and decisive action, frankly pleading as its warrant the safety of the Commonwealth than has been done by a course of exceptional yet ineffective legislation, and by a policy which, mingling coercion with coaxing, in such a way as to neutralize the effects of both, has prolonged a terrorist anarchy through two calamitous and disgraceful years.

It is not on the Executive that the blame mainly rests. The Executive can do nothing in a case of this kind, unless it is thoroughly supported by Parliament, which is the supreme power; and the support of Parliament has lamentably failed. The House of Commons has been torn and paralyzed by faction, whose selfishness refuses to listen to the call of patriotism, even in the extremity of public peril. The project of an open alliance with the Irish Party of Disunion, by which the other day that instructive specimen of aristocratic honour, as well as of aristocratic wisdom, Lord Randolph Churchill, added fresh lustre to a name once borne by Marlborough, was merely the frank avowal of the game which he and the rest of his crew on the extreme Tory benches have all along been playing. The great stroke of Lord Beaconsfield's statemanship, often tried, and at last successful, was a junction of the Tory Opposition with the Irish Catholics, called in the Parliamentary slang of those days the "Pope's Brass Band," or with the extreme section of Radicals, against the Liberal Government. This operation Lord Randolph Churchill is now trying to repeat; and it must be admitted that he has at least one qualification for a successful imitator of Lord Beaconsfield, whose tactics, however, were rather less upon the surface. The treasonable relations between Lord Randolph's party and the public enemy have been manifest throughout the struggle, and if the party did not fling itself so openly as it now does into the arms of the Parnellites, it was evident that it was ready to co-operate with them at any moment for the purpose of embarrassing the Government. It was ushered into the path of honour by Sir George Elliot, who bought the Irish vote in the Durham election by a declaration in favour of the Suspects. But it is not on the Opposition benches alone that alliance with Irish revolution is to be found. Since that signal display of the unscrupulousness of faction in general, and of aristocratic faction in particular, the Tory Reform Bill of 1867, the strength of the Irish vote in England and Scotland has been fearfully increased. The Irish are congregated in the cities, where they come in for the household suffrage, and where, by constant association, their clannish union is preserved, while the British farm-labourer, a good, loyal and law-abiding citizen,

though not quick-witted, remains excluded from the franchise. The consequence is, that not a few of the English and Scotch Liberals who are members for cities owe their seats, in part, to the Irish vote, and are afraid to support the Government in any measures of legislative vigour against rebellion. These men, have been always at the ear of Government, breathing timid counsels and advocating a policy of concession. Nor are there wanting more extreme politicians, who hope perhaps hereafter to lift themselves into power by Irish aid, and who have throughout the struggle been practically labouring to abet the operations of disaffection, to cut the sinews of national resistance, to prevent the law from being sharpened against Terrorism, and, without openly proposing the severance of the Union, to prepare the way, by sapping Unionist sentiment, for an ultimate surrender. The treaty of Kilmainham was the momentary victory of this party; though scarcely had they proclaimed their triumph when it was snatched from them, and the treaty was torn up by the burst of indignation which followed the Phœnix Park murders. It is a melancholy consolation to think that the Mother Country has hardly a right to cast a stone at the Colony the Parliament of which passed the Costigan Resolutions. In England, as here, the mass of the people are sound at heart: they abhor terrorism and assassination; they prize and earnestly desire to maintain the Union; but they are misrepresented and betrayed by politicians who are slaves to the Irish vote. If a strong and patriotic leader would present himself, they would follow him, and strengthen his hands to cope with the public peril. Unfortunately the Sage of Chelsea, while he has taught us that in the following of Heroes lies our hope of political salvation, has not taught us in what way the Hero is to be found.

The mass of the English people, we repeat, are still sound at heart, yet statesmen of the firmer mould, when they look round them for support, have some reason to deplore what some of them call the "flabbiness" of opinion. At the height of the crisis, and in the hour of extreme danger, there prevailed in England an apathy which formed the most perilous feature of the situation. More attention seemed to be paid to frivolities such as

the doings of the Australian cricketers than to the struggle which was going on for the integrity of the United Kingdom. A vast influx of wealth has brought with it a passionate love of pleasure, which diverts thought from serious questions; and the onlooker is somewhat reminded of the voluptuaries of old who sat intent upon the shows of the Circus while the armies of destruction were gathering at their gates. A still deeper cause of this temporary loss of tone is probably to be seen in the failure of the religious beliefs on which it is idle to deny that the national character has hitherto rested, while the new basis which science professes herself able to supply cannot be said as yet to have been evolved. The party of Dynamite is in earnest and thoroughly knows its own mind: the defenders of law and order lack force because they lack conviction. The union of firm faith in law with firm faith in liberty was characteristic of the Puritans, and by those who are in some way or other the representatives of the Puritan it is still most vigorously displayed. Scotland is Liberal; she hardly sends any Tories to Parliament; but in her the Covenanter still prevails over the sceptic, and in this matter she has shown more firmness of political nerve than England.

If the nation was itself, it would not listen for a moment to a proposal for its own dismemberment. Resign Provinces which have been held for seven hundred years, and let them be made the seat of a hostile power! And what sort of power? Mr. Godkin, a good Irish authority, helps us to forecast the character of a Celtic government: he tells us that it would be marked by a tendency to arbitrary rule, and would show comparatively little respect for individual rights: he distinctly implies that it would be less scrupulous in protecting life and allow greater license to murder. Great Britain, in short, is asked to give up a part of her immemorial patrimony in order that it may be turned into a Hayti! Of a Celtic Ireland, Dynamite would soon be king. There can be little doubt that in the chaos of warring elements which would ensue, and among people little endowed with political force or the faculty of self-government, the most violent would grasp power. It is pretty clear what would follow. There would be a display on a larger scale of the spirit

which showed itself in the Phœnix Park and the Joyce murders. All men of British blood and Protestant religion would soon be butchered or would be flying for their lives. It is preposterous to suppose that the influence of the English Radicals, or any other influence would then be able to prevent Great Britain from interfering. Ireland would be reconquered by a power fearfully incensed, and the circle of calamity would come round again. Of all races within the pale of civilization, the Celt in his native state, such as he is in Brittany, is the least inclined to constitutional government. The temporary development of Parliamentary life in Ireland during the quarter of a century before the Union, to which Mr. Godkin and others point as a proof of Irish capacity, was not Celtic: it proceeded from the dominant race, to which the representation was practically almost confined. Even Mr. Parnell is plainly shown by his name to be of English blood; and so was his predecessor in the leadership, Mr. Isaac Butt. The attachment of the Celt, as has been said a thousand times, is not to institutions but to persons; and had the Kings and Queens of England presented themselves to him as they ought to have done, they might have won his heart. His best chance of being trained to liberty with order lies in his union with the self-governing race from which his Parliamentary institutions are derived. The Home Rule which he would give himself, if the Union were dissolved, would soon verify Mr. Godkin's diagnosis: it would be a despotism of some kind, probably that of a Terrorist Chief.

People always talk of this as the Irish Question. But, in fact it relates only to the Celtic and Catholic Provinces, to which the disturbance is confined, while Ulster, being largely Scotch and Protestant, is tranquil, prosperous, and attached to the Union. Not in Ulster, but in the Celtic and Catholic Provinces alone, does that which is the real root of these calamities exist. There only does a population, content to live upon the lowest kind of food, and a kind as precarious as it is low, continually multiply up to, and in bad seasons beyond, the verge of famine. This in itself is enough to upset the parallel which some are drawing between the case of the British in Ireland and that of the Aus-

trians in Italy, a parallel which, by the way, is fraught with associations not very gratifying to Irish Nationalism, since nearly the last stand against Italian Independence was made by an army of Irish Catholics in the service of the Pope. The Austrians in Italy were armed intruders, men of an alien race and language, utterly unconnected with the Italian people. The British are of the same language with the great mass of the people in Ireland, Erse being now spoken only in small districts, and of the same blood and religion with the people of Ulster and the majority of the wealthier class in the rest of the Island. There is, in fact, a large British population in Ireland, while there is a still larger Irish population in England; so that the two races are interlaced with each other, and the first steps of the Disunionists must be to cut off Ulster from the rest of Ireland, and to send the Irish Colonies back from the English cities to their own land. It is needless to remark how different were the political relations between the Austrian Government and its Italian subjects from those between Ireland and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which the Irish are fully represented, and, for nearly half a century, actually held the balance of power. The true analogy is not between the case of the Austrians in Italy and that of the British in Ireland, but between that of Ireland and certain provinces of the Italian Kingdom, such as Calabria and Sicily, which are less advanced in civilization than the rest, and still require exceptional measures to preserve them from anarchy and brigandage, but which no one advises Italy to cut adrift and allow to fall back into barbarism. Let no one who bears the British name permit himself to feel ashamed of his country, or to desert her cause, in the belief that she has played the part of the Austrian tyrant. Only in 1832, when her Parliament ceased to be nominated by the oligarchy and began to be elected by the people, did she herself obtain self-government, and from that hour the spirit of imperial legislation towards Ireland has been uniformly liberal and kind. In important matters, such as national education and religious equality, reform in Ireland has far outstripped reform in England; and on the land question concessions have just been made which, whether they are likely to turn out well or not, are as-

suredly more than liberal, and would be absolutely precluded, as legislative violations of contract, by the Constitution of the United States. An Irishman, writing to one of our journals the other day, accused the British Government, in pursuance of its wicked policy, of denying education to the Irish people: let him survey the nations of his own faith throughout the world, and tell us where a Roman Catholic government, under the influence of the priesthood, has given the people anything like the system of national education introduced by the British Government into Ireland. Progress would have been more rapid, as Cobden truly says, had Ireland only sent better members to the House of Commons. Mr. Godkin and Mr. Morley, two most able writers, have undertaken to set forth the grievances which form, in their opinion, the justification for Irish Revolution. Those set forth by Mr. Godkin are sentimental: Irishmen, he thinks, do not receive the compliments to which they are entitled; to use his own phrase: "provision is not made for their vanity." Yet he frankly admits that they have their share, he even says that they have somewhat more than their share, of the honours of the Empire. Most certainly they have, and what else, in the name of common sense, can be required? Mr. Godkin complains that the honours are not bestowed on them as Irishmen. They are bestowed on them as citizens of the United Kingdom, placed on an exactly equal footing with the rest; and it may safely be said that nothing in the way of distinction or promotion is either withheld or less cordially given because he who claims it is of Irish blood. Mr. Morley's grievances are principally defects in the machinery of local self-government, which have their counterparts in England, and which, together with their counterparts in England, would, ere this, have been removed by a local self-government Act if the Parnellites had not paralyzed the legislature by their obstruction. Not one practical wrong of recent date and real importance, not a single act of oppression, does either Mr. Godkin or Mr. Morley allege. Nor would the Terrorists feel any gratitude to Mr. Morley for the sort of redress which he offers them; what they want is not Home Rule, measured out by him, but a Pandemonium of their own.

How can the British Government remove that which, as has already been said, is the real root of the evil? How can it prevent the Irish Celts from multiplying without measure in a land where they have not the means of subsistence? It cannot change either the religion of the people or their natural character, and the operation of any change in the Land Laws, supposing it to be in the right direction, must be slow. Irish emigration will apparently continue to flow into Great Britain, the British Colonies, and the United States, carrying with it everywhere its antagonism to the principles of Anglo-Saxon civilization, everywhere using the political power to which it is admitted as the instrument of its hostility, and threatening with subversion every Anglo-Saxon polity. The intensity and vitality of Irish Nationality in America are probably overrated by Mr. Godkin and other writers of that school; the assimilating forces assert their sway at last, and the third generation sees a change. Yet Irish Nationality in the United States is intense, and tenacious of life. The other day, an Irishman having been executed for murder at Newhaven, his funeral was celebrated with the utmost ecclesiastical pomp, and thousands of his compatriots attended his body to the grave. If American statesmen fancy that they can with impunity embarrass British statesmen in the settlement of this desperate question, they never were more mistaken in their lives. Their own institutions are not less fundamentally Teutonic and Protestant than those which are assailed by the tendencies of the Catholic Celt on the other side of the Atlantic. Let them think of the Irish rising in the Civil War, and the measures of repression to which they were compelled to resort on that occasion, and which exceeded in severity any adopted by the British Government since the dreadful days of 1798. In spite of the torrents of almost delirious abuse which are daily poured upon England, Englishmen, and Englishwomen, from every Irish platform and journal, there is but one feeling towards Ireland among the members of the British Parliament or the British people. All alike desire that she should be prosperous and happy; all alike desire to make her a full partaker in British freedom; nor does one of them wish to use measures of repression for any other pur-

pose than that of preventing anarchy, terrorism, and civil war. To deliver Ireland over to anarchy, terrorism and civil war would be to justify too well the charges which at present are groundless.

By the Land war in Ireland a general impulse has been given to Agrarian Communism, and the hopes of its advocates everywhere have been raised. Not that the Land League is by any means communistic in the proper sense of the term; the Irish tenant farmer wants to oust his landlord and have the land to himself; nothing can be further from his thoughts than to give it up to the community at large, or to share it with the labourers, of whom there is a large number, and to whom he is often a hard master. Still the movement is Agrarian and stimulates other movements of that kind. People are found, it seems, to listen to social philosophers who propose that all landed property, including the farm which the settler has just reclaimed from the wilderness by the sweat of his brow, shall be confiscated without compensation and put into the hands of a set of politicians styling themselves the State. The practical answer to this recommendation is that an attempt to give it effect would inevitably be the signal for a civil war, in which the philosopher and his audience would hardly come off victorious. Milder schemes are propounded under the name of Nationalization. But you have first to be sure of your government, and even supposing that you were sure of your government, what good would Nationalization do? Only a limited number of us can be husbandmen. What the community at large wants is that the land should produce as much food as possible, which it will not do unless the requisite amount of capital and labour is put into it; and the requisite amount of capital and labour will not be put into it, as decisive experience teaches, unless the cultivator's possession is secure. If the cultivator's possession is still to be secure, nothing will have been gained by Nationalization; if it is no longer to be secure, but he is to be a mere tenant on sufferance under the politicians, production will fall off, and the result of this grand improvement will be famine. New Zealand, it seems, is bitten with the new policy, and proposes henceforth, in disposing of the public land, to give nobody a freehold, but to limit all ownership to a lease for twenty-one years. The fruits of this wisdom will soon appear.

Again the effects of Irish disturbance have been felt beyond the question itself, in the alteration of the procedure of the House of Commons. In any case the rules must soon have been tightened: the social restraints, once all powerful in what was truly called the best Club in London, have of late entirely lost their force; the moral penalties of offences against opinion are no longer dreaded; a member who has used discourteous language when called to order for it, repeats the insult in another form and in no way suffers for what he has done; of the authority of leaders no more is left than is personally represented by Mr. Gladstone. Iron regulations now are needed to save the assembly from becoming a chaos. The attempt of the Irish conspirators to wreck Parliament by Obstruction has only brought the question to a head. The special cases of some of these men ought in fact to have been treated in another way. They had openly leagued themselves with a foreign organization, the avowed aim of which was to overturn the British Government, and on that ground they ought to have been at once excluded from the councils of the nation. The course actually taken has led to a series of degrading scuffles, ending after all in suspension, which then assumed the aspect of a violation of constitutional right for the purpose of carrying a measure of coercion. The effect of the Cloture remains to be seen; but the Speaker, in whom the initiative is vested, will hardly venture to move except in very extreme cases; and it is easy, without creating a very extreme case, merely by talking on every question so to clog the wheels of Parliament that legislation cannot proceed. The system of Grand Committees is the other great change. It is difficult to see how such a system can work with Party, unless that party which has the majority in the House at large has also the majority in the Committee. It is not difficult to divine to what use the Grand Committee for Ireland will be put by the hands into which it is likely to fall, if not at once, when a general election shall have doubled the number of Mr. Parnell's following. It will be turned into an engine of Disunion. The Prime Minister is now all-powerful; let us hope that he is all-wise. The question has been raised in England, evidently with a practical bearing, whether great orators are great statesmen. Take away the great orators of the

Long Parliament and the Revolution, take away Walpole, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Grey, and Canning, and British statesmanship will be a shrunken thing. Yet oratory has its liabilities: it is apt to exercise its persuasive power not only on the audience but on the speaker himself. If the Prime Minister only knew Ireland, more entire confidence would be felt in his policy; but the work of genius itself must fall if it is based on an illusion.

Will the reorganization of Parliament end with the introduction of Clôture and Grand Committees? There is one member of the House of Commons at all events who thinks not. He thinks that debates altogether have become obsolete, and that nothing is now required but a mandate from the constituency directing its representative to vote for or against a measure. The next step certainly would be to dispense with the representative altogether and, instead of sending a mandatory, to vote by mail. To this we shall not soon come; yet it is certain that the real debate already goes on outside Parliament, and that of the public opinion thus formed the speeches and votes of what is called a deliberative assembly are little more than a record. Parliamentary government at present fills the world; but, like everything else, it has its allotted span.

—In Egypt, the New Model army and its General did well; so, in spite of some minor miscarriages, did the War Office: the nation, therefore, might well rejoice; yet, considering the meanness of the foe, and the feebleness of the resistance, the pœan sounded somewhat loud. Evidently, in this age of electricity and sensations, the British character is losing its sedateness. Arabi's complete collapse seemed to prove that he had no moral force behind him, and thus to absolve the Mother of liberties from the charge of strangling a nation; indeed, Egypt is nothing but a compound of a half-alien dynasty and a mercenary soldiery with a people of miserable serfs. Yet something, perhaps a good deal besides the safety of the Suez Canal, depended on the issue of Tel-el-Kebir. When the Sultan intrigued with Arabi, he had a large design hovering before his mind: he was dreaming of a transfer of the centre of Islam from the scene of its decrepitude in Europe, where he knows that its power is doomed, to Asia, its

more congenial realm, and of a renewal of its vigour at the sacred fountains of its youth. Nor is the hope confined to Constantinople: had the sword of General Wolseley failed, a thrill of exultation would have run through Islam, and Mahometan arms would have clashed in Africa, in Syria, and perhaps in Hindostan. There was significance in the superior valour displayed by the black soldiers from the Soudan; they are new converts to Islam, which has been rapidly making way among the tribes of Africa, less, perhaps, by virtue of its doctrine than because to white and black alike it offers social brotherhood, while a religion of outward observance, with a simple profession of faith for its creed, and military propagandism for its highest work, demands of the barbarian neither intellectual effort nor a change of heart.

The weak part of the British case is indicated in the donation of tobacco offered by the Rothschilds to the victorious troops. There is too much reason to fear that the arms of England may be serving extortion. Extortion it may be truly called, for of the Egyptian debt only about half represents real advances. Like new diseases, new causes of war appear as fast as the old causes depart: wars of conquest and mercantile wars are going out of fashion, but stockjobbing wars, apparently, are coming in. The invasion of Mexico was partly a stock-jobbing affair; the invasion of Tunis was almost wholly so. Not a sword ought to be drawn, not a drop of blood ought to be shed, in the interest of any stock whatever; let the investor in foreign bonds bear his own risk, to which his gains are sure, as in the present instance, to be proportioned. Jesuitism is a power of the past, and is not likely to trouble the world much more: Court intrigue, which was the Jesuit's chief engine, has lost its sway; education has been wrested from him by the State; and the superstition of which he was the satellite is stricken with decay. But Judaism, or rather the financial tribe of Israel, like money and the Stock Exchange, is a power of the present, and is in a fair way to get into its grasp everything that money and the Stock Exchange can control, that is to say, the whole train of Mammon and all powers of the world that are in need of loans. It holds and manipulates in common an immense

proportion of the public debts of Europe. The Councils of necessitous Austria evidently own its sway. It made, for financial ends, the war in Tunis, with the help of Gambetta, whose ear it has, and of M. Rustan, who was its tool. It had a hand in the Egyptian expedition. In defence of its sinister interests it drew England to the brink of a war with Russia, which would have been accompanied by a rising in Ireland. We shall hear more of it in the near future.

Will England be able to withdraw from Egypt? Few think that she will; and if she does not, the Egyptian boundary will not be the limit of her acquisitions and responsibilities in that quarter. As in India, she will be drawn into wars with the barbarians in her neighbourhood; she will come into collision with African Islam: in her own despite she will conquer and annex. She will have in short an African as well as an Indian Empire. She will then be entangled, she has already begun to be entangled, in jealous disputes with France, as the other conquering power of Africa, similar to those in which she is now entangled with Russia as the other conquering power of Asia. This Bismarck has all along desired, and with this aim he has been instigating England to take possession of Egypt; his soul must now rejoice. A new course of territorial aggrandizement is opened in Africa, while the integrity of the United Kingdom itself is in peril, and people are beginning to talk of letting Ireland go! Grasp at territorial acquisitions thousands of miles away, and suffer national dismemberment at the same time! Surely a man does not altogether forfeit the name of a patriot by holding that the first objects should be strength and security at home. Yet intervention in Egypt became certain when the Suez Canal was opened. The water-way cannot be safe if hostile governments hold the shores. Round the Cape of Good Hope the route lay over open seas, not beset by rival powers, and easily guarded by a superior navy in time of war.

It is strange that the Gladstone government should derive fresh strength from a war: yet such is the fact, and it proves that the war spirit is still strong. Besides the victory in Egypt, however, there is the collapse of the Opposition, owing to the failure of its leaders. Peel left a splendid legacy of statesmen,

formed under his eye and in his councils; his supplanters have left none. Even Sir Stafford Northcote was originally brought forward by Mr. Gladstone, then one of the lieutenants of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Salisbury has lost caste by his equivocations, and forfeited public confidence by the selfish recklessness of ambition which betrays itself in his violent harangues. Had he shown the patriotic self-abnegation which becomes an English gentleman in the presence of public peril, his position and that of his party would be far better than it is. The leadership in the Commons must be weak indeed when such a personage as Lord Randolph Churchill can venture to parody Disraeli's attack on Peel by shooting his pellets at Sir Stafford Northcote. The House of Lords has also cut a very sorry figure by its feeble shows of resistance, and its acceptance of the bribe offered to it as a body of Landlords in the Arrears Bill. When Mr. Gladstone departs the Conservatives will hardly be able to make a serious bid for office. Power will pass into the hands of moderate Liberals such as Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Goschen, who will receive the practical support of a number of Conservatives, convinced that the question is now one between order and anarchy, and that they cannot afford to put property and life to hazard in order to gratify the animosities of Lord Salisbury, or the vanity of Lord Randolph Churchill. The Radicals will no doubt retain a representation in the Cabinet, but they have been losing ground. They have let the nation see that it is doubtful whether they would protect life and property, that they are capable of tampering with the integrity of the United Kingdom, worse than all that they do not absolutely abhor an alliance with a party of terrorists and assassins. Men there are not a few who are entitled to the name of Liberal, if it can be merited by hearty attachment to popular institutions, combined with perfect readiness to try any social or economical experiment which promises to improve the lot of the people, and who hold their own property and station in society entirely subject to the higher claim, but are resolved to have no fellowship with murder. The integrity of the nation, however, is also a question on which there can be no compromise. It would be strange if the work of

the Protectorate, undone by the profligacy of the Restoration, and restored by Pitt, should be once more undone by the feebleness of Radicalism in the present day. It is enough to make Cromwell turn in his grave.

—A dispute between the Home Government and the Colonists of Jamaica about the payment of damages for the wrongful seizure, by the Governor, of a ship supposed to be violating international law, has raised the question whether any part of the expenses of the Empire is to be borne by the Colonists, or whether the whole is to be borne by the Mother Country. The people of the Mother Country will soon begin to ask themselves whether the honour of paying is so great as to put all considerations of interest out of sight. Jamaica, when first occupied by Cromwell, was an outpost of English and Protestant enterprise, advanced to break the exclusive domination of Spain in the Western Seas: in later times the possession became little better than a curse: the wealthy owners of its sugar estates vied with East Indian nabobs in corrupting society and parliament; then a vast sum had to be paid for the emancipation of its slaves, and since that time it has perplexed and dishonoured the British Government by a deadly quarrel between the whites and the blacks, which broke out into hideous atrocities under the infamous governorship of Mr. Eyre Little would Great Britain lose by the secession of Jamaica. Whatever may be the end of this controversy, these displays of Colonial close-fistedness are unfavourable to the romantic dream of Imperial Federation.

—In Europe generally three things still fix our attention: the attitude of the great war powers, the trial of the Parliamentary system with party government, and the socialistic movement. It may safely be assumed that France will not attempt to take her revenge on Germany without allies; she knows well what Germany is, and the recent trial of her own army and military administration in Tunis is by no means calculated to whet her appetite for combat. Her eyes are bent in malicious hope on the scowling faces of Russia and Germany; but those nations, though

from neighbourly antipathy, they are always snarling at each other, will hardly rush into the fearful shock of arms without a substantial cause of quarrel; and substantial cause of quarrel they have none. If the sword is likely to be drawn at all, it is by Russia against Austria; for the Sclavonic populations of Austria, including those which she has been recently annexing under the jealous gaze of the Muscovite, are always stretching their hands to their northern kinsmen; and the internal troubles of Russia, instead of restraining her from the conflict, might, if they became desperate, lead her Government to seek in war a chance of relief from domestic broils and perils. Her debt is heavy, but it is in her power to suspend payment; her commercial organization is not sensitive enough to feel national bankruptcy as it would be felt by England or the United States; conscription would furnish her with soldiers, forced requisitions with food for them, and a little money will buy powder.

Of Parliamentary government with the Party system there is still the same report to be made. Everywhere Parties split up into sections, deliberative assemblies become nests of cabals, a firm basis is wanting for government; everywhere there is a sense of instability, of uncertainty as to the future. England herself, the Mother of Parliaments, in spite of all her experience and training, begins to illustrate the general rule. In Italy, the Ministry appears for the moment to have secured a large majority, but in Spain the ground is again heaving beneath its feet. In Germany Bismarck in reality rules, by a method not Parliamentary: he stands outside all the parties, of which there are nine or ten, and makes up his majority from time to time of such elements as he happens to be best able to command. In France, the Chamber has made its will completely supreme, and it now in effect not only makes and unmakes Cabinets, but despotically enforces the resignation of any particular Minister who has incurred its displeasure, so that even the corporate authority of the Cabinet can no longer be said to exist. At the same time, the Chamber itself grows more and more sectional, more and more chaotic less and less capable of wielding supreme power and affording to society a sure guarantee against confusion. In the French cities,

meanwhile, Communism is once more raising its menacing head and spreading a panic which already, we are told, begins to show its effect on trade, and if it reaches a certain point may after all bring back the Empire; for France has had experiences not to be forgotten, and she will hardly allow herself again to be turned into a bedlam and a slaughter-house by the worshippers of Marat. The movement in favour of having a soldier as the next President shows the direction of public feeling.

There is now abroad something beyond Communism, which though it desires to sweep away existing institutions respects the existing laws of morality. There is Satanism, which seeks the overthrow of morality as well as of institutions, which literally and deliberately says, like the Arch fiend in "Paradise Lost," "Evil, be thou my good!" George Sand, in one of her tales, introduces a sect of secret worshippers of Satan who is called "The Wronged One." This fancy of the novelist is now actually embodied in the Russian Nihilists, the Spanish Intransigentes, the French Moralists, and the Dynamite and Assassination wing of the Fenians in the United States. All these, whatever may be their immediate mark, are animated by the same fanaticism of destruction. The Russian Nihilist especially proclaims in set terms his antagonism to all existing rules of morality, political, social and domestic. Those who refuse to believe that the fall of religious belief may possibly be attended by a disturbance of popular morality and scoff at all apprehensions of that kind, are already called upon to witness phenomena worthy of their serious consideration. No compunction on this score however stays the hand of French Atheism, which is carrying on its propagandism with a fury exceeding that of the Voltaireans of the First Revolution, and endeavouring by the use of the political power now in its hands not only to disestablish religion but to proscribe it and banish it by force from the life of the people. The literature of the Atheist Propaganda is being actively disseminated among the peasantry, who have hitherto been beyond its influence, and if they have disliked the priest, have disliked him because they are haunted by the fancy that Legitimism, with which the order is supposed to sympathize, might disturb them in the possession of

their land. A parody on the Gospels, published at an Anti-clerical book-store in Paris, in a cheap form for circulation among the people, exceeds in blasphemous violence almost anything ever seen: it also exceeds almost anything ever seen in brutal inhumanity. The Satanists may be few in number, compared with the defenders of morality and civilization; but if they are desperadoes, dynamite and incendiarism put terrible powers into their hands.

—In trying to record the progress of that far deeper as well as more universal movement of which the political and social unrest is but the outward and local symptom, THE BYSTANDER has only to place himself again in the position which seems to him to be that of many cultivated and thoughtful men. We may feel to the full the perplexities of our age; be resolved to shut out no real revelation of science, however startling, to stifle no honest doubt; we may firmly believe that the only way out of the maze is unswerving allegiance to the truth; and yet determine not to be swept away by the mere rush of physical discovery, or to take denial, however confident and even insolent, for disproof. There is a fanaticism of unbelief as well as a fanaticism of belief: the proofs of its existence are everywhere around us. One has been furnished since the last appearance of THE BYSTANDER by a production of Canadian Agnosticism, in which a not very fair use is made of some of our words. All the passages in the Bible which to modern taste seem indelicate are collected with sinister industry, and published in a volume which is tendered as proof that the Bible is not less indecent than Voltaire. The fallacy is patent and the paralled most unjust. The passages in the Bible are not really indelicate, much less licentious or obscene: they are simply primeval and Oriental; they neither betrayed pruriency in the writer nor excited it in the reader. The indecencies of Voltaire and Diderot do betray pruriency in the writer; they do excite and are intended to excite it in the reader. They are the revolting offspring of an unclean imagination. Almost all the passages in this collection are taken from the Old Testament, that is, they belong to an age of primitive

manners. The New Testament baffles malicious scrutiny, lowly as were the hands by which it was written. That the lectionary of the Christian Church at the present day ought at once to be purged of all that is at variance with our present sense of decency, as well as of all the traces of tribal morality, THE BYSTANDER said and still says: this a different thing from confessing that the Old Testament is indecent and immoral. The point is of special importance, because it is by this perverse and utterly unphilosophic use of Old Testament texts that the apostles of Agnosticism in the United States produce the greatest effect among the people.

No one can read a batch of books on theological or philosophical subjects without seeing that the world has arrived at a crisis wholly unparalleled in the history of opinion. No one can re-visit England, or any European country, after a few years' absence, without being struck by the rapid progress made in the destruction of old beliefs. Not many years ago, "Essays and Reviews" set the world in a flame. If the book were to appear now it would be deemed almost tamely orthodox. In less than a quarter of a century the "Origin of Species" has wrought a great revolution, and the triumphant obsequies of its author in the most sacred of English fanes were the recognition of his intellectual victory. Newton's discovery hardly gave faith any shock beyond that which had been given by Galileo, and the discoverer himself remained a devout Christian. But Darwin's discovery, besides being a blow much nearer to the heart of conviction has coincided with an immense development of research and criticism, with a vast increase of mental activity, with a political and social revolution which has welcomed religious revolution as its ally. For all who think seriously, and still trust their religious instincts, the hour is one of fearful perplexity. It must be one almost of agony for many of the best and most cultivated among the clergy. The Agnostic who goes to church as a matter of social policy, and the French philosopher who proposes that, while he and his compeers luxuriate in their mental independence, a popular religion shall be provided to maintain political order among the people, seem each of them to regard the clergy-

man as a part of the church equipment,not more liable to intellectual disturbance or to the pangs of an uneasy conscience than the pulpit or the font. The Roman Catholic priest may perhaps go mechanically through his prescribed round of services without greatly feeling the pressure on his individual soul. But the Protestant pastor, as often as he enters his pulpit, has to express his personal convictions; and if he reads what is read by other men, his step surely must sometimes falter as he mounts the stair. To make his position tolerable he must need all the relief that a sense of his practical usefulness as a moral guide and a minister of charity can afford. But for all of us alike it is a crisis of real awe. Suppose Agnosticism should prevail; suppose the Divine Father in whose providence and beneficence has hitherto been our trust amidst the darkness of our present lot should disappear; suppose in His place there should appear on the throne of the universe a formless and nameless Force, undistinguishable from Chance, since we are no longer to recognize Design, and manifested in Natural Selection carried on through a murderous struggle among all creatures for existence, out of which the survivors will come victorious only to perish with the vanquished in the physical catastrophe of the planet—would not the change be felt through the whole life and being, through all the relations, interests, and affections of Man? There can be no use in shutting our eyes to any truth, but those might be accounted happy who have died in the persuasion that the Power in whose hands they were, and to whom when life was over they returned, was a Power of Good. A temporary dislocation of social ethics would be the least part of the matter; though, as we have said already, Satanism is a serious phenomenon, and Scientific Optimism deludes itself if it confines its view to a circle of opulent and cultivated Agnostics whom nobody expected to break out into violence or lust. The disturbance will appear on the scene where coarser natures struggle for wealth or power, and in the abodes of poverty from which the compensating hope of a future state has fled, and has been naturally succeeded by a passionate desire of grasping as much as possible of the pleasures of the present world. The Anti-morality which goes with a belief in Supreme Unbeneficence is already taking a

definite form. In the *Popular Science Monthly* a writer deprecates any interference with drunkenness which he maintains is a useful agency of selection, eliminating from humanity low and sensual natures. Nor has pure Evolutionism anything to say against him. It would have nothing apparently to say against a proposal to improve the vigour of the race by putting all weakly children to death. Opinion at present is against the experiment, but opinion is a variable secretion of the brain. The law of Evolution is that the strong shall live and the weak die. He who puts the weak out of the way is working with the law. Others may veil the non-moral character of Natural Selection : Haeckel proclaims it without remorse.

—In Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Science of Ethics" we have an attempt, far more powerful than that of Mr. Herbert Spencer, to place Morality on a Scientific basis. Mr. Spencer's writings on these subjects will hereafter be deemed those of a physicist, making excursions into a domain beyond his jurisdiction. Mr. Stephen tells us that what nature wants is, "a big, strong, hearty, shrewd man." She has got him and has put into his hand a thick stick of redoubtable logic. On one side she has left him weak. He holds mystery to be a synonym for nonsense. Often it is, but when Athanasian mysteries have been laid aside, the mystery of existence will perhaps press upon the soul more than ever. Be his main theory right or wrong, as a moral analyst Mr. Stephen well repays the close attention which he exacts. His candour is transparent and it leads him at last to confess virtually that his problem remains unsolved. He is brought to the conclusion that "there is no absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness," and that "to attempt to establish such a coincidence is, in Ethics, what the attempting to square the circle or to discover perpetual motion is in geometry or mathematics;" that it can be affirmed to exist only "for the virtuous man." Undoubtedly this is true if the only criterion is that furnished by Evolution, and the divergence is most signal in the case of those who, like Socrates and the Founder of Christianity Himself, are allowed by all, including the Evolutionists, to have been the great moral reformers and benefac-

tors of mankind. No supreme rule, it appears, can be found for the guidance of life and the direction of human conduct without a conception of the end and destiny of man. Socrates was happy; if Theism was true; if Theism was not true he was not happy, and a virtue which does not lead to happiness is condemned by the nature of things. Mr. Stephen's good sense refuses to indulge in the Millenarian visions of progress by which Evolutionists and Agnostics sometimes supply the want of a sustaining motive in their Ethical system. He admits that "progress cannot be assumed to be indefinite, that science rather points to a time when the social organism will fall into old age and decay, and to the ultimate extinction of life upon the planet." Besides, all these philosophers are so much occupied with their scientific theories of humanity as a whole that they leave individuality out of sight. Why, in the name of common sense, should a man sacrifice his pleasure to something which may come thousands of years after he has ceased to be, and which, it may be added, will be necessarily brought about by Evolution whether he sacrifices his pleasure or not?

The Scientific Optimist now finds himself confronted in force by the Pessimist, for Pessimism is certainly gaining ground. It has the facts on its side, if this existence is all. It would be difficult at least to contend that hitherto happiness had been the general lot of mankind, much more to contend that the lot of millions in all countries and ages had not been misery. What ground, Schopenhauer may ask, can there be for believing that the power which has been so ruthlessly manifested in the past will change its character and manifest itself under a different aspect in the future. Scientific Optimism assumes that whatever is good will continue and will steadily increase, while no new evil will be developed. This assumption is, of course, unsupported by experience, nor does it seem to have a much better foundation in reason. Suicide is apparently on the increase, and despondency, as well as moral disturbance, may be apprehended as a possible consequence of an Eclipse of Faith.

Mr. Stephen's vocabulary, as well as his theory, and, like those of all his school, is physical. "Organism" and "social tissue," applied to collective humanity, convey a truth, but they also cover

an assumption. They put individuality out of sight. A good deal of social science is being manufactured in this way. The most powerful characters, and those which have exerted most influence over the course of history, though they have belonged to their community and their time, have not been mere social tissue: they have been eminently self-contained, and have often fed their force by solitary meditation. There is also, it would appear, a lurking assumption in Mr. Stephen's argument against Free Will; or, to speak more truly, against the belief that human action is in any degree self-originated, and is not subject to the same kind of causation as are the occurrences of the outward world. He takes it for granted that the evidence of our natural senses, on which physical science is built, must be preferred to the evidence of our consciousness; and he argues, in effect, that Volition cannot exist, because if it did there would be something besides physical Evolution. He is in error if he thinks that anybody has taken effort to be the highest good, or in itself a good at all. This would be an ascetic theory indeed. But effort, or something like it, is the law of our being, Evolution itself being witness: in this way, and not by fiat, the Power of the Universe works. In looking for the possible design, or if design is to be excluded, the drift of the dispensation under which man is placed, we are struck by the fact that character, which is the best thing known to us, is produced by effort, individual or collective, and we ask whether in this we may not possibly find a clue. If no design or drift can be found in the universe, except mechanical progress through a cruel struggle for existence to a physical catastrophe, the name of Dismal Science may be transferred from Political Economy to Ethics.

— Not unprofitable reading is Mr. Graham's "Creed of Science." The book marks at all events the attitude of a respectable body of thinkers. Mr Graham subscribes thoroughly to Evolution, but he also sees that there are things not dreamed of in the physical philosphy, and that Man is not likely to be satisfied with science alone any more than with bread. He sees also that it is rather early in the day to assume that Darwin's discovery

is a key to all the mysteries of the Universe, or even to give an unqualified adhesion to that discovery itself. Is it not so? Have not Astronomy and Mathematics still something more to say? Darwin postulates an immense tract of time, but does he not really require an eternity? How many æons would Natural Selection take in producing, merely by the improvement of accidental variations, a bird which should build a nest in anticipation of laying eggs, or a flower and an insect mutually adapted to the sustenance and propagation of each other? Could it be done within any period which Astronomy can possibly allow for the existence of our planet?

— Many who were craving for new assurance of their faith must have eagerly opened a book on "Natural Religion" by the author of "Ecce Homo." Culture and grace of style they would find, but otherwise there would be disappointment. Not only the miraculous or supernatural, but the Beneficence of God, nay His existence apart from the collective forces of nature, and belief in a future life, are given up as unessential to religion. Of worship there is not a word, and it must apparently be abandoned with the rest. This is not only lightening the cargo but scuttling the ship to save her from wreck. What remains? In effect, a set of labels inscribed with the name of religion, which Professor Seeley affixes to civilization, to culture, to science, to art, to intellectual enthusiasm of every kind, above all to nationality and "the atmosphere of thought and feeling which surrounds the State." In vain a sceptical man of science or a Bohemian artist abjures belief in God; in spite of his protestation he is labelled religious. Nobody can be an atheist who retains belief in any law regulating his being. At this rate, no doubt, religion is indestructible: but what will it do for us in life or death? To the toiling and suffering masses of mankind, placed beyond the pale of any fancies about art and culture and the atmosphere of thought and feeling which surrounds the State, what hope or comfort, what support of lowly virtue, will Professor Seeley's philosophy bring to make up for the loss of belief in a Living God?

—Canon Farrar continues to write, and his immense popularity shows that however disturbed conviction may be, interest in the Founder of Christianity and His work has suffered no abatement. We eagerly welcome any semblance of addition to our knowledge, such as "Lives of Christ," which are not biographies at all, but merely topography and antiquities, mixed up with shreds of the Gospel. Canon Farrar, with all his knowledge and all his gifts as a writer, is not a safe guide to truth: he is a pulpit orator who is always veiling difficulties in clouds of eloquence; what is worse, he is a tactician, almost avowedly performing a strategical operation by withdrawing his forces from untenable outworks into the body of the place. His mode of treating the Miracles, by minimizing, and by introducing, wherever he sees a chance, mesmerism instead of miracles, seems the least rational of all. He suggests that Eutychus was not killed but stunned; that the Gadarean swine were driven down the steep by the sight of the maniac's convulsions, which he fancies were attended by an effusion of blood; that the apparition of the bodies of dead saints in the Holy City at the hour of the Crucifixion was the offspring of imagination excited by the earthquake. Soon, of course, he comes to cases which set any such solution at defiance. The question of Miracles is one of fact to be determined by evidence. Can the authors of the Gospels be certainly identified with persons stated in them to have been present at the performance of the Miracles? If they can, we have eye-witnesses; if they cannot we have none, and our faith in our religion must rest upon other grounds.

—The "St. Giles' Lectures" are the work of leading divines in Scotland, which has hitherto been the most orthodox of all Protestant countries, because there the people are the keepers of the faith. But they signally illustrate one great change which has come over the spirit of theology. The barrier which before separated Revealed from Natural Religion has been removed, and all religion is recognised as being for its time and to the measure of its excellence divine. Not only has the Patristic notion that the religions of the heathen were the handiwork of Devils, been totally discarded, but the very names Heathen and

Idolater have been almost laid aside. By these liegemen of Calvin we are told that the Serpent in the narrative of the Fall had a common source with the storm serpent of the Iranians, and that to contact with Zoroastrianism the Jewish religion owed the importance given to prayer, the belief in immortality and a spiritual world, in angels and archangels, and perhaps also in the Resurrection. What would Knox, Melville, and Henderson have said to such suggestions? This same view, however, prevails through the whole series of lectures: it is closely connected with the idea of a science of religion for which comparative philology has paved the way by tracing religious conceptions in their progress through a variety of languages. The revolution is immense, and its influence is now apparent in every theological work which is written with any freedom.

—A strong current of opinion almost always has its back-stream. The back-stream in this case is Neo-Catholicism, the Anglican type of which the other day bore its revered leader to the grave in the person of Dr. Pusey, while Cardinal Newman, walking beside the bier, was an illustrious index of the place to which his friend's principles, logically carried out, belong. Puseyism, or to call it by its other name, Tractarianism, was a serious movement, and produced men who exercised for a time a powerful influence over minds that were not weak. Ritualism, which is an after-growth, is less serious, and has not produced anything beyond a pulpit orator. Its spiritual force is measured by the martyrdom of Mr. Green. Its well-filled churches it owes perhaps in part to attractions scarcely connected with conviction of any kind. In the Middle Ages art and ritual were necessities of belief; they are often necessities of unbelief now. Religious indifference finds in them a partial relief from dulness, and when the Agnostic goes to church it is to a Ritualistic church by preference that he goes.

—With "Marcus Aurelius" closes Renan's memorable series of works on the "Origin and Early History of Christianity." That

Renan presumes too much on his power of divination and often lacks anything like a solid basis of fact, will probably be the opinion of most critics. Especially is it so in the case of his "Life of Christ," which is the work of fancy—of a fancy steeped, no doubt, in Oriental erudition and local knowledge, but distinctly personal and not without a touch of Paris. He is reckoned among destructives, yet it may be doubted whether such has really been his influence. He has probably taught thousands of Frenchmen who had never before looked into the Gospel and regarded its religion simply as an exploded superstition, to feel a respectful interest in Christianity and affection for the person of its Founder. His theories as to the authorship, date, and composition of the Gospels and of some other books of the New Testaments are of course fatal to the orthodox doctrine of Inspiration, but not less fatal to that doctrine, in truth, is the admission of a single error in any part of the volume alleged to be inspired. Miracle of course he rejects, and his attempts to detach from it the general narrative, in the case both of the Gospels and the Acts, is the weakest part of his work. But he appears to be a firm believer in religion, and he is certainly a witness stronger, perhaps, than he is himself aware, to the historical fact that with the Author of Christianity spiritual light and life came into the world.

—Methodism in Canada is trying to follow the example of Presbyterianism by uniting its different sects into a single church. May success wait upon its efforts! Perhaps a union of the larger churches will one day come. This, motives of economy, as well as far higher motives, counsel. The village may maintain in a proper manner one competent minister, but it cannot maintain three. Each step in the process will make further steps easier, because it accustoms those concerned to the abandonment of the unessential. If the unessential and the unpractical could be abandoned, religion might live. Is the heart or the life of any working man really affected by the differences which sever the Protestant churches from each other?

—A sign of growing disposition to union on the basis of the great truths was given in the life of that most excellent Primate of the Church of England over whom the grave has just closed. The general merits of Archbishop Tait, and the wisdom with which he steered his barque amidst the storms of a troublous time have been abundantly and eloquently set forth. Less notice has been accorded to the not less important fact that, without doing anything at variance with his duty as the Head of the Established Church of England, he was always personally in hearty communion with good Christians of all Churches, and steadfastly promoted, to the full extent of his influence, the reconciliation of Christendom.

—The question of establishing Free Lending Libraries in our cities has been raised by two public spirited Aldermen of Toronto, who are urging their fellow citizens to adopt that method of stimulating the thirst for knowledge and the love of intellectual pleasure. A few years ago, at the time in fact when these gentlemen commenced their movement, they would have had all the friends of popular enlightenment and culture on their side. But it is impossible not to see that a great change has been made in the aspect of this question by the recent extension of cheap printing. Almost every book, whether light or solid, whether recently published or of a standard character, for which an ordinary reader would be at all likely to ask, is now placed within his reach at a trifling price. This literary revolution promises to prove second in importance only to the invention of printing itself, and prudence bids us at all events wait and see what will be its effect before we commit ourselves to the expense of a building, library and staff in every city. Of the books commonly taken out by those who use Free Libraries, not only is the vast majority reprinted in a cheap form, but a large proportion are of the class which remains but a short time in vogue, and then becomes dead matter and a mere encumbrance to the shelves.

What is most clearly wanted is a good library of reference in each Province for the use of students or persons desirous of information on particular points, with a librarian possessing a thorough

knowledge of books and competent to direct readers to the proper sources of instruction. At Toronto, an extension of the Parliamentary Library might be made to answer the purpose. It is unfortunate that the only good library which we at present have should be wasted on the solitude of Ottawa.

—A kind and praiseworthy interest has been shown by Lord Lorne in the promotion of Canadian literature and art. In this neutral field a Governor-General may find a happy sphere for the activity which his constitutional position precludes elsewhere, and he will not be in danger of compromising, by the artificial influence of his rank, the destinies of a country with which he has no permanent connection. The Academy of Art has succeeded. It had a definite object, which nothing but an exhibition of paintings could fulfil. The Academy of Letters is not likely to succeed. It has no definite object, since essays, if they are worth publishing, are best exhibited by publication. Moreover, English and French art is the same, but English and French literatures are not. The selection of members inevitably involved invidious preferences and rejections which were not ratified by public opinion, while anything like exclusiveness is repelled, and rightly repelled, by the spirit of Canadian society. The French Institute itself has its unlovely side: the struggle for admission gives birth to no small amount of intrigue, jealousy, and cabal. The only recognition of literary excellence needful or possible in such communities as ours is the verdict of an educated people. Such a plant as a Canadian Academy of Letters, though patronized by Royalty, will not take root in this soil. Let all disputes for which it may have given occasion among our literary men be adjourned for a twelvemonth; we shall then hear of them nomore.

What is wanted to give birth to a national literature is a nation. That the colony is not without her share of the intellectual gifts of the Mother Country proofs continue to appear. The work of Messrs. Macoun and Grant on "The North West"; the second and third volumes of Mr. Rattray's "Scot in British North America"; Mr. Dent's "Canadian Portrait Gallery" and "Forty Years of Canadian History," may be cited as worthy exampl e

while "Picturesque Canada" does honour to our artists and to the taste of our people, if for the skill of the engravers we have still to resort to our wealthier kinsmen on the other side of the Line. Canadian Science will always be advancing while it possesses such inquirers as Dr. Dawson, Dr. Selwyn, and Dr. Sterry Hunt. Nor does journalism lag behind in the race. To our Metropolitan Press an independent member has been added by the appearance of the *Toronto World*, while the local press continues, by its growing force, to give the best security for the diffusion of life and intelligence through the whole political frame.

It is rather sad, on the other hand, to find in the literary obituary the name of our only national magazine. The *Canadian Monthly* owed its existence to the shortlived glow of national feeling which passed through the veins of the community on the morrow of Confederation. Sustained only by the voluntary effort which a transient enthusiasm inspired, it made rapid way for about a couple of years. Then, as the movement in which it had originated flagged, the shadow of doom began to fall upon it, and only by great effort and careful management has life been kept in it so long. To talk of revival is vain: against English and American competition, patriotic feeling alone could hold its ground, and of this the limit has been seen.

—Great efforts are being made to improve the endowments of some of our Universities, and to establish them more firmly than ever on their present local and denominational footing. The tribute of our praise is due both to the excellent Principals of Queen's and Victoria, whose energy has infused fresh life into these institutions, and to the Alumni and the members of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches whose liberality has responded to their appeals. Yet even those who have abandoned the hope of consolidation and resigned themselves to the present system can hardly see without sorrow the roots of localism and denominationalism more deeply struck than ever. It is impossible that this Province should maintain six or even four Universities worthy of the name, and capable of doing, either for the student or for the advancement of learning and science, that which a University undertakes to do. This has been so often said and so

faintly denied, that to dwell upon the point any more is needless. But people in general are less alive to the social mischief that may be done by a number of weak Universities tempted, as they almost inevitably are, in the struggle for existence to compete against each other in the facility of graduation. Universities are places of training for learned and scientific professions, one of which every student, saving a few sons of opulence, must intend to enter. Convocation orators may talk of the universal diffusion of Academical culture, and bid us look forward to the time when youths of all classes will come to College and carry back their knowledge to enrich and embellish life in the store or on the farm. This is mere rhetoric. To say nothing of the disinclination to commercial pursuits or farm labour, begotten by intellectual refinement, a course of four years at a University completely knocks off industrial associations and destroys industrial habits. But the number of persons for whom there is employment in the learned and scientific professions is limited, and if the market should become greatly overstocked, there will be a sort of upper class proletariat of paupers who will be of all paupers the most miserable, because their sensibilities will be peculiarly acute, and perhaps of all the most dangerous.

—The Medical College at Kingston has been the scene of an unpleasant affair arising out of Co-education. Nothing in the "Revolt of Woman" is more startling than her determination not only to attend lectures on human physiology, but to attend them with males. In vain have chiefs of medical science protested in the interests of the lecturer, who could not fail to be embarrassed by the presence of ladies, as much as in that of delicacy. Their opposition has served only to stimulate the passionate desire to break through the last barrier. It is surely impossible that a professor should be able entirely to avoid either language or demonstrations which must give pain to female sensibility. Besides the academical affray, Kingston has witnessed an unseemly altercation between the sexes. This, however, will not be without its use as a warning, if it brings home to the minds of the women the fact that the results of their movement, carried to the extreme to which some of them would carry it, must be

not merely the concession to them of certain things hitherto confined to men, but a general change of the relations between the sexes, with serious consequences, perhaps, to such of the female sex as do not wish to become lawyers or physicians. Once more, if woman demands equality she will have to resign privilege: she cannot be at once the partner and the competitor of man. In the meantime, Universities which feel that they are doing good work as places of male education may not unreasonably, before allowing themselves to be revolutionized by the impatient champions of social innovation, pray for a brief respite, in order that they may have time to see the result of the experiment which the Co-educational Universities are making.

—Of the works published in Canada during the last quarter, the most important is Mr. Alexander Mackenzie's *Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown.* Funeral panegyric can never be mistaken for history, and when it was poured forth in an undiscriminating flood at the obsequies of Mr. Brown, it passed unchallenged, because everybody knew that it was simply an expression of feeling evoked by the death of a prominent citizen and by the tragic circumstances of his end. But when a version of historical facts and an estimate of historical characters are seriously pressed upon our acceptance, and by a writer of such political eminence as Mr. Mackenzie, criticism must do its duty. The obligation is particularly clear in the case of Mr. Brown, who in the course of his long and contentious life placed upon record in the journal which was the minister of his animosities, and the files of which have, through the accidents which befel its rivals become to an unfortunate extent the materials for our political history, charges, often of the most cruel kind, against a multitude of persons who crossed him in the path of his ambition or otherwise provoked his ire; so that his apotheosis would be the condemnation of many other public men. Not a few of the charges are revived in this work. Sir Edmund Head, a man whose character in England stood as high as possible among men of honour, is accused of shameless partizanship, of perfidy, of betraying, in the exercise of a high public trust, the head and

heart of a conspirator. Sir John Macdonald is accused of adopting policies which he disapproved, for the purpose of retaining office, of keeping a "spider's parlour," of meanly stealing the credit of measures not his own, nay, of planning an infamous attack on the character of an opponent in the belief that a document essential to the defence had been destroyed—a piece of the blackest villainy. Mr. Justice Wilson is accused of ingratitude to the author of his fortunes which nothing but hallucination could excuse. Imputations of betrayal of principle and unworthy motive are sown broadcast over all who were guilty of taking a course different from that taken by Mr. Brown.

No man attains a high position in politics or in any other sphere without having some remarkable qualities to justify his elevation. As a speaker Mr. Brown had the force which is derived from conviction, always passionate, if not always deeply seated, from an abundant command of vigorous language, great knowledge of Canadian politics, a fluent utterance, a powerful voice and a commanding presence, combined with the impressiveness which always belongs to the words of a leader, though, in the specimens of his oratory selected by his biographer, there is not a touch of eloquence nor one memorable word. In Parliamentary debate he was formidable; on the platform he was evidently supreme, and there his great popularity was won. As a writer he had corresponding merits. His style was practical and telling, but if we are to judge from the samples presented, somewhat coarse and, like his oratory, devoid of high excellence, much more of anything that could be called genius. He had almost boundless powers of work, and great energy of character, sustained by a sanguine temperament and a vigorous constitution; but the British statesman who as Governors General have studied the public men of Canada with a keen eye, did not believe him to be singularly endowed with courage. As the manager of a journal he was eminently successful, so far at least as circulation and influence were concerned. As a political leader he was not so successful; once by accident he grasped power, but held it only for four days, and he left his party at last prostrated by a crushing defeat, distinctly traceable to the policy which, though he had then ostensibly retired from the leadership, he imposed on

his vicegerents. As to the extent of the services rendered by him to the country there is wide difference of opinion, nor does the present biography help us much in the formation of a definite estimate. Responsible Government had been virtually won by the Reformers of 1837, whose political movement succeeded, while their military movement was an ignominious failure, except in so far as it opened the eyes of the Colonial Office and enforced attention. Lord Durham's report was decisive: the rest would not have failed to follow, though the Governors General, or some of them, might at first recalcitrate against the new system. The Liberal principles in pursuance of which responsible government had been conceded, continued to gain ground in the Mother Country, and the policy of the Colonial Office was sure to reflect their progress. Constitutional government would have come without Mr. Brown; what Canada more clearly owes to him is the system of Party, of which, in its most tyrannical form, he was the High Priest. He revived Party after Confederation; he forced it on Ontario; though to overturn a government which would not walk in his ways he could himself, as his biographer ruefully admits, coalesce with extreme Tories. Two great objects, however, there still were to be gained, the Secularization of the Clergy Reserves, or in other words the practical establishment of religious equality, and Representation by Population. The first was vigorously advocated by Mr. Brown, and was no doubt greatly promoted by his efforts; but it can hardly be called his personal achievement, nor did he at last show much more zeal for the right settlement of the question than jealousy of those who had taken the task of settling it into their hands. With the attainment of Representation by Population he is specially identified, and on this his fame as a Reformer is supposed mainly to rest; yet so far was he from personally carrying that measure, that he never brought, or showed a resolute determination to bring, the question to a decisive issue, and it was at last merged, with all other questions between Upper and Lower Canada, in Confederation. For many years, however, he made it the subject of an agitation intensely bitter, and fraught with danger, as it sowed the seeds of deadly enmity between the two races and the two Churches upon whose amity the peace, the prosperity, and almost the exist-

ence of the community depended. Violence was the less excusable because the arrangement which Mr. Brown sought to overturn was a compact which when first made had been to the advantage of his clients, while no breach of faith whatever had been committed on the other side. Such ill service was a serious set off against the good service which he undoubtedly rendered by his general activity on the side of Reform. His attacks upon the Roman Catholic religion were such as nothing could excuse but sincerity; and that they were not more than half sincere became evident, when at the first call of political convenience he turned round and made with the Catholics of Ontario a concordat upon which his party has subsisted ever since. Something is to be said for Mr. Brown's rival, who at all events aimed not at kindling civil strife, but at holding the jarring elements in union. Hatred of what might be deemed incendiarism and a sense of the peril which it was bringing on the country, may very likely have prejudiced Sir Edmund Head against Mr. Brown, while the highminded gentleman would be repelled by brutal treatment of opponents, and by the use of a public journal as an engine for destroying reputations which stood in the way of a personal career. But to accuse Sir Edmund of conspiracy is preposterous. Apart from his character, which, as has already been said, stood as high as possible, he was a shrewd and experienced man of the world, and had been trained, as an English official, in the strictest school of public life. What could have induced him to compromise his reputation, and run the risk of ruining himself in the estimation of his government by conspiring with Canadian politicians in whose fortunes he had no interest, and to whom and whose affairs he was, after a few years, to bid farewell forever? He gave Mr. Brown fair notice, in admitting him to office, that he was not to reckon on a dissolution; and if Mr. Brown himself, in the excitement of sudden accession to power, did not realize the precarious character of his position, some of his more cool headed colleagues did. It is idle to dogmatize about the right of a Minister to a dissolution: there is neither a written law upon the subject nor a fixed rule; the moderation of English statesmen and their fine sense of controlling opinion having prevented questions from arising and precedents from

being formed. But it stands to reason that a Minister cannot be entitled to use this prerogative entirely at his will; if he were, the legal duration of Parliaments would become a nullity and the country might be thrown into confusion as often as reckless ambition chose to try its fortune in the lottery of a general election. Cases are supposable in which it would be the duty of a constitutional sovereign to demur to a demand for a dissolution, and, if he thought fit, to take independent advice. Probably it may be added that in a colony at that time, though responsible government had been established, a somewhat larger discretion was still understood to be left to a Governor than was left in the Mother Country to a constitutional king. Mr. Brown had not defeated the ministers on any great question, or even on any question pertaining to their own policy; he had defeated them by taking advantage of a chance coalition of local jealousies against the award of the Crown fixing the seat of government at Ottawa, which they thought themselves bound in duty to support. A general election had just taken place and there was no shadow of reason for surmising that the mind of the country had changed. That the Parliament had been elected by corruption was a plea which, in the first place, could not have been entertained by the Governor General without the grossest impropriety and which, in the second place, would have cut the ground from under the feet of Mr. Brown whose only claim to office was a majority obtained in that Parliament. A Governor General might well believe that in declining to dissolve he was doing his duty to the country; and though there was room for difference of opinion, there was none for the torrent of foul language which Mr. Brown poured upon Sir Edmund Head through the *Globe* at the time and which his biographer has reproduced. The "Double Shuffle" was a technical, though, as the Courts held, legal evasion of a rule the application of which would in this case have been senseless, since the ministers were simply resuming their offices after an interruption of a few days. It was unseemly and objectionable in a high degree, yet in the struggles of parties things practically worse have been done: a thing practically worse was done when with the approval, if not at the instigation, of Mr. Brown, the Lieutenant Gov-

ernor of Quebec turned out for a party purpose a Ministry which had a majority in the Legislature. Mr. Brown's entrance into the Confederation Ministry is disapproved by Mr. Mackenzie; by most people it was and still is commended as a temporary sacrifice of personal rivalries to the public good. Liberals have more reason to complain that a public man professing their principles should have omitted to give the Constitution moral validity by submitting it to the people, and should have vehemently advocated a nominated against an elective senate. His argument in favour of nomination is thoroughly aristocratic in spirit; he has the House of Lords evidently in his eye, and his fear seems to be that the members of the Upper House will be found too thoroughly in harmony with the popular feeling of the day. The republication of his speech comes at an unlucky moment for his surviving followers, who, to sanctify their own conversion, are making him declare from his grave that he was at heart in favour of their present policy, but was restrained from declaring himself by the delicacy and chivalry which, as they aver, were leading features of his character. How came he then fiercely to assail Mr. Mills, whom there was no impediment of delicacy or chivalry to restrain, for commencing a movement in favour of reform? There are men who are demagogues out of power, Tories in power, despots ever. By his biographer, Mr. Brown seems to be regarded as the Father of Confederation; but, on the record, he hardly deserves that title. His paramount aim seems to have been not so much a union of all the Provinces, which he deemed uncertain and remote, as a change of the political tie between Upper and Lower Canada, in the interest of his own Province. In giving an account of Mr. Brown's secession from the Coalition Government Mr. Mackenzie seems to admit that though the difference about the Reciprocity negotiations was the occasion, desire of relief from an irksome position was the cause. The giant of the platform or the assembly is apt to shrink into less imposing dimensions when placed at the Council-board and pitted, mind to mind, against shrewd and able men who are not to be swayed by rhetorical thunder. It was always said that the Southern Slaveowner never was half so happy at Washington, even in the hour of his political ascendency, as on his own

plantation, where he was absolutely lord and master of all around him. Mr. Brown's position, it may be easily believed, was more pleasant in the sphere where, instead of finding his supremacy always contested, he ruled with despotic sway, and could visit dissent from his opinion with the lash. That, in spite of his formal retirement, he remained master of the party, is a belief which his biographer will find it difficult to dispel. He may have been sparing of ostensible interference, but his will was daily made known through his journal, which was the compass by which the helmsman steered the ship, and at last steered her full upon the rocks. Mr. Mackenzie says that Judge Wilson was made by the *Globe:* he would not confine the remark to the case of Judge Wilson, and he would admit that if a Judge on the Bench was bound to pay respect to his maker, the obligation would be at least as much felt by right-minded men in other spheres. Government by influence is bad for this among other reasons, that it entails the selection as leaders and possible ministers of men not too strong to allow the influence to rule in their names. Nobody will blame Mr. Brown for opposing Nationality. He was just the man to believe with perfect sincerity that the reforms in which he had taken part were the last legitimate birth of time, and that while, in stripping the Home Government of all its substantial power, and vilifying its representative for attempting to retain the least particle, he had himself earned the glory of a patriot, to touch the form was treason. His biographer is evidently of the same mind: yet he, with seditious frankness condemns in more than one passage the incapable meddling of the Home Government with our affairs, both political and diplomatic; so that he would leave nothing, so far as can be seen, except the "fountain of honour." But the National movement was the direct offspring of Confederation and of the appeals which Mr. Brown, among other promotors of that measure, had addressed to the spirit of the nation; it was pure and generous; it embodied aspirations such as, when successful, history had always crowned with honour; it not only was consistent but was combined with hearty love of the Mother Country; it might have been strenuously opposed without being savagely reviled and slandered. Commercial motives, too, were allowed to peep out in the organ of Mr. Brown's Anti-national-

ism, as Mr. Mackenzie will do well to remind himself before he again pours his imperial scorn on "the Commercial school." If Canadian nationality was a thing really to be desired; if it was really good for this Continent that there should be two experiments in democracy instead of one, the proprietor of the *Globe* was enabled by his control of opinion at a critical moment to do more mischief than commonly falls to the lot of so subordinate an actor on the political scene.

For the enterprise, the skill and energy shown in the creation and management of the *Globe* as a newspaper, Mr. Brown deserves the highest praise, which may be accorded without assuming that had he remained at New York, a country full of intelligence and political life would have failed to provide itself with journalists. The use which he made of his journal is a different matter, and it illustrated the dangers attendant upon a powerful, and in the main, beneficent institution. Party organs are bad, though we must have them, so long as Party reigns: but far worse than any party organ is a journal which, under the mask of public censorship, serves the objects, backs the confederates, and traduces the enemies of individual ambition. Those who thwarted Mr. Brown's will, or incurred his enmity, were not merely assailed with the abuse which is bandied in our party frays, and often shows more heat than malice; they were systematically hunted down. Misrepresentation and distortion were employed constantly and without scruple to hold them up not only to political but to social and personal odium. If they were journalists, all the rules and privileges of the Press were disregarded in the determination to destroy them. No journal ever did more to poison the heart of society; the most virulent of party organs, the most scandalous of society papers, would not have wrought practically so much harm. Thanks to the ability with which the *Globe* was managed, and to the failure of its rivals, there arose a literary despotism which struck without mercy, while a train of parasites seconded its blows, and its victims were utterly defenceless. Few men were bold enough, or sufficiently independent in circumstances, willingly to brave the tiger. The commercial world and the banks cowered with the rest. The power of representation and suppression possessed by a leading newspaper is as formidable as

that of its editorials; and Mr. Mackenzie is fully warranted in saying that public men were made, and he might have added unmade, by the *Globe*. Were Sir John Macdonald as black as Mr. Brown's biographer paints him, we should have had reason to be thankful for him as a liberating force. That Mr. Brown sometimes employed pens dipped in a bitterer gall than his own is very likely; still the responsibility was his. On one occasion he was made to feel the limit of his power in a way highly creditable to the people: his attack upon a Judge distinctly recoiled upon himself, and it is rather surprising that his biographer should dwell with complacency on that affair. All this time the highest pretensions to superior morality were kept up. Mr. Mackenzie is justified in treating the "Big Push" letter as a small affair compared with the Pacific Railway Scandal: what made it so significant was that it was penned by censorious virtue. Nor was the display of religious orthodoxy less edifying: people were denounced for honoring Emerson, and for breathing a doubt about the eternity of Penal Fire. In the funeral sermons appended to this biography we find proofs of the supreme value unhappily attached by clergymen to dogmatic professions. The fraternity of journalists owes little to one who treated his compeers simply as infringers of a monopoly of opinion, to be crushed if possible out of existence, and showed utter disregard of the courtesies of the profession. To the Dictator respect for conscientious difference of opinion was unknown; and the man in whom that is wanting is no Liberal, let him call himself what he may. Proofs of strong domestic affection are given in this biography: of generosity to opponents, of placability, of mercy none. By the commercial undertakings, which, as his biographer shows, he was able to combine with politics and journalism, Mr. Brown exhibited wonderful energy and played a useful part in the development of our industries; for this he deserves full credit; but if he contributed to the improvement of our commercial morality, it was, as Mr. Mackenzie must be aware, rather by precept than by example. When a charge against the character of Sir Edmund Head, of Sir John Macdonald, or any other man, is found to depend on the unsupported testimony of Mr. Brown, the accused will be entitled to acquittal.

THE BYSTANDER.

APRIL, 1883.

BY the meeting of the Dominion Parliament and the Ontario Election, we have been once more launched on the full tide of politics. Here, and in all communities governed like ours, politics are the conflict of parties. As was said before, we must take things as they are. We must accept Party as the established system, and judge the characters and actions of public men by the moral standard of partisans, which is lower than that of ordinary life. We must not blame the combatants so long as, to use the phrase of Lord Dufferin, "they do not strike below the belt." We must assume that to party, above all things, their allegiance is due and try to believe that they identify the victory of their own side with the welfare of the country, though the degree in which they do this will necessarily be in inverse proportion to their breadth of mind. We must expect of political journals, not impartial criticism, but advocacy, and be satisfied if their advocacy is at once effective and kept within decent bounds. But while we take things as they are, we may be allowed to cherish the hope that they will not be so always, or even very long; for party, when it has outlived great issues, is nothing but faction; and faction, if its reign lasts long, will assuredly wreck liberty.

The abuses of the old monarchies and the revolutionary sentiment developed in the struggle to overthrow them have impressed men with the belief that a strong government is an evil. A strong

government which is not impartial is an evil; but a strong government which is impartial, and at the same time able and enlightened, would be a blessing. Towards such a government not jealousy, but confidence and loyalty, would be the rational attitude of those beneath its rule. What the mass of us want is simply a good and responsible administration. That we can ourselves take part in the work of government is an illusion. Before the Ontario Elections, two great party conventions were held. The people flocked to both of them, glad no doubt of an excuse for an excursion, but also full of the sense of political importance: yet, if they had reflected, they might have seen that they were brought there to surrender their electoral powers into the hands of the central wirepuller. This they might have seen, if they had reflected, and they might also have seen that the game of faction was played at their cost. At present, however, it must be owned, there seems to be little chance of their breaking the yoke. Hope that the National Policy would put something into their pockets induced some of them twice to cross the party lines; but the Ontario Elections saw them within their lines again, as resolved as ever to follow "standard bearers," to turn a deaf ear to independent candidates and to read nothing but the campaign literature on their own side. The party conflict combines the excitement of a bloodless battle with that of a lottery in which any active partisan, however humble, may hope some day to draw a prize. It is easy to understand that which reason and patriotism must deplore.

—The Ontario Election was a Dominion battle fought on a Local field: the whole artillery of Ottawa was brought into play, and its fire told heavily on the result. Nor has the Provincial Government any reason to complain: by plunging into the fray at the last Dominion election, it provoked the Dominion Tories to reprisals, and brought the war into its own country; while by identifying Local with Dominion party it overthrew the real rampart of that Provincial independence which it professes so zealously to defend. That the Government would win we fully expected. In men, the Opposition, in spite of the marked pro-

gress recently made by its leader, was weak. In position it was equally weak, for no disclaimers could dissipate the impression that on the Boundary Question its course was controlled, through the head of its party at Ottawa, by French jealousy of the British Province. There are more Grits than Tories in Ontario, as there were more High-heelers than Low-heelers in Lilliput; nor was there anything which by appealing to interest, as the National Policy did, seemed likely to draw a Grit from his camp. In the recent bye-elections the Government had signally triumphed. It is rather the reduction of the majority therefore that surprises us. Party journals on both sides find a strange difficulty in ticking off the names upon the lists of candidates, with the party to which each candidate belonged, which they had themselves published before the election. But the majority has been reduced from something like twenty-eight to something like ten. Every party government, having a number of retainers to feed and of interests to propitiate, must accumulate in its course a certain amount of disappointment and disaffection: this may have been in part the cause. Perhaps also the many-headed monster is fond of change and was rather tired of hearing Aristides called the Just. But to the power of Ottawa, which had not been put forth in the bye-elections, we are disposed mainly to ascribe the result; and if this surmise is correct, a light has been thrown upon the real distribution of force between the Central and Local elements of the Confederation. Ten is a working majority in a house of eighty-eight; English Governments have been carried on with majorities far less in proportion, though the waning of a star is apt to beget ratting, for which precedents are not wanting in the history of the Local Legislature of Ontario, But on the issues between the Local and the Dominion Premier the Dominion Premier must be held to have gained a moral, or an immoral, victory. Nothing, indeed, short of a unanimous rush of the Province to arms would have sustained the position taken up by the Local Premier on the subject of the Boundary Award. The contest was marked by the usual incidents of a faction fight. Issue there was none of a kind to lend any colour of reason to the division of the community into two armies fighting against

each other with the rancour of civil war. Neither the Boundary Question, nor that of the Streams Bill, was political, apart from the feeling excited about them: the first was a question of mixed law and history; the second was a question about the principles of jurisprudence. On either Lord Salisbury might have differed from Sir Stafford Northcote and agreed with Mr. Gladstone or Prince Krapotkine. Power and patronage were the real objects, and in the temper which a struggle for such prizes engenders, the battle was carried on. For six weeks we had a carnival of mutual vituperation from which regard for truth and justice was banished on both sides. Neither speakers nor writers are to blame, because they are all merely playing the part assigned them by the system, as a lawyer does in wrangling for victory, or a soldier in firing upon the foe. But there can be no doubt as to the effect of such a bath of calumnious passion upon the political character of the people, and not upon their political character only. A religious contemporary tells us that we ought to vote as we pray: no doubt we ought, and religion is valueless unless it guides us in the great duties of life: but the faction fight is more likely to react upon the voter's frame of mind, than the praying is to act upon the vote. One of the Ministers, in the course of the campaign, took pains to prove by rule of three applied to salaries, that the Catholic Church had its full share of pelf; a singular development of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. An unusal amount of money appears to have been spent, much of it, no doubt, in corruption.

The election was preceded by a session equally illustrative of the system, since it was a mere prelude to the faction fight, each party trying to get the weather-gage of the other in public opinion. No more business was done than a small body of men going to work in a practical way would have accomplished in half the time. Self-government, to a people worthy of it, as the people of Canada are, will in the end, as we hope and trust, prove a boon. But if the system of faction were destined to last for ever, there would be reasons, both on political and moral grounds, to look back with regret to the rule of a good Governor or of any man of sense and honour.

—In West Toronto the Machine narrowly escaped being broken by a Labour Candidate. Anything like representation of special classes or interests is, of course, in itself an evil; but unluckily interests, those of the railway men and the master manufacturers for example, are represented with tremendous effect already; and a single delegate of labour can do no harm by his presence among all the delegates of faction. The artisans—that name is better than "working-men," which includes all who work either with hand or brain—are now not only a powerful but an intelligent body: to make them thoroughly loyal to the institutions of the country is an object of the highest importance; and the way to do this, and thus arrest the dreaded growth of Socialism, is to let them feel that everything is perfectly open to them, distinction as well as the suffrage, and thus to render it impossible for them to nurse the suspicion that they are ostracized as a class. Supposing it were merely a point of honour, the point of honour would deserve consideration. To pluck a thorn out of the breast of any important section of the community is a great thing, even if it be attended with some risk. Risk, however, there is none in the occasional election of an artisan: of that English experience assures us, whether it assures us of any positive benefit or not. Mr. Burt has been useful in the British Parliament on mining questions, and it is easy at all events to understand the wish of the artisan that when matters relating to his calling come before the Legislature there should be some one present who looks at them with an artisan's eyes. The feeling of other callings and professions is the same: every one of them insists upon being represented, except the clergy, whose interests are not of this world. That a man who works with his hands is unlikely to have a highly trained intellect or the political knowledge requisite for general legislation is not to be denied; but a highly trained intellect and political knowledge are not qualifications strictly exacted of candidates by the Party Machines. Nor are the manners of a Party Assembly in danger of suffering by the intrusion. The thing most endangered is the character of the man himself, who, when he has become a member of a legislature, can scarcely remain an artisan, and is too apt to become a mercenary politician, plying

that which, though the highest of all callings, is the lowest of all trades. But this liability would have been reduced to the minimum in the case of a working-man elected to a legislature which holds its sittings in the city where he earns his bread. The contest in West Toronto was conducted on the part of the Labour Candidate and his friends with little skill, but without appeals to class enmity and in a manner free from reproach. Probably the large measure of support received from other classes has not been without its good effect as a pledge of social unity.

—Both the Boundary Award and the Streams Bill have been made Machine questions, and we cannot doubt that on the first of them the Dominion Government, in the attitude which it assumes towards Ontario, is representing the feelings of the French. But each of them has its merits. As to the Boundary Award, the truth seems to be, that there is a legal boundary on the west but not on the north. There is at least evidence of a western boundary such as might be submitted to a legal tribunal, the sentence of which would probably be in favour of the claim of Ontario, making the limit a line drawn along the Eastern bank of the Mississippi, and Northwards from its source to the limit of the Hudson Bay Territory. With regard to the northern boundary, evidence appears to be wanting. If therefore, what the arbitrators were directed to find was a legal line, they, in drawing one on the North without legal evidence, merely to comcomplete the settlement of the question, exceeded their commission; and the Dominion Government is within its right in refusing to ratify the award. The assertion that ratification has never been withheld when negotiators have overstepped the limit of their powers shows a total ignorance of diplomatic history. On the other hand, the position of the Dominion Government is that of an interested party, and will always be the same so long as that Government rests upon the support of Quebec. How is the question to be settled? The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is a legal tribunal, and will not, any more than an ordinary court of law, undertake to decide a point upon which no legal

evidence can be submitted. The best course, perhaps, would be to get the Crown to appoint a Commission with full discretionary powers, for the purpose of framing a settlement, and to embody that settlement in a Declaratory Act of the Imperial Parliament, the authority of which could never be questioned. The Commission might issue at once, and the materials being ready, the Act might perhaps pass the Imperial Parliament in this Session.

As to the Streams Bill, there is no denying that the Dominion Government has the veto power, nor is there ground for saying that the power was not intended to be used. We are dealing not with antiquated practices or vague traditions, but with a constitution recently framed, which must be supposed to be operative in all its parts. Of course, the veto is not to be exercised without good reason, but two good reasons at least for its exercise may be assigned. One is, an excess of powers on the part of the Provincial Legislature; the other is a breach of the fundamental principles of public morality and justice by which all legislation ought to be restrained. Nothing can be more likely than that such bodies as our Local Legislatures should occasionally betray an ignorance of the great rules of jurisprudence and require to be called to order by superior authority; such a check is made more essential by the increasing tendency of the Machines to ostracize the best intellect of the Province. The Bill breaking Mr. Goodhue's will was a case in point, and formed a proper subject for the veto. Whether the Streams Bill is actually a breach of the principle which forbids legislative aggression upon vested interests, is a question which turns partly upon disputed matters of fact and on which there is sincere difference of opinion among persons free from the party bias. On its face, the Act certainly seems to be one confiscating improvements and assigning only an arbitrary compensation; it also looks very like a law directed against an individual under colour of a general enactment. In any case, however, the contention of Ontario ought to be that the Bill is unobjectionable in principle, not that the veto is a nullity.

—Why is there any doubt as to the mode in which disputes between the Dominion and a Province, or between Province and

Province, are to be decided? Why does not the Constitution speak plainly and precisely on a point of such vital importance to the working of Federal institutions? It is vain to appeal to the "well-understood principles" of the British Constitution as the Urim and Thummim by which all doubts are to be resolved. The British Constitution is National, not Federal, and its principles, even if they were as well understood as the framers of our Constitution assumed, could throw no light on Federal questions. Nor are British judges likely to be the best arbiters: their total ignorance of Canada might secure their impartiality, though it would perplex their apprehension; but they are almost sure to have a leaning to the side of the central authority. We were taken to task the other day for denying that Mr. George Brown was the father of Confederation. Our critics will see that we spoke not without evidence, if they will refer to the important memorandum which is published in the work of Col. Gray (p. 22), and which seems to prove as plainly as anything can that what Mr. Brown demanded in the name of the people of Upper Canada was representation by population without any separating line between the Upper and Lower Province, while he regarded a Confederation of all the Provinces as a remedy not acceptable to his clients, and in itself, though desirable and destined in the end to come, a measure for which the people were unprepared and the adoption of which was uncertain and remote. The Father of Confederation was Deadlock: and Mr. Brown in common with all the other leaders of the jarring factions, as he contributed to the creation of the deadlock, was in that sense a parent of Confederation. Nor did the offspring fail to bear the impress of its origin.

> "Got while their souls did huddled notions try
> And born a shapeless mass like anarchy."

One man, Mr. Dunkin, scrutinizing the plan like a statesman, tried to forecast its working, and his predictions are being fulfilled. The main principle of the Federal system, which was the separation of the Central Government from those of the Provinces, has already been broken down by the fusion of Local with Dominion Party. One party being in possession of power at Ottawa, the

other in Ontario, those two Governments are now running foul of each other. The Senate is a total failure, or worse; and yet there is no legal mode of enforcing reform, an unlimited creation of members, the *ultima ratio* by which the British House of Lords has been compelled to yield, not being lawful here. There is no regular tribunal for the decision of Federal questions, nor is there any power of constitutional amendment. As a step towards nationality, Federation would have been intelligible. But apart from this, of which the leaders evidently had no idea, while we loyally celebrate Dominion Day, and have a vague sense of gratitude for vast benefits received, it is not easy to say precisely what those vast benefits are. The objects for which the American colonies after their severance from the Mother Country embraced Federal Union—external defence, internal peace, and freedom of intercourse—were already secured to these Provinces by the supremacy of the British Government, under which the Provinces were practically federated, though Canadian statesmen do not seem to have been conscious of the fact. Confederation has brought an immense increase of the expenses of Government, a heavy public debt, and worse than all, an enormous development of demagogism and faction. What else it has brought, let its authors say: perhaps they may succeed in showing that the honour of having given it birth is worth a suit in the court of history.

—It is difficult to say whether the Licensing question or the Education question was present to the minds of the constituencies, or had much influence upon their votes. On both, however, the reduction of the majority will perhaps lower the tone of the Government. As to the perversion of the License Act to political objects, the testimony of Judge Hughes is direct, and even when divested of campaign typography, appears trustworthy on the material point: yet it was hardly needed to assure us that party would use patronage for party ends. The Ethiopian does not change his skin, even when he becomes a Christian Statesman. What the chiefs would shrink from doing, underlings do; and the underlings, if called to account, are defended by the chiefs. It is the Premier

himself, however, who proclaims, as the verdict of his personal experience, that Acts of Parliament can be satisfactorily carried into effect only by the friends of Government, an avowal of the Spoils System which would startle by its frankness, even if it came from the lips of an American politician. A Machine, by the law of its being, grows the more corrupt and jobbing the longer it reigns; the Republican party in the United States began by being the organ of a great cause, with an animating spirit of genuine enthusiasm; and we see what it has become. Abuse of the License Act will increase. So will the evils which, as experience has now shown, are bred by the connection of Public Education with political party, including the tendency to make adherence to the party in power a qualification for appointments. In private, few deny that the administration of a permanent Superintendent, with a Legislative Council formed of the heads of Education in the Province, would be preferable, on general grounds, to a succession of Ministers of Education pitchforked, as political leaders are, by party and cabinet exigencies, into the post. Of all matters, Public Education most needs stability, and shrinks most from the touch of 'prentice hands. Commonly, however, the Minister's unfamiliarity with the subject will compel him to leave the office in the hands of one or two subordinates, perhaps not the most trustworthy of the staff, whose irresponsible actions will be covered by his formal responsibility, while he in turn will be shielded by the Cabinet and the Party. Public criticism, it has been justly observed, has no value or force where political feeling intervenes: what the organs of one party attack, those of the other party defend; and the public looks on as it would at two sets of boys pelting each other with snowballs in the street.

—When our last number appeared the agitation against Disallowance in Manitoba was at its height. But we then expressed a doubt whether the Province in the present stage of its existence would have strength enough to prevail against the power of the Ottawa Government combined with that of the Railway Company, which, albeit it has laudably abstained from meddling

with politics or the press, cannot fail to exercise enormous influence. Our doubt has proved well founded: the election has given the Government a large majority, though the popular vote is more equally divided than the seats. But this is not the end. It is vain to think that restrictions can be permanently maintained on the free development of the Railway system in a new and rapidly growing country. Something Mr. Norquay seems to have owed to his personal superiority over his rival, and he went to the constituencies with a promise that he would re-enact the railway charters. The Ottawa Government, though victorious, will understand the nature of its victory, while the Company must feel that it could not afford long to live at enmity with the Province, of which, moreover, it is the great landowner. An arrangement by which the Company should take its land grant and the completed works, give up the subsidy, pay back the thirty millions which the country has spent, relinquish the monopoly clauses, and be itself released from the obligation to build the unprofitable parts of the road, would be beneficial to the Province, the Company, the people of the Dominion, and everybody except the Knights. The construction, on a vast scale, and at an enormous cost, of political railroads is an attempt, in the interest of the decaying aristocracy of England and its feeble offspring, the Canadian Knightage, to introduce into this continent the principle of the balance of power, which is obsolete as well as loaded with the curses of history in the hemisphere which gave it birth. It is a hopeless struggle against Nature, for which Canada will pay dear. Such is the heresy of the BYSTANDER, held with the contumacious obstinacy which is characteristic of heretics. Already the power with which we contend is beginning to mock at our efforts. When the Railway was undertaken it was proclaimed that this great rampart against the aggrandizement of the United States was to remain entirely in Canadian hands. The thought of American participation was treason. Now a New York firm is in the Company, and the colossal shadow of Vanderbilt has fallen upon the scene. It is needless to say how little chance there is of seeing what the BYSTANDER desires come to pass, especially since the Company has been extending

its gigantic enterprise by taking Eastern railways into its hands.

In the North-West the cold is so dry that people never feel it, but now and then they are frozen to death. It is a struggle between the immense fertility of the land and the scarcity of fuel. Good coal in abundance, Science says, has been found on the flank of the Rocky Mountains. Its appearance in the market would at once turn the wavering scale of destiny. At present the British emigrant spends in two or three months on fuel what would pay the difference between his passage to Manitoba and his passage to the mild and delightful climate of New Zealand. It is not impossible that the desolation of the Turkish Empire and the occupation of Egypt by England may open up to British enterprise new realms under genial skies in the Eastern Mediterranean, and turn the stream of emigration in that direction. There can be no use in concealing facts. The English people have plenty of informants, and they have learned the value of word pictures, even when the painter is a person of the highest quality.

After the Saturnalia of land-jobbing, it is not surprising to hear that municipal corruption has broken out in Winnipeg. Unless it is quelled, the poison will run in the veins of the community for generations; and it can be quelled only by a vigorous application of the criminal law. Put two or three of the knaves in the Penitentiary and the rest will be tired of the game.

—After the Manitoba and Ontario elections the Liberal Conservative party, no doubt, feels its hold upon the country firm, and promises itself a long reign. Yet the sword of doom is always suspended over it by the thread, inevitably dwindling, of its leader's political life. It is the party of a man; or rather it is not a party at all, but a combination of heterogeneous elements formed and held together by an artificer who, in the course of a long career, has acquired a thorough knowledge of all the men, the interests, and the passions with which he has to deal, uses that knowledge with consummate skill, and shrinks from the employment of no means of influence, while, like Walpole, in the midst of corruption, he remains personally pure. Conserv-

atism in England is a party; it has principles, or at least objects of its own: it remains a living organism, though the pulse of its life beats low. But who can define the principles or the objects of Conservatism in Canada? What is it that the Orangeman of Ontario and the Ultramontane of Quebec desire in common? What would hold them together if the manager's hand were removed? The principle upon which the party rode into power in 1878 was Commercial Independence, which its leader has now proclaimed in no ambiguous terms. Commercial Independence is a very good thing; but is it the special tenet of Conservatives? Do we not remember the time when Conservatives would have denounced it as treason? Loyalty, both the parties profess, and we do in our conscience believe that they both profess it with equal sincerity: of that, indeed, the Home Rule Address, lately adopted by them in common, is the proof. At the present moment Conservatism happens to be identified with centralization, while Liberalism is identified with Provincial Right: but this is merely an accident of the war: in federations the party in possession of the Federal Government is naturally inclined to an extension of the central power, which the other party as naturally resists. Put Mr. Blake in the place of Sir John Macdonald, and there will be disputes between the Grit Ottawa and the Conservative Quebec, the counterparts of those which are now going on between the Conservative Ottawa and the Grit Ontario. A Bleu Mowat will be calling his province to arms, and a Liberal Macdonald will be charging him with conspiring against the integrity of the Dominion. If the Party system were sound, its operation would not be thus dependent on the life of a man.

—Though the public affairs of Ontario are not tending in the right direction, they are not so far gone in the wrong direction as are those of Quebec. If Ontario is living on her capital she has still capital to live on, and her public men, though servants of faction and no saints, keep themselves, for the most part, in decent moral vogue; they may job but they do not steal. Quebec has nearly reached the bottom of the descent. French character,

less sturdy than the British, lends itself to the ascendency of the boss, and demagogic corruption has had full swing. By the retirement of Mr. Joly from his leadership about the last ray of honour was extinguished in public life. Nothing but a chaos of intrigue and peculation remains. A minor rival of Fiske and Jay Gould seems, more than any one else, to be master of the political situation. The treasury is empty; direct taxation stares the Province in the face; a conspiracy is in progress, under the name of a demand for better terms, for extorting more money from the Confederation. In the meantime the demagogues are raiding on the commercial companies, against which suits are being brought in the mass at the public expense instead of trying a test case; nor have they shrunk from resorting to lotteries, an expedient absolutely criminal. Everybody talks of retrenchment, and, at the same time, takes everything that he can get ; the expense of the Lieut.-Governorship grows apace and the Legislative Council still draws its pay. The commercial men of Montreal have been inert in suffering scoundrelism to rule them without resistance; perhaps they have been worse than inert; but allowance must be made for the difficulty of moving the French. Nor is it easy to organize a revolt against corruption when all the regular organs of the popular will are in the hands of the men who are to be put down. Thus it was that Tweed and his gang were able to reign so long and fill their den with so enormous a booty. Still the end came in New York, and the end may come in Quebec. Unlike a military tyrant, the demagogue has not force upon his side, and when the community, goaded beyond endurance by his villainies, puts forth its power against him he must fall. Tweed's castle of iniquity came to the ground like a house of cards. The elements of moral resistance are not wanting to Quebec. She has yet an honest and industrious population. Let the young citizen remain loyal at heart to the community, and he may live, if he is in the volunteers, to form one of the guard of honour that will escort plundering demagogism to its long home.

—A sudden revolution in New Brunswick has turned the eyes of the political world to that Province. Of revolutions in New

Brunswick, the father of political science could hardly have said, "that though their occasions were slight, their causes were deep." No cause appears to be at work deeper than the desire of the Outs to be in. Whatever lines of principle divided parties before Confederation were obliterated or confused by that event; so much so that the very names Conservative and Liberal seem to have changed places, as Lord Stanhope, the historian, fancies, though erroneously, that Whig and Tory have in England. Politics in New Brunswick are now personal; in plainer language, they are a mere struggle for place. Look where we will, the elective system of government, in its crude and imperfect state, is seen to be a contrivance for persons who are not fond of steady industry to live and enjoy distinction at the expense of those who are. The problem before us, is in fact, that of preventing politics from being a process of natural selection, acting the wrong way and selecting the least trustworthy members of the community as the depositories of power. It is interesting to find that the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, is put to exactly the same use as its larger counterpart the Senate of the Dominion. It is a political infirmary, almshouse, and bribery fund at the same time. In that triple capacity it is cherished by the politicians. Like the Senate, it does no legislative work, and the people were apparently becoming unconscious of its existence, when their notice was attracted by the noise of a scuffle for one of the seats which was alleged to have been vacated by the lapse of the residence qualification. Nothing is wanting to complete the parallel, but the appointment in New Brunswick as legislators for life of men to whom the people have just refused their confidence in the elections. As usual, while the grand game of politics is being played, the material interests of the country are left to take care of themselves, and the forests, which are the wealth of the Province, are for the want of proper law and administration, being rapidly destroyed.

In general opinion, the government of Sir John Macdonald seemed till the other day to be gaining ground. Provincialism, however, and attachment to local magnates appear to be stronger than anything else, and the name of Mitchell or Snowball is more potent in its district than those of the Dominion parties. Mari-

time union is dead, or lives only in the attachment of inflexible opponents of Confederation, who desire it practically as a measure of Maritime secession. Its difficulties would not be trifling. The smaller the parish, the stronger the parish feeling, and it would be easier to appease the susceptibilities of a great state of the German Confederation than those of Prince Edward Island. If forces of repulsion exist, they are sure to be called into play by the federal relation, unless they are restrained by some very strong bond of interest, or by the still more powerful influence of a common fear. Saving of expense is the sole inducement, and we learn from the example of the larger Confederation that whatever extends the area of party war, and intensifies its passions brings increase of expenditure in another way. Besides New Brunswick has spent two hundred thousand dollars in Parliament Buildings at Fredericton, so that, unless the other Provinces would consent to make Fredericton the maritime capital, which no Prince Edward Islander not lost to honour would do, the die is cast.

To keen-eyed observers on the spot, it appears that there is a quiet, but rapid and steady growth of feeling in favour of Independence. In certain districts it is found, on probing the minds of the people, to be general; and it prevails not only among the young and enthusiastic, but among the elderly and cool-headed as well. Nobody likes as yet to speak out, least of all the politicians, to whom nothing is so terrible as the premature. But the minds of men are turned in the same direction, and they wait for some one to give the word. The two bugbears employed by the enemies of Independence, are Annexation and Expense. New Brunswickers will learn in time, that there is not the slightest tendency or desire on the part of the people of the United States, or any section of them, to put force upon the inclinations of Canada, and that so far as her political relations are concerned, she would be just as much mistress of her own destiny after becoming independent as she is now. Nor is it easy to see why there should be an increase of expense; our only neighbours are pacific; they keep up no armaments; and a single envoy at Washington, would do all the diplomacy that we should require; whereas, if England

were engaged in war with a naval power able to send cruisers to sea, and Canada, as a dependency, were involved in the quarrel, our maritime commerce might be ruined for the sake of a stock-jobbing interest in Egypt, or a scientific frontier in Afghanistan.

—For a month the Dominion Parliament has done nothing but carry on the party battle in Ontario. Electioneering is now the main business of statesmen. At the time of our going to press, the Budget speech has not been made. The Finance Minister will be able to glory in a large surplus; but he will have to admit a large increase in expenditure. The second of these things is apt to go with the first, and government, especially in circumstances like ours, ought to be forbidden ever to take from the people more than the public service actually needs. It is to be hoped that somebody will muster courage enough to raise his voice against the coal duty. That tax has not even served the bad purpose for which it was imposed, and it would be difficult to devise anything more absurd than a policy which attempts to force manufactures into existence in a Province destitute of fuel, and at the same time imposes an import duty on coal. The Finance Minister stood originally upon safe ground, professing only to adjust to the circumstances of Canada the new taxes which the deficit rendered necessary. But. since, carried away by success, and spurred on by interested supporters, he has passed from Adjustment to Protection, and is leading the people to believe that he can make them rich by increase of taxation and by raising the cost of living. He is thus causing an over-investment of capital in manufactures, and a general inflation, of which the Nemesis will come. A few years ago the balance of cheapness was decidedly in favour of Canada against the United States: there is now little difference, and should the balance incline the other way, the Finance Minister will be taught by an increased exodus what are the real effects of his system.

—Mr. Charlton moves, practically, to make the illicit intercourse of the sexes a crime, and punish the male offender alone.

To protest against the injustice would be idle ; philanthropy likes injustice. But does not Mr. Charlton see that he is taking away the principal safeguard of female purity by declaring, as in effect he proposes to do, that breach of chastity is no offence in the woman, and that even when she allures a lover, as it is preposterous to doubt that licentious women often do, she is to be regarded as a passive and guiltless victim ? Law will, as usual, mould opinion, and less shame will attend what the law proclaims to be merely a wrong involuntarily undergone. In civilized countries a woman is protected from violence by the government ; against the enemy in her own breast she must protect herself ; she is the keeper of her honour, and she knows that a promise is not marriage. It is singular that those who wish to call her to the exercise of political power should at the same time treat her as a creature devoid of sense and will. Violent legislation is the nostrum to which minds of a certain type are ready to fly whenever they see anything amiss, without considering what the general effect will be. A new weapon will be put into the hand of the female blackmailer, to whose machinations the characters of clergymen and medical men especially are exposed, as has just been proved by a signal example in this country, and by a tragical example in England. There are varieties of character, female as well as male, and female as well as male fiends. Of this enthusiasts take no heed : male reputations, even when they are of the highest importance to the community, being beneath the notice of benevolence. By the provision that the offender shall be let off if he can plead that he has married the girl, a vista of conspiracy, forced marriage, and domestic misery is opened to view. Any woman who can entrap a foolish youth will be able to compel him to marry her on pain of being put in the dock. Experienced lawyers say that real cases of seduction are rare ; but if Mr. Charlton's bill becomes law, fictitious cases of seduction are likely to abound. Such acts have been passed, no doubt, by legislatures in the United States. Legislatures in the United States will for show pass anything that is sentimental with more ease than they would pass an effective law against corruption : but to what extent have these enactments been put

into execution? The illicit intercourse of the sexes is a sin which, besides destroying purity and beauty of character, poisons the very well-spring of human happiness. A crime in the legal sense it is not; much less is it a crime in one party alone. In the real interest of morality, it is to be hoped that Mr. Charlton's proposal will never become law.

—Speculation has been active about the successor of Lord Lorne, and conjecture has ranged widely, extending to the names of some of whom it may safely be said that they would prefer being cabin-boy to being figure-head. Sir John Macdonald prefers above all being captain, though, were he made Governor-General there need be no fear about his impartiality, for he is no more a Macdonaldite, than Wilkes was a Wilkesite. After the appointment of a Canadian, the next step, no doubt, would be the abandonment of Crown nominations and the completion of Canadian self-government. Such a thought sends a thrill of horror through the hearts of many whose sentiments claim respect. Yet, who can believe that this merely formal office, the holder of which is nothing but a puppet and a mouth-piece, with the paltry paraphernalia which surround it, is destined to be the great bond between two nations, a Mother Country and her offspring, united by race, by language, by history, by sympathy, by essential identity of institutions? Even as a political tie, the Governor-Generalship is far inferior in importance to the community of citizenship which makes every Canadian an Englishman, every Englishman a Canadian, as soon as he sets foot upon the shore of his kindred, and which no change of our relation to the Colonial Office would annul. This is the real Imperial Federation, which it is to be hoped will continue to link together the communities of British race all over the world, when their growing greatness and the divergence of their commercial interests shall have rendered palpably futile the attempt to hold them in a state of dependency and administer them from a central office in Downing Street. In the heart of the British aristocracy there, no doubt, lingers a hope that the Vice-royalty may yet prove the means of introducing the heredi-

tary principle into this Continent, and rescuing a portion, at least, of the New World from Democracy. If there are any here who share that hope, let them once more consider what are the prospects of the hereditary principle in its own hemisphere, and thence endeavour to learn what chance it has of extending its sway to a hemisphere not its own. A century ago, it occupied, in apparent security, all the thrones of Europe, and dominated the legislatures, where legislatures existed; for the majority even of the British House of Commons was in those days made up of sons or nominees of the aristocracy. It now retains not a single legislature, the House of Lords having on all great questions sunk to complete and almost avowed impotence; while the dynasties have nearly all received rude shocks from the revolution, been shorn of their ancient powers, been divested of their traditional divinity, and reduced to an existence which is felt to be provisional as well as precarious. The principal exceptions are such as prove the rule; being those of almost Oriental and half-civilized Russia, where hereditary autocracy remains as yet intact, though with the knife of Nihilism at its throat, and England, where monarchy keeps its social crown on condition of abstaining entirely from the exercise of political power. France is a Republic, and though a restoration of the Empire is not impossible, that dictatorship can hardly be called dynastic, since neither in the person of the First nor of the second Emperor did it last through the life of a single man. A tree so sickly will scarcely bear transplantation to an alien soil. Canada, in fact, has tried an almost decisive experiment. In the days when monarchy was a real power, and the king was at once the ruler and the captain of his people, there seems to have been comparatively little of etiquette. The monarch appears to have lived and fought much like his feudal comrades. But to modern monarchy of the constitutional type etiquette is the breath of life; and the attempt to introduce etiquette into Canada was received by our people, first, with bewilderment, and then with laughter. It is not revolutionary sentiment, but Conservatism, that bids us use our intelligence on this subject. A bruised reed will pierce the hand that leans on it; and a vague trust in the mystical virtue

of the hereditary principle, and in the Vice-royalty as its embodiment, will only turn our minds from the necessity of providing those rational and substantial securities for order and stability, without which freedom may become a curse. In phrases or phantoms, of whatever kind, there is no salvation.

—The Vice-royalty removed, the "fountain of honour" would, no doubt, cease to flow. Has it, so far as Canada is concerned, been really a fountain of honour, or merely a conduit of title? Anybody can answer that question for himself, while a rehearsal of the facts would entail the revival of unsavoury recollections. Perhaps a reference to the latest example would suffice to prove that here, at all events, political knighthood has not always been the reward and seal of public virtue. Nor does title appear to beget the merit which it does not find. "Noblesse oblige" is a very fine saying, which was miserably belied by the conduct of that very nobility for which it was coined, through generations of profligacy, both public and private, down to the last ignominious flight before the gathering storm of Revolution. A nature, such as that of the common title-seeker, is far more likely to be made indifferent to opinion by the possession of artificial rank than spurred to noble effort by the obligation which it entails. We think we could point to a case in which a man of immense wealth, with a title fresh from the fountain, had scornfully refused to listen to the call of family honour, when he might have feared to brave opinion if he had not felt that his rank and the homage of its worshippers were secure. That every man should stand always upon his own feet, and be rated or disrated according to his behaviour, is the dictate, not of levelling democracy, but of a higher and more moral civilization. The best colonists have refused titles, and their verdict is decisive.

The little Court of Ottawa would also depart. Is it really a school of refinement and manners, even to the few who come under its influence? The idea is somewhat humiliating: it hardly accords with the accounts that come to us of Ottawa life, or with the pictures drawn by residents; nor does it seem to be

shared by Royalty itself. The determination of the Princess to winter at Bermuda, overwhelmed, we were told, with affliction certain Americans who had taken apartments at Ottawa, in the hope of enjoying the raptures of Court life. Our tears are due to the disappointed Republicans, but the gratification of their tastes and the maintenance of the ideal which they embody are hardly sufficient motives for keeping up an expensive institution. Neither national self-respect, nor national self-reliance would lose anything by the change. A correspondent of one of our journals, the other day, transported with delight at the report that the Prince of Wales intended to visit Canada, besought the government to bring this blessed event to pass, declaring that to secure the presence of the Prince and Princess with their suite in the Queen's Park would be "the supreme effort of our existence." This perpetual craving for the notice of England, and especially for that of the English Court and aristocracy, does scant justice to the qualities of our own people, and is sure to degrade us in the opinion of those whose patronage is so slavishly solicited. Courtiership in these days has lost the redeeming feature which in more primitive times it possessed: it is no longer the heartfelt worship of an earthly deity or of a beneficent protector; it is nothing but a mixture of personal vanity with innate servility, while the reverse side of the courtier's character almost always is insolent contempt of the people. That the atmosphere of scandal over Ottawa is not less mephitic than over grander courts has been too well proved by the publication of gossip the purveyors of which ought to be ashamed of their trade.

The expense of the Governor-General's office has been growing since the advent of Lord Dufferin, touring and the delivery of speeches having been added to the duties. If increased expenditure has become necessary, the means for it will not be withheld; but it ought to be distinctly stated, that the people may know exactly what the office costs, not hidden in the holes and corners of contingent estimates, so that only careful research can tell what the Governor-General is really drawing. In England, the seat of Royalty and aristocracy, concealment would not be endured; and there is no reason why it should be endured here.

Both parties need to be reminded of this; for the Liberals have succumbed to the social influence of Vice-royalty just as much as the Tories. Indeed, it is not easy to say who at Ottawa can be relied on in matters of this kind to see that justice is done to the people.

—A parade of the Agents General for the Colonies before the new Colonial Secretary on his accession to office, something like the parade of mail-coachmen in former times on the king's birthday, was chronicled as a step of great importance. In what direction? If these envoys are Ambassadors, England is a foreign power. Perhaps it is enough to say that the Agents, being conscientious men, feel it necessary to do something or to appear to be doing something for their salaries. But, if the truth must be told, they had better do nothing than do what the eloquent and versatile representative of Canada has been doing. Airing theories of Imperial Federation is harmless; nobody, even when Jingoism ruled the hour, ever attempted to carry those theories into effect. Preaching Home Rule for Ireland, in face of Irish insurrection, is not so harmless, nor can any disclaimers prevent people from believing that the accredited representative of Canada speaks the sentiments of his constituents, especially after an all but unanimous vote of the Canadian Parliament in the same sense. That distant dependencies are a source, not of strength, but of weakness, to the Mother Country, is the conviction of every one who has looked into the question with an open mind; and the people of the Mother Country are gradually becoming aware of the fact; but scarcely any one could have divined that the dependencies would become active solvents of the integrity of the United Kingdom, as some of them have at the present crisis under the influence of the Irish vote. Sir Alexander Galt is roundly abused by the *Journal of Commerce*, which fears that he will break the salutary slumber of the Canadian people. He might retort by a reference to the turbulent *Examiner* of former days. He has at all events not treated Canadians as babies, unfit to be consulted about the great questions of their own future.

—In our last number it was remarked that the Liberal party, though it had changed its leader, had not changed its editor, and that the consequences of the omission had been disastrous. While the number was in the press the editor was changed. The importance attached to the event and the sensation which it created were proofs of the growing power of journalism, and, let us not forget to say, of the increased responsibility which attaches to those who wield it. In England, fifty years ago, a political leader would hardly have bestowed a thought on the newspapers, and sentiment almost received a shock when Sir Robert Peel, discerning with his usual sagacity the advent of a new force, addressed a letter of thanks to the editor of the London *Times* for the service rendered by him to a Conservative administration. Now the organ is not by many degrees of less importance than the leader, and it addresses the party daily while the leader speaks only on special occasions.

The change was received by the rivals of the *Globe* with expressions of chagrin, which furnished the best evidence of its wisdom. Streams of obituary inanities flowed, as they must upon every demise, whether personal or official. But even on financial grounds the proprietors might well be desirous of a change; for the enmities of which the late manager chose to make his journal the organ had already cost it dear, and were likely to cost it dearer still. As to the interest of the party there could be no doubt. The former Manager was bent on suppressing Canadian nationality, and Canadian nationality was resolved not to be suppressed: the consequence was a growing schism among the Liberals, to which only the removal of one of the contending forces could put an end. It is not likely, the nine days of wonderment being over, that Grit mourners for the loss of the late Manager will be so tenacious of their sorrow as to carry it into the bosom of Sir John Macdonald. The "loyal Scotch," whose desolation Tories have bewailed with politic tears, can hardly fail to reflect that Cameron is fully as Scottish a name as Brown. They and all other genealogical sections of the population will find it their best course, if they wish to retain their share of power, to be loyal Canadians, for the day of the immigrant is past and that of the native has come.

Journalism as a profession has certainly no reason to mourn. The new Editor, by his appearance and his genial language at a Press dinner, accepted the association from which his predecessor had stood aloof, and showed that he was prepared to treat his fellow-journalists as brethren, not as poachers. In all questions relating to the rules, privileges, and courtesies of the profession, the *Globe* has hitherto set honour and decency at defiance, but at last the black flag is hauled down.

—Co-education is again pressing on the attention of our University authorities. The question is not quite so broad or so difficult as at first sight it appears. If all the young men and women of the wealthier class between the age of eighteen and twenty-two were to be thrown together in the same colleges, Presidents would indeed have to undertake, to a formidable extent, in addition to their present functions, the duties of a duenna. But this has hardly been yet proposed. Few mothers, probably, who can command a separate education for their daughters, would desire to launch them into a male University. Some of the Co-educational Seminaries in the United States are not Colleges for adults, but schools for boys and girls. Vassar and the other great female Colleges seem to have been deprived of none of their popularity by the movement in favour of Co-education. The demand comes mainly from young women destined for the calling of school-teaching, which has now largely fallen into female hands, with advantage to the public in point of economy, but less unquestionable advantage in other respects, to judge by the loud and increasing complaints of want of thoroughness in American education. In the case of such female students, the danger, whatever it may be, is evidently reduced to its lowest point. The President of Toronto University, who has shown his interest in the improvement of female education, proposes that there should be a College for women adjoining the University and receiving instruction from the University Professors. Such is the plan which to us has always seemed the most likely to combine intellectual advantage with social safety. To think that precautions are altogether need-

less is a mistake. In the United States their necessity has been seen, and Zurich, by disregarding them, produced a set of female burschen which startled Europe. The indescribable persons who head what is called the revolt of woman wish simply to break down all barriers of sex; but this is not an object which women in general seek or which the community has yet stamped with approval.

Another agitation is on foot for abolishing residence as a qualification for degrees, and giving them upon the examination alone. This would completely change the significance of the degree and deal a heavy blow to the whole University system. What can be done in an examination hall is a poor criterion of the benefit which ought to be reaped from a three years' course of study under good teachers and in the stimulating company of active-minded class-mates. Such advantages as there may be in social intercourse, college friendships, corporate spirit and the attachment of the Alumnus to his Alma Mater would of course be entirely lost. The tendency among the most eminent University men at present is rather to reduce the importance of the examinations than to make them the whole system.

In order to preserve the free exercise of their judgment and do what is really best for their institution, the University authorities will have to keep their nerves braced. They will remember that to submit to what is forced upon you is one thing; to make yourself responsible for a concession which you believe to be wrong is another. We live under a demagogic system which teaches us all to regard popularity as the breath of life, and we are apt to cower before anything which assumes the guise of public opinion, though it may be stuff manufactured by a single agitator pushing his way through notoriety into political life. We all know, too, how a gust of sentiment is apt to sweep the popular press. Firmness in the discharge of a public trust is nevertheless respected and will generally be upheld by the people. As to petitions, it would probably be impossible to frame one too absurd to obtain the signatures of some hundreds of people out of a population of ninety thousand. Those who do not sign may be taken, by their silence, to dissent.

—A By-law imposing a tax for the maintenance of a Free Lending Library at Toronto has been carried by energetic canvassing and a lavish use of posters and declamation. The people were told that a lending library would extirpate vice. We are beginning to see that there are limits to the influence of all intellectual appliances, even public schools, over character; but an evening walk through the streets of those English cities in which lending libraries have long been in operation on the largest scale, would at once modify an enthusiast's belief in the efficacy of this particular specific. The recent extension of cheap printing has greatly diminished the usefulness of lending libraries of any kind; and the number of subscribers to one in New York is stated, in consequence, to have fallen from 15,000 to a third of that number. This was the main fact in the case, and it was very studiously kept out of view. Nor was any attention bestowed on the alternative scheme of a good library of reference with a reading-room, or if the size of the city requires it with two or three reading-rooms, for the journals and periodicals; though it is really in this way that provision would best be made for the requirements of the studious artisan whose aspirations form a popular theme for rhetoric. Experience has apparently proved that of the books taken out of lending libraries two-thirds at least are not such as are studied by the rising Watt or Hugh Miller, but novels, the taste for which hardly needs to be stimulated by subsidies from the public purse; while the readers, as a rule, are not artisans, but people well able to provide light reading for themselves. Scarcely had the vote been cast in Toronto when we learned that St. Louis in the United States, Hull in England, and other towns, had refused to adopt the plan. A free lending library will, moreover, be apt to kill the little home libraries, which, now that books are so cheap, might otherwise be formed, and from which a man would be more likely to take down a book on a winter evening than he would be to fetch one from the public library.

The cost was disguised by the usual artifices of language. It is more than equivalent to the addition of half a million to the city debt; and citizens have been somewhat startled by learning

that it is in the power of the Council to raise by debentures at once, and without any further vote, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars. By tacking a by-law to an election, advantage is taken of the excitement which draws the citizens from their homes, and the polling paper for the by-law is then thrust into their hands. Perhaps even this device would scarcely have succeeded, if the community had foreseen into what hands the administration of the fund would fall. Party finds its way into everything, and special qualifications, however eminent, can make no stand against it. Colonel Gzowski was beaten by a good Orangeman in the election of Water Commissioners. Professor Loudon is beaten by staunch politicians in the election of Library Trustees. Democratic jealousy of any distinction which seems to exact recognition may be in part the cause. But every office, even unpaid, and however apparently unattractive to any one not specially interested in the matter, is coveted as the passport to public life, and the first step in that ladder of notoriety at the top of which are the great prizes of the politician. This is a feature of the demagogic system which the social observer may note with interest. As a tribute to the aspirations of a generous ambition we drink bad water and read inferior books. But this is far better than war, which was the game of kings; and slowly through cycles of gradual change the planet moves towards something better still.

—Public gratitude is due to the Toronto *World* and other independent journals which fearlessly denounced the Masonic Lottery. Party journals were muzzled by fear of the Masonic vote, though the *Globe* did as much as could be expected. Of all gambling hells about the worst in its general influence on the character of the community is the hall in which a lottery is drawn. Yet it appears that most respectable people have no scruple in raising money by this criminal device, provided it is called by a soft name. A love of obtaining money without labour, combined with the pleasure of fierce excitement, makes the gamester; and it is startling to see how strong and how general the passion is even in a community such as ours. Like inflammable gas it blazed up

on all sides at the kindling touch of the London lottery. Every buyer of a ticket must have known that the chance which he purchased was not worth the money given for it; but the frenzy got the better of common sense. In this matter of lotteries it is to be feared the churches, though they mean to do no wrong, are not entirely blameless: they now see to what dimensions a bantling of error may grow. By the Masons generally the proceeding has been condemned, though they have not seen their way to more effective measures. But people will not be prevented from asking themselves whether there is really any virtue which is best cultivated with closed doors, and whether a Christian and a citizen may not find sufficient scope for all his benevolence in two societies, the Church and the State.

—Lincoln fell a martyr to the Union after encountering the grand Secession of Slavery. Garfield fell a martyr to Civil Service Reform, after encountering the petty secession of corruption in the persons of Messrs. Conkling and Platt. Civil Service Reform, like Union, has triumphed, thanks, in no small measure, to the unwearied efforts of Mr. George W. Curtis, the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who has taught us by this achievement never to despond, however dark the sky may be, and shown us that courage and constancy may do great things with small means. Fortune was at last kind. The Republicans were going out and their interest in the patronage was reduced: the Democrats were coming in upon the cry of Reform. Neither party, and certainly not the Democracy, would have willingly parted with the engines of corruption: their loud professions were never intended to be carried into effect: but in the happy conjuncture which the good genius of the Republic had brought about, both voted with sadness in their hearts. The Act introduces competitive examination for all appointments, and strictly prohibits assessments for political purposes as well as political coercion and solicitation of every kind. It appears to satisfy the friends of reform, though it does not contain what we should have thought essential, a prohibition of dismissal except for written cause. If the Spoils

System has really received a death-blow, it is an event to be celebrated with bonfires by all good citizens of the United States and by all who follow with sympathetic interest the great experiment of popular government. In itself, as we have always believed, the public service differs not from any other service: appointment of subordinates by chiefs, supposing it pure and independent, would probably be the best, and even a little nepotism, where fitness went with connection, might be favourable to corporate spirit, and to the maintenance of administrative tradition. Competitive examination is not an infallible test of business qualifications, much less of integrity; and by making these appointments prizes the minds of too many young men, especially of the aspiring youth of the United States, may be turned that way. But, in the present case, the special exigencies of the situation are decisive. To get rid of the Spoils System is the paramount object: revision, if experience shows it to be needful, may come hereafter.

One clause of the Act has an ominous sound. In providing that of the three Civil Service Commissioners not more than two shall be adherents of the same party, it legally recognizes organized faction. Yet the absurdity and immorality of organized faction never were more apparent than at this moment, when the two parties, all their old issues being exhausted, are actually wandering in search of new issues to form a warrant for their existence. Here lies the root of all the evil, and till it is torn up, no good thing will be safe, not even this measure of Civil Service Reform. There is nothing which demagogism, in the agony of a struggle for office, shrinks from doing; there are few things which, with the power of the State in its hands, it cannot do: let the law be what it will, the administrator is a man; while the public, which ought to be judge, consists, itself, of partisans whose passion would find Abel guilty if he was on the other side, and Cain innocent if he was on their own.

—At last, after a protracted and wavering struggle, the American people have obtained from Congress a reduction of taxation

and one which wisdom welcomes as half a loaf, and the earnest of a whole loaf hereafter. Resistance came from the protected interests, especially from the iron and steel men and the wool-growers, who, by their desperate efforts, nearly succeeded in wrecking the ship at the mouth of the port. This is the danger always attendant on the policy of artificially fostering infant manufactures, which in itself, and where circumstances are in its favour, is no more open to objection on grounds of principle, than any other policy which sacrifices a present interest to a larger interest in the future. A Ring of manufacturers is formed; the Legislature is corrupted or coerced by the Lobby; the nation loses control over its tariff, and continues to be loaded with taxes which have no object, except to keep up the rate of profit on certain goods for the benefit of a small number of producers. The manufacturers, it must be owned, can scarcely be blamed for fighting desperately in defence of their incomes. The workmen are persuaded that their bread too depends on the system, though the fact is that they would find, as a class, far more abundant and more lucrative employment in the natural industries, which protection practically suppresses when it forces capital and labour into artificial trades. Artisans always think of the nominal rate of wages, never of the cost of living, which under a protective system is invariably raised to the whole community. Of Lord Bute, and powers behind the throne, the world has got rid; but no Lord Bute ever was so formidable or so noxious as the power of the Lobby behind the Speaker's chair.

—A series of lives of American Statesmen edited by Mr. John E. Morse, junr., brings before us, as did the work of Van Holst, the change which passed over American statesmanship a generation after the Revolution. Washington, Hamilton, and their compeers were English gentlemen with British ideas and sentiments, who had fought for the Great Charter against arbitrary taxation, but feared and hated the tyranny of a mob fully as much as they feared and hated the tyranny of kings. In framing the Constitution they guarded against the excesses of

anarchy not less than against the excesses of power, and they detested Jacobinism as heartily as did Pitt or Burke. In the Adamses, father and son, we see the same political character, but with a tinge of New England Republicanism, a spirit adverse to hereditary monarchy and aristocracy but by no means adverse to the exercise of lawful authority, or to the leadership of wealth, social station and intelligence. Jefferson, the Slave-owning champion of equality, the universal philanthropist who is believed to have left his own children in bondage, was a scion of the French movement which ended in the Revolution, and had he been a member of the Convention, would have joined in the cant and shared the crimes of the Jacobins; but the towering popularity of Washington overshadowed him, and his hour did not come till he had himself left the scene. "We may appeal to every page of history we have hitherto turned over for proofs irrefragable, that the people when they have been unchecked have been as unjust, tyrannical, brutal, barbarous and cruel as any king or senate possessed of uncontrollable power:" such is the language of Adams in his Defence; and the whole work is instinct not only with disdainful hatred of demagogism, but with mistrust of popular rule. "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," is a sentiment totally alien to its pages. Nor did the people themselves at first aspire to the exercise of power: they were content, like the English, with security from oppression, and left the work of government to a class qualified by social position and education, or, as the English would have said, to their betters. This could not last very long, especially when a bias had been given to the national mind by the struggle of the Revolution. English tradition and sentiment died away; the people became conscious of their power and wished to use it; while ambition and cupidity were awakened amidst those active spirits in the lower walks of life who now furnish the noble army of place-hunters, wirepullers, and ward politicians. Then drawing after him a train in which the violence of the slaveowner was combined with the violence of the multitude, Andrew Jackson, on the wings of his military fame, mounted triumphantly to power, and the reign was inaugurated of the Democratic Party.

The leader of a mob is a tyrant; and now was realized the prophetic portrait of a demagogic despot drawn by Adams forty years before. "The way to secure liberty is to place it in the people's hands, that is, to give them a power at all times to defend it in the legislature and in the courts of justice; but to give the people uncontrolled all the prerogatives and rights of supremacy, meaning the whole executive and judicial power, or even the whole undivided legislation, is not the way to preserve liberty. In such a government it is often as great a crime to oppose or deny a popular demagogue, or any of his principal friends, as in a simple monarchy to oppose a king or in a simple aristocracy the senators; the people will not have a contemptuous look or a disrespectful word; nay, if the style of your homage, flattery, and adoration is not as hyperbolical as the popular enthusiasm dictates, it is construed into disaffection; the popular cry of envy, jealousy, suspicious temper, vanity, arrogance, pride, ambition, impatience of a superior, is set up against a man, and the rage and fury of an ungoverned rabble, stimulated underhand by the demagogic despot, breaks out into every kind of insult, obloquy, and outrage, often ending in murders and massacres, like those of the De Witts, more horrible than any that the councils of despotism can produce." The last words are exaggeration; the rest was fulfilled. The power of Old Hickory was as personal as that of Louis XIV., and hardly demanded less of personal homage. The Great King of the White House was, as Quincy Adams said, "an illiterate barbarian;" behaved in accordance with his character, and vented his rage with as little restraint as an Indian chief. He is described as beslobbering his chin in the transports of his wrath. He was, in short, an incarnation, as well as the idol, of a mob. But he was not the less an autocrat, nor were his satellites the less a court. The episode of Mrs. Eaton, flirting Peggy O'Niel that had been, was as ridiculous, and almost as injurious to the public service, as were the court intrigues of Versailles. From this dark era date the complete organization of Party and that Spoils System, to rid the country of which is now the supreme object of patriot endeavour. In the destruction of the Bank was seen the determination of democratic tyranny, to grind to powder

everything that had an existence independent of its will. Two mighty forces of evil were afterwards added, the identification of Slavery with State Right and the growth of the Irish vote. Not by the genuine Republicans, whose home is in New England, were the worst excesses of democracy committed, but by the Slaveowning Oligarchy of the South, in league with the populace of the Northern Cities. From that source came, among other outrages, the attacks on the independence of the Judiciary. Massachusetts retained her independent Judges. To revert to the Republic before Jackson, if it were desirable, would be impossible. Government by the people, as well as for the people, must now be the accepted principle of American statesmen. To give democracy eyes, to teach it self-discipline and self-control, to secure to national reason the ascendency over popular passion, to develop the conservative forces of the future, is the patriot's task, the fulfilment of which his grandchildren may see.

Hildreth is an honest and candid writer; but too many American histories are hardly more trustworthy than those of the Celestial Empire. The historian is always on the stump, and ministering to national vanity and passion. The school histories among the rest are, or till lately were, without exception, most poisonous food for young minds; and there can be no doubt that they have produced their effect on the character of the nation. Mr. Morse's series is defaced, though not in an inordinate degree, with those peevish and calumnious attacks on the Mother Country which are supposed to be always congenial and welcome to the soul of the American reader. "Whatever inconsistencies England may have been guilty of," writes one of the biographers, "she has never swerved in civility and respect for success, strength and wealth, and this Hamilton well knew." So, no doubt, say the histories of the Celestial Republic: common histories say that the great examples of success and strength in their respective days were Philip II., Louis XIV., and Napoleon; and that England, instead of fawning on them took each of them by the throat. The American Republic, on the other hand, in the last mortal struggle of the European nations for their independence against the tyranny of Napoleon, was found lending her aid to the tyrant,

and this was done, as a writer in this series candidly intimates, in the belief that Napoleon would be victorious, and partly from anxiety to come in on the winning side. It may be added that the feelings of Alexander Hamilton might possibly find a more infallible interpreter than the present writer of his life.

We are quite accustomed to the assertion that nothing in history except some affront offered to the American Republic, "can afford a parallel in hideous criminality to the long and dark list of wrongs which Great Britain has been wont to inflict upon all the weaker or the uncivilized peoples with whom she has been brought, or has gratuitously forced herself into unwelcome contact." If the writer who has relieved his righteous soul by this outburst, will step to the Canadian side of the Line, he will find Indians not worse treated, nor less happy in their relations to the whites, than are those on his own side, and he will see French Canadians, originally a conquered race, living on terms of perfect equality, and in perfect amity with their conquerors, as well as in the full enjoyment of their ancestral religion, which was guaranteed to them by the British Government in spite of the protests uttered against the recognition of Popery by the offended Puritans of New England. Of our behaviour to the Negro none of us have much reason to be proud; but those who at last emancipated voluntarily and paid the cost, may surely hold up their heads beside those who emancipated under the pressure of necessity and as a measure of war. No man of judicial mind and historical culture would think of condemning a nation merely for the possession of an imperial heritage transmitted from an age in which aggrandizement was nowhere deemed immoral. If England is mistress of India, it is not because she was more unscrupulous than France, but because the arms and hearts which seconded the enterprise of Clive and Hastings, were stronger than those which seconded the enterprise of Dupleix and Lally. Mr. Morse's ancestors in New England followed with beating hearts and glistening eyes the conquering career of Chatham. England could not now annex India; not a few Englishmen regard the Indian Empire as a curse, and would gladly retire if it were possible, without giving up the country to anarchy and blood; but it is certain that no

such attempt has ever been made to render conquest, what unhappily it cannot be, the instrument of civilization. No government is purer, or in intention more philanthropic, than that of British India; the growth of population beneath its peaceful rule has been rapid, and is partly the source of its embarrassments; it has established a system of education, and improved the laws; it is now covering the country with railroads; and though there has been a mutiny, and one of which no humane Englishman can ever think without horror, among its troops, it has never provoked a rising of the people. The relations of the conqueror to the conquered never can be happy, but let that of the British conqueror to the Hindoo be compared with that of the Romans, Spaniards, French, or Dutch, not to speak of Turks or Moguls, to any subject race. Some years ago India was visited by Dr. Prime, an American, apparently not wanting in moral sense. He emphatically condemns the crimes of the conquest, but adds, that the purpose of government is now changed; and he testifies strongly, not only to the conscientiousness and intelligence of the administration, but to "the promising aspect of the country in all respects, national, educational, social and religious." Though we may not all share his hopes, what he says as to the disposition and objects of the government is the simple truth, and it would not be easy to find such testimony paid by a foreigner, and one from a not very friendly country, to the administration of any other conquerors. American writers may possibly be justified in assuming, as they habitually do, the enormous inferiority of Englishmen to themselves in morality as well as in dignity and amiability of character; but the English naturally ask for proofs. Insolence, unscrupulousness, inhumanity, are too surely begotten by conquest, yet not by conquest alone. Mr. Morse himself has occasion to refer to the "irregular proceedings" of General Jackson in Florida. "Turned loose in the regions of Florida, checked only by an uncertain and disputed boundary line, running through half explored forests, confronted by a hated foe whose strength he could well afford to despise, General Jackson, in a war properly waged against Indians, ran a wild and lawless, but very vigorous and effective career in Spanish possessions. He hung a couple of British sub-

jects with as scant a trial and meagre shrift, as if he had been a medieval free lance; he marched upon Spanish towns and peremptorily forced the blue-blooded commanders to capitulate in the most humiliating manner; afterwards when the Spanish territory had become American, in his civil capacity as governor, he flung the Spanish commander into jail." All these outrages, committed as the writer avows, against the defenceless, were as dastardly as they were atrocious; and among them were two most foul murders. Yet Mr. Morse plainly intimates that the American people liked them, and his tone indicates that he does not greatly dislike them himself. "The country, right or wrong," was a maxim, not coined we believe in insolent and buccaneering England. It may have been the maxim only of a section of Americans; but let it be remembered also that the Rottenborough Parliament was not the English people.

It surely ill beseems a nation which has risen to unquestioned greatness, to be for ever feeding its soul on a malignant and slanderous hatred of the Mother Country of its race. If England, and her annals are what American stump-orators and stump-historians paint them, the blood of the American people must be deeply tainted, the origin of their institutions and of their religion must be vile, their intellectual life must have flowed, and must still be flowing from a polluted spring, and the English pedigrees which they are so fond of tracing, must be genealogies of dishonour. It is not possible that they can regard an ancient quarrel with George III. and his ministers as an adequate cause for an interminable feud with the British nation. There is something servile in the composition of the feeling: no Englishman, when the conduct of his nation is arraigned, thinks of screening it under American example, but Americans seem often to think that all their faults are covered if they can only point to something as bad in England. Among Americans in general, however, the feeling against the Mother Country has decreased almost to vanishing point, and given place to a friendliness which betokens the complete reconciliation and moral reunion of the race. There is no country in which individual Englishmen are half so kindly received, or in which they find everything so generously thrown

open to them as the United States. The bitterness lingers in the breasts of literary men, soured by rivalry with British authors whose competition presses upon them unfairly, because in the absence of international copyright, the American publisher chooses rather to appropriate than to pay, and thus starves the literary profession in his own country. One of these gentlemen has been graciously describing the women of England as so grossly devoid of delicacy that a trait of it on the part of American women, whose character is its special seat, is enough to provoke their hatred. A man who goes through London society in this frame of mind, and in the belief, which often crops out, that the kindness shown an American is not courtesy, but the tribute of fear to the power of the republic, may easily bring back impressions the truth of which is limited to his personal experience. American periodicals circulating in England, which make themselves the vehicles of this antipathy, pay a compliment to British magnanimity, which we will hope is not ill-deserved.

—Whether the demand for the extradition of Sheridan will be pressed at all, is as yet doubtful. We may be sure that it will not be pressed with unbecoming eagerness. If there is evidence of this man's complicity in murders, the British Government is bound to make the demand; bound by the spirit of the treaty, by its duty to the community of civilized nations, finally by respect for the American Government, which might otherwise have deemed itself tacitly accused of unwillingness or inability to prevent its country from being used as the den of assassins. Certain New York journals, usually more honourably employed, are beginning to provide pretences for non-compliance. A political motive was not held to divest murder of criminality in the case of Wilkes Booth, or Guiteau. Religion is a motive perhaps not less respectable than political malice, and the murders perpetrated by the Thugs were always sacrifices to Bowannee. If the extradition of Sheridan should be refused in the face of facts, the responsibility will rest on his protectors, who will also retain him as their citizen. A common peril, if Americans could only see it, links

America to England in this matter. Not in Great Britain only, but in the United States, and in all communities of English race, civilization and liberty are assailed by savagery and superstition armed with political power. United we shall certainly stand divided we may fall.

—An English squire, being a virtuoso in his way, bought a Druidical temple in one of the Channel Islands, and transferred it to his park in England. This was no platitude compared with the reproduction of the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play in New York. Most interesting and touching when acted in a spirit of genuine religion by the simple believers of the secluded village, where it was a local tradition of the Middle Ages, the play, performed by professional actors in an American city, to stimulate the appetite of a crowd sated with all ordinary sensations, will be simply revolting. It will disgust not only every Christian, but every man who has a particle of taste or a vestige of reverence in his soul. Nothing that Voltaire ever said, or that the blasphemous revellers of Medmenham Abbey ever did, could be more deeply offensive to a religious heart.

—It is needless to rehearse the hideous annals of Irish conspiracy which has now, in the usual course, arrived at the stage of mutual betrayal. They surely were not the worst enemies of Ireland, who at the outset, knowing well what Fenianism was and what it would do, besought the British Parliament at once to lay faction aside, and by an effort of unanimous vigour bring the rebellion to a close. A rebellion it plainly was, and a rebellion fomented by a foreign organization formed of the enemies of the kingdom, so that constitutional punctilio was out of place, and the public safety became the sufficient warrant for every measure consistent with humanity, and calculated to avert a civil war. Had this course been taken, it is highly probable that not a drop of blood need have been shed; the consequences of the weaker policy we see; and know also what must be the effects on national char-

acter and on the relation between classes of a civil war of assassination waged for three years and closing with executions by the score. Retrospective disgrace is thrown by the disclosures on what is called the Treaty of Kilmainham, though in the political statute of limitations, the term is short and nobody suffers for an offence which is a year old. It is not to be supposed that the Prime Minister and his colleagues, when they conceived the idea of pacifying Ireland with the assistance of Messrs. Parnell and Sheridan, suspected those agitators to be connected with assassins; though it might surely have been surmised that plotters who were drawing their funds almost wholly from American Fenianism, could not be entirely strangers to its objects, which were avowedly revolution and civil war. But honour is wisdom in short-hand, and honour forbade the British Government to have dealings with men whom they had themselves placed under arrest as movers in a conspiracy against the peace and integrity of the realm. If the Government could not stand without such aid, it ought to have been content to fall. That those who subsisted by sedition, into whatever agreement they might enter or whatever their professions might be, would sincerely labour for the restoration of peace and order, it was fatuous to believe. The result of this policy had always been the same. A demagogue who is won over or bought over, forfeits his influence and is supplanted by a more vitriolic rival. Scarcely had Mr. Parnell sealed the treaty of Kilmainham, when we heard that he wished to retire from politics, and even that his life was in peril. His restoration was an indirect consequence of the Phœnix Park murders, which tore up the treaty and drove the Government back to the line of action, the final abandonment of which the friends of Mr. Chamberlain had triumphantly announced a few days before.

The Crimes Act being vigorously administered by Lord Spencer, whom the Anti-Coercionists in the Cabinet do not dare to thwart, is doing its mournful work. The institution of a trustworthy tribunal in place of the Irish common juries was opposed by the friends of the rebellion in the English press, on the colourable ground that whatever change might be made in the Court, no evidence would be forthcoming. The answer in the first place

was, that it was the bounden duty of a Government charged with the protection of life, to see that the tribunals were trustworthy, and thus to show at all events that it was on the side of the murdered and not on the side of the murderers. But in the second place it was answered, that when there was a possibility of a conviction, greater efforts to obtain evidence would be made by the police, and the demeanour of witnesses would be altered, as they would cease to feel that they were merely exposing themselves to the vengeance of a prisoner who was sure of an acquittal; while for one class of testimony, which the Government could command, that of informers and men who had turned King's evidence, there would be a hearing before a special tribunal, while before a common jury there was none. These arguments received no attention till a member of the Government was murdered; then deference was paid to them and the experiment has proved that they were perfectly well-founded. It may still be questioned whether it would not have been better to appoint a judicial commission of men of high character, with a presiding judge than to resort to special juries, and changes of the venue, expedients which have an air of packing and evasion. Regard for constitutional forms is praiseworthy, even when it is carried to the verge of superstition, yet the straining of them is not without its evils, and the frank recognition of temporary necessity which calls for extraordinary measures, may do less injury to constitutional sentiment in the end. These are questions of universal interest, for every commonwealth may one day find itself placed by conspiracy, domestic or foreign, in the position in which Great Britain is placed now. A judicial commission of high character, openly doing justice on the scene of the offence, would have had a better effect on the mind of the Irish people, than the shifts to which by clinging to forms, imagined to be principles, the State has compelled itself to resort.

The scene now shifts from the lair in which assassination has been vanquished to the floor of the House of Commons, where the attempts of the Parnellites to wreck the Legislature by obstruction, will, no doubt, be renewed, though with a force greatly diminished, as already appears, by the moral blow received in

Ireland. Not in England alone, but everywhere, the life of Parliamentary government is threatened by this revolt, since it is plain that unless the minority will yield to the majority and all members will act loyally, no legislative assembly can long exist. The Thug-knife of anarchy is at the breast of liberty, and those who are true to liberty must be prepared to stand by her defenders, should it even be found necessary to suspend anarchic representation. Nor apart from their hatred of the United Parliament do the Celtic Irish care what mischief they do. The tendencies of that race, as its warmest advocates avow, are not Parliamentary. Everywhere, if it has not a king or chief, it adopts some leader, priest or layman, and makes him a despot. To England, the Irish Celts owe, at all events, the questionable boon of elective institutions, and if they were cast adrift they would certainly lapse into absolutism of some kind. There would soon be an end of obstruction, as well as of assassination, if the House of Commons generally were sound. But the House of Commons is by no means sound. On the Tory side Lord Randolph Churchill and his train, faithful imitators of Lord Beaconsfield, are trying to form an alliance with the Parnellites for the purpose of overthrowing the Government; on the Liberal side a number of Radicals, especially those who have many Irish in their constituencies, are countenancing the rebellion and thwarting all attempts to repress it, in the hope of ultimately ruling England by the help of the Irish vote. Radical journals actually exult in the result of the Mallow election, as the death-knell of constitutional Liberalism in the South of Ireland, and the pledge of a solid rebel representation. That the Radicals have made up their minds to consent to the dismemberment of the kingdom is not likely; they hope that when they have got power into their own hands by means of the Irish alliance they will be able to cajole and pacify their allies; but as yet their policy of reconciliation, whatever else it may have done, has plainly failed to reconcile, and they are binding themselves to principles which would constrain them to defer to Irish opinion whatever it might demand. It is true, inconsistency in politics is a jewel, and the English Radicals may, after all, when their disunionist confederates press for payment, give it them from

the six-shooter of the social future. But, in the meantime, the sons of England must be prepared to see what weakness and humiliation faction can bring on the first of nations.

Mr. Gladstone is said to have told M. Clemenceau, that the cure for Irish evils was decentralization. Local self-government may be the hope of the future: it is the only school in which political character can be well formed, the only foundation on which free institutions can securely rest. But to decentralize at this moment would be to hand over the police, upon the trustworthiness of which life and property depend, to the undetected accomplices of Mr. Councillor Carey. It would be to give the island up to anarchy and murder. Such a design on the part of the Prime Minister would be madness. Nor is it likely that, as another report says, he proclaimed himself convinced, by what he had seen during a short visit to Cannes, of the advantages of peasant proprietorship and determined to propagate it in Ireland. It is true that he has seen more of the French peasantry in this trip than he has ever seen of Ireland, his acquaintance with which is confined to a short oratorical tour, and respecting which and its people, he is, with all respect for his great name be it said, under a strong illusion. It avails little to talk either of new political arrangements or of new land laws, unless you can give Ireland a different soil and a different climate. Nature has denied her cereals: an evil destiny has sent her the potato; on that, at once the lowest and the most Anti-Malthusian of all kinds of food, her people multiply in wretchedness, sharing their cabins with swine; and their civilization, as is always the case, corresponds to their food and habitations. As they have votes, their misery becomes the capital of political incendiaries, who make no attempt to improve their condition, but, on the contrary, thwart as much as possible all efforts to improve it, their own trade being dependent on the discontent. The elements of disturbance have been greatly increased of late by the growth of American Fenianism, which seeks to kindle in Ireland the fire of civil war. Capital is driven from the country, commerce is paralysed, and such resources as the island possesses are left undeveloped. This is the Irish question viewed practically and apart from those historic wrongs, which,

like the wrongs of Italy or the Low Countries, have now fairly receded into the past. The only remedy is emigration, and emigration on a large scale, such as shall transfer the population of the unfortunate districts to happier abodes, and allow the districts again to become pasture lands, for which they were destined by nature. Without emigration, perhaps, we should add, without Protestantism, the Highlands would be another Ireland; another Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, we should rather say, for it cannot be too often repeated, that Ulster, Teutonic, Protestant, prosperous and contented, stands by itself, a conclusive proof that not in political institutions, which are common to the whole island, but in the character and religion of the Celts, is to be found the main source of these evils. Mr. Chamberlain and other English politicians of his stamp, when they promise Ireland redress of all her grievances, pledge themselves to change her climate, as well as to make the Catholic a Protestant and the Celt a Teuton. Whatever binds the people to the Irish soil will chain them to misery; whatever multiplies their numbers will deepen their degradation. Peasant proprietorship may strengthen the foundations of society by increasing the number of owners of land; but the alleged dictum of Mr. Gladstone as to a happy state of the French peasants is contradicted by the verdict of less cursory inquirers, who represent their life as hard, sordid, unclean, and almost brutish; while, in point of productiveness, small holdings and spade husbandry are so inferior to scientific agriculture on a large scale, that the political and social advantages of peasant ownership must be vast indeed to turn the balance. Productiveness must always be the main test of land systems and land laws; it is the thing in which the whole community has an interest. A new era was to be opened in Ireland by the late agrarian legislation; it opens in famine; and the Irish are coming for alms to those on whom they have just been showering calumnies and curses.

That there must be a large emigration from Ireland, if a radical cure is to be effected, is certain. But to what shore is the emigration to be directed? The Commissioner of the Irish Government has been surveying the United States and Canada, two

countries which, as has been dolefully remarked, seem to be on a par in his eyes. It is for England to consider whether she can afford to multiply the number of her deadly enemies on this continent. The people of the United States have no sympathy with Fenianism, nor would they even think of lending its poniard the aid of their sword; but awkward questions may arise between the governments; and the Democratic party, which now that it has its foot on the steps of power, is greatly swayed by the Irish vote. In their own land, the Irish have been the dupes and victims of conspiracy: why send them to be again the dupes and victims of conspiracy here? Their happiest destination for the present would be a Crown Colony or some shore on which they might enjoy a respite from political strife, better their material condition, improve their industrial character, and thus qualify themselves, in the only way in which any people can be qualified, for the use of the suffrage, by the misuse of which, in their present condition, they are threatening the integrity and stability of every commonwealth into which they come. Even Canada, though her social state is pretty sound, and she is capable of absorbing with impunity a certain amount of dangerous matter, may be allowed to pause and reflect before she welcomes a consignment of ten thousand citizens educated in terrorist conspiracy and agrarian murder. We have had proofs that savagery is not turned to civilization merely by crossing the sea. No doubt, if the ten thousand could be sent in a body straight to the North-West, and there set down on farms, whatever the agricultural result might be, the political and social peril would be diminished; and it is to be hoped that such is the plan. It is in its economical aspect, however, that the question concerns us most. It is assumed in England that a new country must hail with pleasure every addition to the population, and that the pauperism and industrial refuse of every English parish, if they could only be sent to Canada, would be welcome. This belief is natural, but has ceased to be well-founded. Civilization in this hemisphere of progress, has traversed in half a century the space which it took the civilization of Europe several centuries to traverse; and in many respects the new countries are already old.

Pauperism has shown its face, and those who are familiar with the administration of charity in Toronto know that the dark hour is at hand when it will be absolutely necessary to make some public provision for the relief of the poor. Whether immigration is to be welcomed depends now entirely on the character and calling of the immigrants. Of candidates for clerkships and every employment of that kind there is a glut: there is no demand for artisans in any line. For female domestics there is room. Otherwise immigrants are a mere burden to the community, unless they are agricultural labourers and can be at once sent out to farms. The Irish Government purposes to send out, not single emigrants, but families. There are few cottages on our farms, and the result will probably be that the men will go out to work on the farms, boarding with their employers, while the women and children will be left in the city, and in some cases thrown upon its charity for support. It is time that some independent friend of Canadian industry should take up this question in earnest, and try to trace the proper limit for the action of government in the matter of immigration. Agents naturally wish to earn their bread, and politicians are never very stalwart in questions between Canada and the Home Government, while they and their organs in the press are on the present occasion prevented from speaking out by their fear of those who wield the Irish vote. England is placarded with advertisements of the prospects held out to emigrants of all kinds in Canada, which, if they took effect, would bring upon us pauperism as a flood. Let our market be perfectly open to all who come to it of their own accord; but against the artificial importation of competitors at the public cost, Canadian labour has a right to protest. The British artisan, struggling to rise by his industry and thrift, has been dragged down by the perpetual influx of pauper Irish: this is partly the account of his failure to participate fully in the fruits of progress, as any one who observes facts in a British city, instead of spinning theories, will soon learn. Often he has been supplanted and driven from his native land. In Canada, too, the immigration of which we boast, is probably, to no small extent, mere displacement; a poor immigrant comes in the room of a better man who departs for the United

States. American statistics may have exaggerated the exodus; yet it is large; it must be so, or our population, with the immigrants added, would have increased at a greater rate. The emigration agency which Canada wants is one which will keep Canadians at home. When will the people rouse themselves and send to Parliament, among all these nominees of the Machines, a man or two who will represent the public interests alone?

—A crisis evidently approaches in British politics. Marvellous as is the Prime Minister's fund of nervous energy, the announcement that he suffers from sleeplessness seems to show that the sheet-anchor of his constitution is beginning to lose its hold. Nor, though fond of the exercise of power, is he a man, who, like Lord Palmerston, or any mere politician, would cling to it to the end, because without it life would be a blank: they are rightly informed who think that it was his wish, after restoring order in the House of Commons, to retire. In him will depart, not only the virtual king, but the link between the two sections of the Government, the Liberals and the Radicals, whose official professions of unity do not hide from anybody the fact that they differ fundamentally in opinion and are moving opposite ways. Mr. Gladstone, while he retains his social connection with the aristocracy and his ecclesiastical connection with the High Church party, has become politically a Radical, and on the land question something more, while his commanding position, combined with the fear of losing the succession, has prevented most of the moderates from breaking away like the Duke of Argyll and Lord Lansdowne, though they must have followed with reluctant steps. Now, each of the two sections is evidently taking up its ground and bracing its sinews for the decisive hour. Lord Derby and Lord Hartington pronounce against Home Rule in speeches which are naturally taken as repudiations of the encouragement vaguely held out to it by Mr. Gladstone. The Radicals answer with angry murmurs, and the most extreme of them propose to fling all the Whigs, including Lord Hartington, overboard. Mr. Labouchere puts forth a fiery programme of socialistic revolution.

which, however, may be read with a smile, when we remember that its author is an intimate of Marlborough House, and that a great part of his journal is devoted to gossip of the most minute kind about the aristocracy and the Court. It can hardly be doubted that upon Mr. Gladstone's departure, the leadership in the Commons, and with it the real leadership of the party, will pass into the hands of Lord Hartington, a man who having been in his youth a lounger, and having been put where he is, partly through the efforts of intriguers who believed him to be a lounger still, and reckoned on pulling his wires, has risen to the situation and become the real chief of the Liberals. His connection enables him to stand without the brilliant and popular gifts which excite the enthusiasm of the nation in Mr. Gladstone, and have become more necessary than ever to the head of a party since the electorate has been enlarged and made to include masses little influenced by opinions which are not sensibly embodied in a leading man. His weak point is his fatal liability to being transferred at any moment to the House of Lords, though this, by keeping always open the prospects of succession, may help to attach to his government office-holding Radicals such as Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, the latter of whom has been sedulously disencumbering himself of those youthful convictions which might disqualify him for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lord Hartington would receive the support of most of those on his own side of the House, and, unless the Conservatives are mad, of a good many on the other. With Mr. Gladstone the grand cause of Conservative animosity will depart, passion which at present rises to the pitch of frenzy will cool, and a heavy strain will be taken off the situation.

—Conservatives have been debating in the press, with the freedom characteristic of an age of universal publicity, what is to be the policy and who are to be the leaders of their party. A party which has to go in quest, both of a policy and of leaders, is not far, one would think, from having to go in quest of a reason for its own existence. Let Conservatives, if they wish to

have any influence over the future, bid farewell at once to Tory Democracy, to the foreign policy of Rowdyism, and to the path of conspiracy and intrigue in which they have been led for the last forty years by a cosmopolite, using English politics as the field of his adventure. Let them become again, what they were under Sir Robert Peel, a body of honourable English gentlemen, united for the purpose of defending order, property, and organic institutions against revolutionary violence, yet ready to move with the times and carry forward administrative reform. They see into what a plight the strategy of 1867 has brought them and the country after having served the personal object of its contriver. Let them henceforth eschew all dark counsels, all legerdemain all wizard's phrases, and try to win back the respect and confidence of the country, by sterling patriotism, straightforward conduct, and honest language. For leader they want a highminded patriot and a true type of the qualities in which the English gentleman has been supposed to excel. Their present leaders are the bequests of the late regime. Lord Salisbury, a man unquestionably of great ability, was drawn into tortuous courses by the crafty guide, to whom, after denouncing him, he had submitted for the sake of the succession, and he has wrecked a great reputation by want of truthfulness as well as by his factious violence at the time when he ought, as a British nobleman, to have supported the executive, and adjourned the quarrels of his personal ambition till the country had been rescued from its peril. Sir Stafford Northcote was destined by nature to be a subaltern: in the vacuum created at the head of the party by the loss of Peel and the other chiefs, he rose to a rank to which his capacity has never been equal, and he is apt to be turned from the path of rectitude by weakness; nor can he be trusted to lead his followers back to the moral position which it ought to be their first object to regain. About Lord Randolph Churchill, with his second-hand Disraelism, and his shallow smartness, it ought not to be necessary to say more, after his open proposal to overthrow the Government by an alliance with the enemies of the Union. Conservatives may depend upon it, that, thanks to their own conduct for the last forty years, and notably in 1867, they have

arrived at a point at which they can no longer afford to sacrifice the interests of the country and their own to the scheming ambiton of any scamp who is eager to clamber into power.

The party, if it wishes to live, will have to revise its traditions in the light of present necessity, and, above all, to abandon the desperate defence of an exclusively hereditary House of Lords. No institution could have more decisively proved its worthlessness. Not for a moment, during the whole of the Irish crisis, did the Peers rise above the most selfish motives of fear or interest: not for a moment did they make the country feel that special reliance could be placed in their wisdom, patriotism, fortitude, or honour. They were throughout a set of landlords trembling for their rents. Had they, after condemning the Arrears Bill, as they did, resolutely refused to pass it, and taken the ground that, come what might, they would not be parties to the taxation of loyal citizens for the purpose of paying blackmail to rebellion, victory was possible and dignity would have been secure. But the Arrears Bill contained a heavy bribe, which, after a little paltering, patrician honour took. About the first act of the new aristocracy founded by the Tudors on the ruins of the mediæval nobility was to sell the religion of the country to the Pope for quiet possession of the Church lands; and the fear of dispossession continued to sway the political conduct of the Peers in no small measure through the reigns of the Stuarts, and even so late as 1745. It is absurd to suppose that when the natural spurs to generous effort are taken away, when men are brought up amidst all the allurements of sybaritism and invested with honours which they have not won, nobleness of character will be produced. Selfishness, and even sordidness, have been the political attributes of Privilege, which is taught to regard its own preservation as an end sacred enough to hallow almost any means. That on which the influence of the Peers has really rested, their landed wealth, without which titles would be little more imposing than shoulder-knots, is now crumbling from beneath them. They will have to turn a deaf ear to the violent counsels of Lord Salisbury, and make an agreement with the nation while they are in the way with it. There are in the House of Lords elements of strength

and value which, separated from that which is weak and worthless, and transferred from an august limbo of impotence to the seat of real power, may yet be useful in regulating the course of progress. He is a Tory of the past, not a Conservative of the present, who sets his face against the change.

—English Economists of a certain school have been joyfully proclaiming that Radicalism has committed itself to Socialism by the Irish Land Act. The Land Act was not Socialism, any more than the Irish farmer is a Communist: it was arbitration or robbery, perhaps a little of both. But agrarianism profits by the disturbance in Ireland. The world must be in a strange state if people can listen with approval or even with patience to a philosophy of pillage which proposes to confiscate without compensation, by a plundering use of the taxing power, the substance of every landowner, and turn him and his family out to starve, handing over all real property to a gang of politicians, dignified by the name of the State. It is useless to dilate on anything so barefaced. Brigandage will not be much influenced by demonstrations of its immorality. If it attempts to put its theories into practice, it will receive from the strong hands of the farmers satisfaction of another kind. The land is nationalized already; improvements go, as it is alike just and expedient that they should, to those whose labour and capital have made them: but the productive forces of nature still impart their benefits freely to all. This has been proved clearly enough. The point is the more worthy of notice because socialistic agrarianism is beginning to creep into Canadian journalism, in quarters where it would be difficult to believe that such theories were deliberately entertained. If certain Liberals do not take care they will put life into the Conservative party with a vengeance.

—Christians and men of sense may hope that the wretched Bradlaugh case is now near its end. Nothing can more signally prove the truth of what has been said respecting the effect of weak-

ness upon integrity in the character of Sir Stafford Northcote than that he should have been fain to grasp this miserable piece of political capital and to march night after night into the lobby with such champions of Christianity as Lord Randolph Churchill, the Baron de Worms, and the Roman Catholic comrades of Mr. Parnell. Mr. John Morley, the brilliant writer, who has just been elected to Parliament, avowedly holds the same opinions as Mr. Bradlaugh: indeed, it appears that he, as well as Huxley and Tyndall, is threatened with a crazy prosecution for blasphemy; but he is not, like Bradlaugh, the object of social prejudice; and his unresisted entrance into the House will cast a vivid light on the futility of the formal test. In Quebec, it seems, a judge, who is no doubt a person of great practical piety, has been holding forth from the bench against the abolition of the religious test for witnesses in a court of justice. Christianity may well pray to be saved from its political protectors. If people would only read the Gospel instead of defending it, they would see how far from the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth is he who would attempt by any penalties or restrictions, political or social, great or small, legal or moral, either openly or covertly, to do violence to conscience and stifle the voice of honest opinion.

—It is the fate of a Quarterly to lag behind events: on the other hand, it has the advantage of looking at them when the dust is laid. We can now discern pretty plainly the significance and the immediate consequences of the death of Gambetta. What we are witnessing, as has been said before, is the second French Revolution. The first, though the crash was tremendous, remained political; it did not extend to the fundamental beliefs and sentiments of the people: hence its radical failure, for which Carlyle and historians in general have made no attempt to account. But now the fundamental beliefs and sentiments are attacked. The object of the revolutionists is thoroughly to extirpate religion and place society on the foundation of atheistic science; atheistic, we say, for the opponents of religion in France have never been mealy-mouthed and care nothing

for the soft title of Agnostic. Positivists exultingly proclaim that Gambetta is the first national chief who has been buried without any religious ceremonies, and they infer that the dethronement of God by Humanity is at hand. We have before us a contemporary print of the funeral of Mirabeau. The scene is a church, and the ceremonial is religious, though there is enough of paganism to show that the respect for a sacred edifice is no longer great. What Mirabeau was to the first Revolution, Gambetta was to the second. Both were kings of rhetoric and had, with the highest gifts, the faults of the rhetorical character, for though both were powerful neither of them was a wise man. The orator lives with a fancy in a constant state of excitement, sees everything through a medium more or less distorting, is always seeking immediate effect, and is too often the victim of his own art of representation. Mirabeau's declamatory violence in the earlier stages of the French Revolution, when the maintenance of calm and harmony was of the most vital importance, wrought mischief which superficial writers of the history have failed to mark, and though he was the idol of the multitude the amount of confidence placed in him by the best and most sagacious men was small. To Gambetta was due the ruinous prolongation of resistance to the German invader when all hope had fled, and when, the Empire which had made the war having fallen, the Republic might have made peace without dishonour; it seems that even after the fall of Paris he would, had he not been overruled by saner counsellors, have continued the struggle and constrained the conqueror to march upon the South of France. Few surprises in history are more laughable than the fall of his 'Great Ministry,' which, after presenting itself at last as the crowning work of destiny, disappeared as it were through a trap door a moment after its formation. Elaborate theories were invented to account for a catastrophe so unexpected; the apparent fiasco was supposed to be only a move in the game of a deep and far-reaching policy. But there was nothing for which the intoxication of the successful orator would not account. Gambetta fancied, from the loudness of the applause, that his power was absolute, and that the Chamber would at once, in deference to his fiat, assent to a change in the mode of election

which would have unseated half of the members while it would have given France completely into his hands. The result was what a cooler head would have foreseen; the Assembly declined to commit suicide and the dictator fell. Like Mirabeau, Gambetta was thoroughly selfish, as he showed by undermining and discrediting ministry after ministry to clear the ground for his own assumption of supreme power; and oratorical genius in both men alike drew its murky fire from a volcano of sensual passion which led to licentiousness in private life. Those who triumph in Gambetta's atheism and in his irreligious obsequies will, at least, be able to understand why minds of another cast refuse to mourn over his failure to impress his character upon the French nation. Mirabeau, besides being vicious was undoubtedly corrupt. Gambetta's enemies asserted that his pleasures were fed by money obtained by a use of government intelligence in speculation, which the public morality of England inflexibly condemns, though that of France, it is true, is more lenient. It is certain that he had about him as sinister a set of stock-jobbers as any in Europe, and that he furthered their designs by countenancing the Tunisian expedition. But men may be very useful without being pure, and to prove that Gambetta was very useful it is enough to point to the crisis of the famous sixteenth of May. About his power there can be no doubt: it was that of a dictator always in reserve.

It would be a mistake to think that the death of Mirabeau was the fatal crisis of the First Revolution. The fatal crisis was the attempt of the unhappy queen and her camarilla to crush the National Assembly by military force, which compelled the Assembly to accept the protection of the armed populace of Paris and thereby made the Faubourg St. Antoine and its leaders masters of the situation. But the death of Mirabeau left the Revolution riderless, and there was thenceforth no hand to check it in its headlong course towards the abyss. The removal of Gambetta is less momentous in proportion as the present movement is less violent, yet it has been profoundly felt, and its effects have shown with fatal clearness that France is still subject to the double weakness of being governed by rhetoric and of craving for a master. A

crowd of subaltern ambitions at once started forward to grasp the vacant throne, and strove to recommend themselves for the succession by the emulous violence of their proposals. Personal vanity, everywhere a source of political danger, is nowhere so great a source as in France. The executive government was overturned as usual, and that which has taken its place will rest upon the same quicksand, though M. Jules Ferry, if he will act with firmness, and appeal from the demagogues of the Assembly to the better sense of the country, has more chance than any one else of rallying around him the Conservative Republicanism of France. On the other hand, the exhibition of Anti-republican sentiment was not alarming. The manifesto of the Bonapartist Pretender would have expired in ignominious silence, or in laughter, if a mock explosion had not been kindly provided by M. Floquet. The ex-Empress, after swooping upon Paris, had at once to retire under cover of an excuse, the falsehood of which was rendered more transparent by her known hatred of the imprisoned Prince whom she averred that it was her sole object to console. In the army there seems to have been a thrill just sufficient to remind us of the formidable fact, that he who can control the suffrage of the camp is still, in the last resort, master of the destinies of France. The measures ultimately adopted against the Pretenders have not been extreme. No commonwealth will fold its hands while petards are being fixed to its gates. It would be a grave mistake, however, to suppress Plon-Plon, whose unpopularity, and the impracticability of the Count de Chambord, are the twin pillars of the Republic.

Once more has been seen the folly of the Constitutionalism which, running blindly in the rut of British tradition, confounds the functions of the legislature with those of the executive, and makes the existence of that which is the only guarantee for order and for the security of life and property depend from hour to hour on the shifting moods of an assembly divided into a score of factions, and as capricious as the gale. It is the instability of the executive government which prevents the Republic from being trusted by the people and causes its life still to hang by a slender thread. If the Executive Council were elected by the

Legislature for a stated period, and confined to its proper objects, the instability would cease and the nation would feel that, at all events, it had a government. If, in addition to this change, a Legislative Chamber of moderate size, elected by local councils, could be substituted for the mob of demagogues, France would be, politically, in a quiet haven; and the revolution of opinion, if there is to be one, might go on without keeping the nation in daily fear lest anarchy should break out and the whole fabric of civilization be overthrown.

Of one thing there can be no doubt; Gambetta's death improved the prospect of peace in Europe. Born of a war which had ended in defeat, he carried war and revenge in his heart. Had he become master of France, a renewal of the contest with Germany would have been at hand. It is now thrown again into the distance. When all the world was talking of the marvellous resources which had enabled France to pay the war indemnity, it was forgotten that she had not actually paid, but had borrowed the amount, and that what she had really displayed was the extent of her credit. Her finances are now less prosperous, and it seems likely that she will be compelled to retrench. Parisian orators or journalists and Madame Louise Michel may be burning for vengeance, but a Gascon peasant is not so anxious to leave his commune and face the shot for the sake of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. The question of peace or war in Europe is not one to which on this continent we can be indifferent; apart from our general interest in humanity, war would affect commerce in various ways; to its advantage, perhaps, at first, but certainly to its disadvantage in the long run: and the balance now decidedly inclines to the side of peace. The nations are still in arms, and it is mournful to think to how great an extent, after all our constitutional effort, each master of thirty legions has his finger upon the trigger a touch of which would be followed by a world-wide explosion. Still opinion is not without force, and fear of consequences is stronger than it was in the days of Philip II. or Louis XIV., while the freedom of the press is adverse to dark councils and sudden blows. Morality does not advance rapidly, but it advances; and war can hardly be made now as Attila made it,

from naked lust of conquest, without any other cause. The disaffection of the Sclavs under Austrian dominion, and their desire to call in Russia as a liberator, is the most dangerous feature in the situation; but that quarrel does not seem to be rapidly drawing to a head. Russia herself will no doubt continue to press, as nature constrains her, and would constrain any great and growing nation, towards an open sea. If she is repelled from the Dardanelles she will make for the Gulf of Scandaroon. But on this subject the English people are growing calmer, and their return to reason will be assisted by their troubles and difficulties elsewhere. The aspect of the diplomatic horizon at present bids commerce speculate on peace. With Europe, the French republic escapes a peril: for war, successful or unsuccessful, could hardly fail to bring with it the ascendency of the military element, and the ascendency of the military element is the restoration of the Empire.

—In almost all the countries of Europe, except England, the conflict with Socialism is going on. England owes her immunity partly to the sobermindedness of her people; partly to the familiarity with political effort which leads them to seek redress of their grievances in the way of electoral agitation rather than of social conspiracy; partly to the promptitude with which a number of the members of the ruling class, when industrial war seemed to be impending, crossed over to the camp of the artisan, identified themselves with his cause so far as it was righteous, and induced him to consent to arbitration. It is in countries where political life is weak that Socialism assumes its angriest aspect. In no country is political life weaker than in Spain, where, extinguished by Charles V. and his successor, it has as yet revived only in a slight degree, so that governments are formed and changed by intrigues of the palace or the camp, the people generally remaining passive and using their nominal franchise as the power of the day commands. It is not surprising to find that Spanish Socialism, the child of darkness, is pre-eminently Satanic. In France, free institutions have as yet hardly had a sufficiently

long and uninterrupted existence to turn the workingman into a true citizen, and teach him to act through the community, not by revolting against it. Of Germany the same thing may be said, and the people there are oppressed at once by the military system and by the Jews. Socialism seems to gain ground; at least we hear more of it than we did; for in this telegraphic age, it is necessary always to be on our guard against mistaking increased notoriety for actual growth. But, those who watch carefully will see that, at the same time, forces opposed to social revolution are gradually being generated by dire experience, by disappointment, by lassitude, by dread of the abyss which the blue light of Nihilism reveals, and that if a battle takes place the victory is likely to rest with the armies of order, property, and civilization.

—Positivists, we have said, exult in the atheistic funeral of Gambetta as a sign that the triumph of the religion without a God is at hand. "Three persons and no God," was Carlyle's epigram on the Church of Comte. The first part of it is no longer true, for the Church of Comte now numbers thrice three hundred persons, including men of high mark; and its remarkable growth is a fact to be studied by any one who wishes to understand this wonder-teeming age. Comte's brain gave birth to two things, a philosophy and a religion. As he himself expressed it, in the first part of his career, he was only a second Aristotle, but his love of Clotilde de Vaux made him also a St. Paul. This self-apotheosis, and the exaggerated estimate which he continually betrays of his own position, talking of the whole line of great thinkers as precursors who had prepared the world for his appearance, naturally suggest that the insanity which clouded a certain period of his life was like most of the insanity which does not arise from physical injury or malformation, the consequence of egotism indulged without control, and untempered by a practical belief in a higher power. The main hypothesis of Comte's philosophy, his grand discovery, as he deemed it, is well known. It supposes the course of human society to have been governed by man's different modes

of regarding the phenomena of the universe in the successive periods of his existence. In his first, or Theological period, he regards phenomena as caused by the arbitrary action of Gods, or, ultimately by that of a single God, Fetichism, Polytheism and Monotheism being the ascending stages of theological belief. In the second period he regards the phenomena as caused by the action of metaphysical entities such as Nature. In the third and final period he renounces altogether the inquiry into causes and confines himself to the study of phenomena, with the purpose of modifying them in his own interest so far as they are susceptible of modification. All the Sciences have been evolved by a corresponding process, the simpler such as mathematics, emerging first, the more complex following, and Sociology coming last of all. The final period is that of Positivism, and Positivism means nothing more than Science, which again, it is well to remember, is merely the Latin for knowledge, though some sort of intellectual divinity having a paramount demand on our allegiance is commonly supposed to lurk in the term. An obvious objection to the Comtean hypothesis is that the terms of the supposed series are not mutually exclusive or necessarily successive, a scientific view and study of the phenomena of the universe being perfectly compatible with the belief that the whole was created and is sustained by God. Another objection is the impossibility of historically identifying the metaphysical era, even if Nature were ever conceived of as a distinct entity, and were not merely a phrase either for the aggregate of material forces or for God. With the philosophy of Comte a section of his followers rested content, refusing to embrace the religion. These are the Scientific Positivists; their chief exponent is Littré, and with them, it may be presumed, that Miss Martineau, the authoress of an abridged translation of Comte's insufferably prolix volumes, would have cast in her lot, as she had distinctly emerged from her theological stage of existence, though a trace of the grub lingered on the wings of the butterfly in the shape of mesmeric superstition and reverence for one of its hierophants who had bewitched her soul. The religion of Comte, like the community which professes it, has been the subject of an epigram: it has been called Roman Catholicism without

Christianity. For God it substitutes as the object of worship the Great Being Humanity, whose servants, Comte says, are to take the place of the Slaves of God, while the Heavens will henceforth declare the glories not of God, but of Kepler and Newton ; a sentiment which by the way both Kepler and Newton would have rejected with abhorrence. Humanity is to be symbolized by the figure of a woman with a child in her arms. There is to be a priesthood with a high priest at its head. There are to be regular services with a liturgy and sermons. There are to be sacraments connected with all the chief epochs of life. There is to be a calendar, the saints of which are to be the benefactors of mankind. Whence all this is taken, is not doubtful. No Utopian, however visionary, ever really soars beyond experience. The Republic of Plato is only an idealized Sparta, and the Church of Comte is an imitation of the Church of Rome. It has proved an imitation not less faithful than that of the British ship by the Chinese shipbuilders who reproduced the model given them, dry-rot and all: for already it has a schism and an Anti-Pope, a rupture having taken place between M. Lafitte, the High Priest of Humanity, and Dr. Congreve, the English Head of the Comtist Church. M. Lafitte is accused by the Anti-Pope of straying from the Founder's path, making too much of mere science, and appealing too little to the hearts of the proletariat and the women. He has now given himself over to a worse heresy by turning Chauvinist, or to use the English phrase Jingo ; while Comte, though he was thoroughly French as well as Catholic in grain, and claimed for France the primacy of his regenerated world, was nobly strict in his international morality and opposed to aggrandizement and war. What is Humanity ? the Christian must ask when he is invited to accept it and its embodiments as substitutes for God manifested in Christ. Is it really a Great Being, or a being at all ? Is it anything more than an abstraction, such as might be formed by speaking of equine nature as equinity and canine nature as caninity, if we may be allowed to coin those terms ? If it is an abstraction, will not the worship of it be more absurd than even that of a stone idol, which at all events has a real existence ? If, on the other hand, it means the aggregate of human beings, and is

another name for mankind, it must comprehend the wicked and can hardly be a fit object of worship. A religion without a God as it is the last, is about the strangest, birth of time. Yet nothing can be more distinct or earnest than the claim put forward by the Comtist community to a religious character. The language of its preachers—and it has preachers of the highest eloquence—is not only spiritual but full of pious unction. Against Materialism, such as represented by Mr. Huxley and the extreme physicists, Mr. Harrison wages a vigorous war. The inference which those who are still in the theological stage of existence take leave to draw is that the religious sentiment is ineradicable, and that the disturbance of the Evidences is not the extinction of faith. In truth, the Positivist Church though it prefers to call the Christian Ideal Humanity can hardly be said to be outside Christendom the real bounds of which, as the world is beginning gradually to perceive, are wider than its dogmatic or ecclesiastical circumscription. Between Gambetta and Mr. Harrison, after all, the difference is wide.

—Mr. Romanes, of the Linnean Society, has published an epitome of the evidence of Evolution, which, he tells us, Darwin desired to see sown broadcast over the land. It gives succinctly the four sets of arguments; from classification, or the affinities of animals and plants; from their geological succession; from their geographical distribution; and from embryology. Evolutionists are a little apt, like Mahometans, to offer you the choice between conversion and the sword; those who do not accept their proofs being set down as bigoted fools. For our part, having no motive for rejecting any truth, we accepted the proofs from the first, subject to the rectifications of a vast and novel hypothesis which were sure to come and in fact have come; for heredity, which has been introduced as a supplement, is a cause entirely distinct from Natural Selection: subject also to the misgiving which we cannot but feel on account of the immeasurable tract of time required for the production of such things as the more complex instincts of animals, or the moral and intellectual nature of man, by the mere

improvement of accidental variations. To suppose that the Creator would deceive us by filling his work with elaborately false indications would be, as Mr. Romanes truly says, of all things the most fatal to religion. The only unwelcome part of the discovery was the cruelty of the Struggle for Existence, which seemed to show that we were not in the hands of Beneficence; but this fact, though presented in a more salient form, was not new, and, provided the indications of our moral nature can be trusted, a good deal of mystery may be endured with regard to the physical dispensation. That our knowledge of the universe, however scientific, bears hardly an appreciable proportion to the reality, seems certain, both from the nature of our physical perceptions, the completeness or finality of which, depending as they do on our limited organs, we have no ground whatever for assuming; and because Science, with her best telescopes and microscopes, will after all present the Universe as finite, whereas we know that it must be infinite. Our comprehension is probably not much nearer the truth than is that of a mole. Mr. Romanes discards the theory of intelligent design as supernatural and an offence against that law of logic which forbids us, in the name of parsimony, to assume the operation of higher causes when lower causes are sufficient to produce the effects. "Nature," he says, "*selects* the best individuals out of each generation to live." Does not selection imply design? And what is "Nature?" A female Creator or a self-originated combination of force and matter? If the first, Mr. Romanes will feel himself landed in what he calls "superstition" and his law of parsimony broken just as completely as if, instead of Nature, he said God; if the second, he will find himself landed in the inconceivable, or, to use the plainest word, in nonsense. Besides, does he think he can get rid of human design, and of design as a reality altogether? If he cannot, the monster will again present itself in his path. He will do well not only to profess to follow, but actually to follow, rather more closely than he does, the example of Darwin himself, who confined Science strictly to its own plane.

—M. Paul Janet, of the French Institute, in a volume of profound reasoning, vindicates the decried doctrine of Final Causes, not as a tenet of metaphysics, but as an induction at which we arrive by observation of nature, and which science may, without prejudice, accept. Where we find in the present adjustment of things an evident preparation for something that is to be in the future, we are warranted, argues M. Janet, in affirming the existence of a final cause. In the adaptation of the embryo, or of the chick in the egg, to the circumstances of the world outside, which is to be its sphere, we have a signal instance of such finality, and other instances countless in number, as well as infinite in complexity, may be adduced. When man uses means manifestly conducive to an end, we infer intention and design; not that we can actually see intention and design in the minds of other men; but we infer their presence by extending to others that of which we are conscious in ourselves. Why not extend the same inference to Nature? Man is a part of nature; therefore, we know, if we know anything, that there are in nature intention and design. The problem with which M. Janet does not seem to us to deal so satisfactorily is that arising from the appearances of waste, failure, abortion, monstrosity in nature, which seem to conflict with the assumption of final cause and directing intelligence. To say that these things may be necessary to the general balance of the Universe is merely to wrap the difficulty in words; and those who satisfy themselves by repeating that nature is prodigal, not because she is foolish, but because she is rich, forget that the prodigality of nature involves a great deal of cruelty as well as of waste. We cannot help remarking by the way, that in design, after all, there appears to inhere the notion of human effort and of human infirmity. Life, in its highest sense, seems a less inadequate and inappropriate term for the activity of Deity. No name is so free from the taint of anthropomorphism, or of anything incongruous and degrading, as the Living God.

In the course of the argument we find striking confirmations of our view that a great difficulty is presented to the theory of Natural Selection through the improvement of accidental varia-

tions by the immense preponderance of unfavourable chances, and the immeasurable tract of time, which evolution by that method would apparently require. A peculiarity of colour in a species of butterflies which is protective, because it makes them like certain other butterflies which birds avoid for their tainted smell, is ascribed by Mr. Wallace to natural selection. He is met by mathematical reasoning which seems to reduce his chances, if not to an absolute negative, to something so near an absolute negative as practically to annihilate his hypothesis, at least if fifty millions of years are to be taken as the maximum duration of animal life on the globe. Still there is a truth, no doubt, in the theory of Natural Selection, only that is a truth yet crude which does not warrant us in being dogmatic. We grant to Mr. Romanes that the idea of really misleading appearances in nature is incompatible with the truthfulness of God; but the appearances on which Evolution relies are compatible with any hypothesis of a continuous and connected process of development, say by intelligent effort, as well as with the special hypothesis of natural selection by improvement of accidental variations in the course of a struggle for existence. The universe cannot be the product of chance; for chance implies a number of possibilities, and there can be no possibility outside the universe. Let us remember, once more, that man with his morality, his intelligence, his constructiveness, is as much a part of the universe as anything else.

—In Renan's "Recollections of his Youth" there is a passage not merely of biographical interest. After giving up his religion, he says, he felt like a man who had lost his way. "The universe assumed the aspect of a cold and arid desert. From the moment when Christianity was no longer true, everything else appeared to me indifferent, frivolous, scarcely worthy of attention. The collapse of that which had sustained my life left a feeling of emptiness like that which follows an attack of fever or a disappointment in love. The struggle in which I had been absorbed was so ardent that now I found everything narrow and mean. The world looked mediocre and poor in virtue. I seemed to be-

hold a fall, a decay; I felt lost in an ant-hill of pigmies." Further on he, in effect, admits a perturbation of his moral principles, and avows that though he remained pure in his relations with women he felt that there was no good reason for his continence, and that it was merely a survival of his clerical obligations. Each man is an epitome of his kind. The shock which Renan's moral nature underwent, the moral giddiness with which he was seized when the belief of his youth failed, are indications of the effects which the general failure of belief is likely to produce on the world at large. They portend the crisis through which civilization is about to pass. Renan, strictly brought up, intellectual, and devoted to pure and elevating pursuits, continued to live much as he had lived before, and betrayed the disturbance of his principles only by the tone of certain passages in his works; but we can by no means infer that in the cases of common men, full of the ordinary passions, and exposed to the ordinary temptations, the paroxysm will be confined to opinion and will not extend to life. What has happened before when great systems of religious belief have given way, will in all probability happen again. In former days the progress of destructive forces was comparatively slow, because it was arrested everywhere, not only by popular ignorance and the feebleness of the Press, but by the barriers of national isolation. In these days, its march is like that of the fire across the prairie. It seems absurd, then, to deride those who say that an hour of danger may be at hand, and that if Science, or that which arrogates to itself the exclusive title, can provide a new basis of morality, it had better do so without delay. Every candid man must surely see the difference between this and impugning the moral character of scientific men or asserting the impossibility of morality without religion.

—A portrayer of the character of Bishop Wilberforce whose knowledge was limited to the first two volumes of the biography, would have been very imperfectly furnished with materials for a true picture of the man. The image presented by those volumes was that of a saintly, meek and martyr-like prelate,

wholly absorbed in spiritual questions, the persecuted but patient and devoted champion of the Church, amidst a perverse, gainsaying, and erring generation. The only thing which seemed to break this picture was a restless locomotiveness. The Apostles, no doubt, travelled much in the course of their missionary enterprises, but they would hardly have rushed about by train, as Bishop Wilberforce did, to dinner parties and country houses. The third volume, with the extracts from the Diary which have set the literary and social world by the ears, opens a window in the prelate's breast, and by its contrast with what preceded, warns us once more of the delusiveness of biography. The character of Bishop Wilberforce was eminently mixed and equivocal, but its chief infirmities were due less perhaps to natural temperament than to a desperate position. He was all his life shifting about in the attempt to find a solid basis for a High Anglican Church, with an authoritative Episcopate, independent of the Church of Rome. No such basis could possibly be found. The Bishop saw the leaders of the High Anglican movement, including his own brothers and personal friends, with Dr. Newman, the inspiring genius of the whole at their head, go, one after another, to the place to which their principles belonged, and to which, had he not been a bishop, he would, in all probability, himself have gone. His anguish, his wrath, were great; against his brother-in-law, Cardinal Manning, his exasperation was extreme, and has left the posthumous record which filial piety has given to an edified world. But arguments against their decision he had none, nor could he have stated his own position in such a way that its untenable character would not have at once appeared. It was as certain as any fact of history could be, that the doctrines and the system which, in order to give him the requisite footing, it was necessary to assume to have been always those of the Church of England, had not been hers during the first century after her separation from Rome. Proof abounded that the generation of Whitgift and Jewell held Episcopacy to be not a divine ordinance, but a matter of ecclesiastical government which might lawfully be altered by the State: that the English Reformers were in full communion with the non-epis-

copal Protestants of the Continent, and recognised non-episcopal ordination; that sacramentalism and sacerdotalism, things inseparably connected with each other, were in complete abeyance, and that Calvinism was the doctrine of the Church. Not till the reign of James I. did High Anglicanism appear, and then it appeared like Ritualism in the present day, simply as a party of innovation, which speedily met its doom. Its real nature was betrayed, on that occasion as it is now, by the number of the converts whom it sent over to Rome. That the Thirty-Nine Articles, the authoritative exposition of the Creed of the Established Church, are thoroughly Protestant is a fact which cannot possibly be denied, and which is emphasized by the repugnance with which they are regarded by the High Churchmen, and by the desperate attempts of that party to prove that the Liturgy, not the Articles, is the standard of belief. The Liturgy, no doubt, presents traces of its Roman Catholic origin; but verbal points which might help the technical case of a conveyancer, are of no avail in establishing a spiritual tradition. The question must be, what the Church of England really was during the first century of her independent existence, and the answer to that question cannot be doubtful. Even in the reign of the first Stuart, the head of the Church, Abbot, was a pronounced Calvinist, and the Church of England sent delegates to the Calvinist Synod of Dort. Not until the reign of the second Stuart, as we learn from Clarendon, was the communion table removed out of the body of the church to the chancel, or the congregation compelled to come up to the rails to receive the sacrament. This fact in itself would be total ruin to the argument from unbroken and immemorial tradition. If it is to Antiquity that the High Anglican appeals, we must ask what is included in that imposing name. How many centuries does it comprehend? Are all the writings of these centuries on a par as authorities, irrespective of their intrinsic merits? Where their testimony is ambiguous or conflicting, who is to interpret or decide? Above all, where can a line be drawn so as to include everything which is distinctively Anglican, and exclude everything which is distinctively Roman. It is this last difficulty hat Cardinal Newman presses upon his Anglican antagonists, and t

with fatal effect. If laying aside appeals to tradition, and authority of every kind, we go into the court of history and reason, the verdict here again is certain. No independent and competent scholar, it may safely be said, would now maintain that Episcopacy, sacerdotalism and sacramentalism were primitive, or that their origin could be traced further back than the end of the second century. The process of their growth is a matter of almost certain inference, while their non-existence in the Apostolic age and the age immediately following that of the Apostles can be proved to absolute demonstration. But supposing this triple mountain of objections to be removed by the faith which deems itself above fact and argument; supposing the Apostolical succession of the Episcopate and its divinely ordained guardianship of the truth to be proved or taken for granted, what follows? Beyond question it follows that the Anglicans ought to submit to Rome. For, if the Bishops are appointed by God the keepers of the faith, is it possible to believe that the vast majority of them, heirs, too, of an unbroken tradition, are in error, and that the truth resides exclusively in a small group, circumscribed by the political limits of a single kingdom and its colonies, in whose tradition there is a yawning breach, and who are at variance on fundamental points of doctrine with each other? From such a hypothesis, not only reason but sanity recoils. In fact, the High Anglicans try to lay a flattering unction to their souls, and to keep Cardinal Newman from the door, by cherishing the fancy that they are in communion with the Church of Rome; though they must be aware, and some of them perhaps know by experiment, that the first Roman Catholic priest in whose mass they seek to participate will tell them that, upon renouncing their heresies and doing penance, they may be received into the fold of the true Church. Either the immense majority of the Bishops are heretics, in which case Episcopacy can be no security for truth, or the Anglican Church is a schism: from this dilemma there is no escape. The strength of Ritualism, which, though an offspring, is by no means a continuation of Tractarianism, lies in this, that it does not reason, but like Spiritualism, simply appeals to certain tastes and tendencies, such as the love of ceremonial,

and the feminine craving for a spiritual director. Mr. Green proclaims an ecclesiastical anarchy: he declares that he will submit to nothing and be guided by nothing but his private judgment, or, rather, as judgment is out of the question, by his private taste and the private tastes of his congregation. If the Church will create a code of laws and an ecclesiastical system in accordance with his prepossessions, he will accept them and use them for the repression of all opinions different from his own; at present he claims to be a law to himself. But Bishop Wilberforce, as an ecclesiastical statesman, was compelled to provide himself with a platform; and it was in his efforts to do this that he floundered about like a man breaking through thin ice, and brought himself into disrepute as a shifty intriguer, when sheer perplexity was often the cause of his variations. Making theological platforms, it must be owned, is a business which, even more than that of making political platforms, affords openings for the scoffer. At one time the Bishop strove to combine the Evangelicals with the Anglicans in resistance to Rome and Dissent by superposing upon Anglican Sacramentalism the Evangelical doctrine of Conversion; and his soul, supposing it to have accepted his combination, would, if disembodied, have appeared like a man with two coats put on opposite ways. Safety and danger, not truth and falsehood, were his words: he altered his course according to the quarter from which the storm happened to blow; and just at the last, alarmed by the approach of the Ritualists to Rome, he, in a charge delivered at Winchester, put about with a suddenness which strained every timber of the ship.

In another respect, allowance must be made for the Bishop on account of his position. The excessive courtliness which earned him the nickname of Soapy Sam* sprang; partly at least, not

A strange controversy has been going on about the origin of the nickname "Soapy Sam." It was given to the Bishop on account of his suspicious seductiveness of manner, alliteration perhaps lending its aid. On some festal occasion at Cuddesden Theological College, of which the Principal was the Rev. Alfred Pott, now Archdeacon of Berks, the hall had been decorated with the floral initials S. O. (Samuel Oxon) and A. P. (Alfred Pott). The decorator meant no mischief, but when the procession entered all eyes were caught by SOAP. The Bishop, with his ready wit, said "An enemy hath done this." The incident could not have occurred had not the nickname been previously in existence.

from personal propensity, but from the exigencies of his public policy. Cut off from the centre of ecclesiastical power and from the support of the European priesthood, Anglicanism has always been compelled to ally itself closely with the State, and to court the favour of the Crown, or the holders, whoever they might be of political power. This was the strategy of Laud, who fancied that he had placed the Church in complete safety when he had secured for her the protection of the king, and got bishops made ministers of State, though his more sagacious friends saw that he had provoked jealousies which would be his ruin. Bishop Wilberforce, as the head of a new Anglican reaction, taking up Laud's enterprise, after the lapse of centuries, followed in Laud's footsteps, and put forth all his powers of fascination to gain the patronage of the Court, of the political leaders, and of those through whom political leaders might be influenced, such as Lord Arthur Gordon, the son of Lord Aberdeen, who is the object of his most demonstrative affection. He took kindly, no doubt, to a task for which he was admirably endowed by nature, as well as to the social part which it seemed to justify him in playing, and the dabbling in politics for which it formed a good excuse: yet it may fairly be supposed that originally, at least, he had the public end in view. By a well known law of mind, however, that which originally is the means, is apt through association, to become itself an end, and the assiduity with which the Bishop cultivated his influence over all sorts of people and in all quarters at last reminded the beholder of a magpie collecting spoons. It used to be said that he would like to be on the Committee of every club in London, and on the Directorate of every railway in the country! His special anxiety to please at Court was manifest: it brought him into terrible disgrace with his own party in the Hampden affair, when he suddenly changed his course, and threw his confederates overboard on the strangest of pretexts, manifestly because he found that the Court had been offended by his opposition to its nominee. His almost equally sudden change on the Irish Church question, followed by his promotion to the See of Winchester, gave occasion for charging him with personal ambition: nor was he devoid of personal ambition; but we can easily believe

that in his mind his own aggrandizement was completely identified with that of his Church.

As a diocesan, Bishop Wilberforce was excellent, saving when the sympathies and antipathies of the party leader interfered with his sense of justice. His power of work was marvellous; abounding in life himself, he infused life into everybody and everything. He was also eloquent and effective as a preacher, though at last the substance of his sermons suffered from the lack of reading and thought, which were precluded by the restlessness of his practical activity, and for which his faculty of picking the brains of other people was but an imperfect substitute. Had he lived in ordinary times, and not been called upon to play a part at once conspicuous and hopeless, he might have won all suffrages, and preserved intact the veracity and simplicity of character which by walking in slippery paths he undoubtedly impaired. Great he never could have been: there was nothing about him which bespoke either depth of intellect or grandeur of soul; nor, had he possessed the insight of greatness, would he have spent his life in the attempt to realize a chimera. But he had gifts which threw a wonderful glamour round him. To do full justice to his memory, it may be added that his critics were mistaken in speaking with unqualified contempt of his horsemanship. He had a loose seat, which cost him his life; but he had a good hand. Perhaps his position as an ecclesiastical leader might be described in the same terms.

It has been the fate of this brilliant social leader to draw upon himself the wrath of society by a posthumous offence. That his diary ought not to have been published, and that a wrong has been done him by its publication, all agree. But why was it written? A man may let fall a hasty word in conversation, and if he is among gentlemen he will be protected by the sanctity of the social board. He may use an angry expression in a letter, which if his correspondent is a man of honour and a true friend, will be consigned to the safe keeping of the fire. But entry in a diary implies deliberation, and when the diary is left to fall into the hands of biographers, publication is morally certain. The day has gone by when the love of gratifying public curiosity and pro-

ducing a sensation could yield to any sense of delicacy towards the living or of regard for the memory of the dead. This every man of the world must know, and Bishop Wilberforce was a man of the world. Yet we need not charge him with having wished his diary to see the light. He was too much both of a Christian and a gentleman to make a posthumous attack on the character of a man who had once been united to him by such ties as Cardinal Manning, deep as was the injury which the Cardinal's conversion and his subsequent propagandism had done to Bishop Wilberforce's cause. A new terror has been added by this and similar publications to the lives of the great, not one of whom will be able to abandon himself to the enjoyment of the social hour, because there will be the haunting fear that one of the company may be a masked diarist. The keeper of a diary is likely to be an egotist, and therefore incapable of doing justice to others when he has conceived a prejudice or taken offence. Obscurity, however, may rejoice in its privilege: for the mass of us the diarist has no terrors: when we have once passed the Styx, biography will never drag us back again, nor will criticism disturb our serene and dignified repose.

—Another monument of that curious back current of opinion, the High Anglican movement, is the volume of Reminiscences published by Mr. Mozley, editor of the *British Critic*, the organ of the party, and a brother of Canon Mozley, the Professor of Theology, whose University Sermons are also a monument of the movement, as well as of the moral insight and philosophic subtlety of the preacher's mind. Mr. Mozley is piquant, trenchant, and interesting, but he leaves unchanged our general conception of Newmanism as a clerical reaction against the Liberalism which carried the Reform Bill, and by threatening to withdraw from the clergy the support of the State led them to seek another basis for their ascendency, and to find it in Apostolical Succession; while the Oxford Colleges, celibate and medieval as well as ecclesiastical in their character, furnished a natural centre, and produced leaders well qualified to direct the hearts of the party

to the religion of the Middle Ages and at last to Rome. Kaleidoscopic variations of the High Anglican type are presented by the portraits of Mr. Mozley's series, and we perceive how the tendency Rome-wards is balanced by a benefice and by marriage, without which the secessions from the ranks of the Anglican clergy to Rome would be ten times, or perhaps a hundred times, more numerous than they are. Among these figures, perhaps the most sharply defined is that of Mr. Hurrell Froude, the elder brother of the historian, who in his "Life of Becket" and still more in a singular diary published after his death, and against his wishes, by his executors, gave the boldest expression to priestly and ascetic aspirations. The historian himself originally belonged to the party, and wrote under Dr. Newman's auspices one of the Lives of the English Saints, in the preface to which is propounded the ominous doctrine that historical statements may be salutary irrespective of their truth. In sentimental unveracity and injustice the elder brother's "Life of Becket" almost equals the younger's history of Henry VIII. It is necessary that the reader should be on his guard against the party sympathies and antipathies of which Mr. Mozley's mind is not divested, though his convictions appear to be loosened, if he retains them at all. He lavishes praise on a member of the circle whose conduct has been dishonest, while he assails with the bitterest jibes the memory of Mr. Boone, whom Oxford tradition described simply as a man of brilliant talents and wasted opportunities, and whose ashes, if he was a failure, might have been allowed to rest in peace. An instructive chapter might have been written upon the wreckage of the movement, giving the lives of those, like Arthur Hugh Clough, whom it simply swept away from their old moorings and carried into the eddies of doubt, or drove upon the shore of unbelief: but to this part of the picture Mr. Mozley has not set his hand.

—The tendency of the appointment to the Archbishopric of Canterbury and other recent appointments in the Church of

England is High Church. Mr. Gladstone, though in politics he has advanced from Toryism to Radicalism, has always remained a Laudian in religion. Among the clergy, in truth, it is not easy for him or any Minister to lay his hand upon any one who is not a High Churchman. The current sets that way. Clergymen, as a body, are less well paid than they were; fewer of them are now educated at the Universities; fewer still are men of University distinction, for the most cultivated and thoughtful of the students are scared by the doubts which are abroad and unwilling to bind themselves to the tests. Hence there is a loss of moral, intellectual, and social influence, of which the clergy must be conscious, and to make up for which they are tempted to try to enhance their professional influence by all the means in their power. As the causes continue to operate, it is likely that the effect will increase, that the mental calibre of the order will fall still more, and that sacerdotalism will be carried higher. Ritualism will completely prevail in the Church, and a divorce between religion and intellect will follow. Of the Evangelical party among the clergy, the remnant is small and weak. Nor is the Liberal section much stronger. It lost its chief in Dean Stanley. Not that Dean Stanley was a great theologian or a powerful thinker in any line. His chief quality and the root of his liberalism, was an all-embracing sympathy, coupled with a wonderful eye for the picturesque in character, as well as in history and scenery. Far the best of his works is his "Palestine;" next ranks his historical sketches of the Eastern Church; his other historical and topographical works follow. In criticism, he was not strong, except where sympathy could help exegesis: in speculation he was weak: he seemed scarcely to feel the necessity of definitively settling any question: he was well content that the Church should be a museum containing specimens of all religious systems, and he forgot that in this museum the specimens would not lie still. His theory of the perfect identity of Church and State was a mere legacy from Arnold, who again had taken it from the polities of the ancient Greeks. Yet his popularity as a writer and a preacher, his social position, his personal and professional virtues, the charm

of his character, the number of his friends, the fearlessness with which, amidst all his gentleness and charity, his liberal opinions were avowed, made him, if not a great leader or teacher, a centre of union which cannot be replaced. His friend and associate, Dr. Jowett, a man of far greater speculative power, deserts theology and gives himself to Greek. Among the clergy there is hardly another Liberal of mark. Rational Christianity in England is the creed of cultivated laymen who think but do not write.*

—Among the incidents of the Sceptical movement has naturally been a disposition to bring other religions, especially Mahometanism and Buddhism, into competition with Christianity. The Speeches of Mahomet have been made up into a sort of Testament by one who is evidently an admirer of the Prophet. They are, as all who have read the Koran must see, pearls picked from a vast heap, of which no small portion is absurd legend derived from the Talmud or Pseudo-Christian fable. They exclude the traces of personal lust, vengeance, and ambition which undeniably appear in the later chapters of the Koran, written when the religious Reformer had become a successful leader and had opened his career of conquest. They could not possibly exclude evidences of the thoroughly sensual character of Mahomet's Heaven or of the thoroughly material character of his Hell. Few can compare them with the New Testament without recognising at once, in the difference between the two trees, the cause of the difference between their fruits. It is evident, also, that what is highest in Islam, notably its Monotheism, is not original, but derived either from Judaism or from Christianity, principally from the first. On Mahometanism and on Buddhism, as well as on Christianity, the title of universal religions is conferred. Universal they are in so far as they are not limited to a single nation or race, like the majority of religions, including Talmudic Judaism, but offer

* The change in clerical character has been pointed out before, and is attested in an acute essay on "Romanism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism."

themselves to the acceptance of mankind at large. In another, and a very important, sense they are not universal, because they are not purely moral. Islam is distinctly military: it is Arabian conquest extending itself, first in the void created by the decline of the Roman Empire, afterwards over neighbouring communities inferior in warlike prowess. It still spreads to a certain extent, by proselytism, in countries adjacent to the seats of its power, and specially subject to its influence. But it has not, like Christianity, sent forth missionaries to bear its gospel to distant regions and nations entirely alien to its sway. When its vigour as a conquering power declines, general decay sets in; and it is now on the point of abandoning Europe from a sense of political weakness which there is nothing in its religious faith to countervail. Moreover, recent inquiries have disclosed the fact, that in parts of the East where Mahometanism is professed, its ascendency is merely superficial, and covers the retention by the mass of the people of their ancient superstitions. Buddhism is not like Mahometanism military or political, yet it is confined to a territorial group of populations, beyond which its missionary enterprise has not extended. Nor can its connection with climate be denied: evidently congenial to the languid resignation of the Hindoo, it is as evidently uncongenial to men of a hardier and more energetic race. It has not been found compatible with progress or supplied the animating spirit of a great civilization. Christianity alone is really universal: and if there is any Power, akin to our moral nature, which manifests itself in human history, it must have been specially manifested in the birth of Christendom.

The volume which gave occasion for these remarks suggests that a collection of the Words of Jesus might be welcome and useful at the present juncture. Without going again into the question of the Evidence for Miracles, it is enough to say that there are many religious minds to which it has ceased to seem sufficient; while even orthodox divines, such as Canon Farrar, are manifestly anxious to throw the Miraculous into the background and to separate belief in it from belief in the great doctrines of Christianity. To disentangle the Gospel history from the Miracles and present it in the form of ordinary biography, seems, as has been

said before, a hopeless attempt; and except as a piece of erudite poetry Renan's "Life of Christ" is a failure. But the Sayings of Jesus can be easily detached, and such of them as are moral or spiritual, not dogmatic, bear an unmistakable impress of character which is the seal of their authenticity. The trustworthiness of that seal is only enhanced by the confused manner in which they are often thrown together, and which is a proof that they are not the fabrications of the Evangelist, but recorded reminiscences or traditions. Biography is comparatively a modern art, but the sayings of a beloved Master were likely to be preserved, and memory in those days was more tenacious than it is in ours. It would be necessary, in view of the conclusions of Criticism, to abstain from resorting to the Fourth Gospel, though the words of Jesus to the Woman at the Well might fitly stand at the head of the collection as the Annunciation of the Universal Religion.

—Politics are always casting back their changeful hues on history. In France Chauvinism by the pen of Thiers deified Napoleon, while Liberalism by the pen of Lanfrey cast down the idol, though not till its worship had produced effects which threw France into mourning. The connection of the present school of English Radicals with Irish Disunionism conspires with their Agnosticism to make them hostile to the memory of Cromwell. They are saying that his policy was in Ireland only the shallow policy of the naked sword, and that in England also his government was a failure. In their eagerness to capture the Irish vote they do wrong to the greatest practical genius of their race. Cromwell had risen by the sword, but no statesman ever was less disposed to use it as an engine of government. By one decisive stroke he ended at once the Civil War in Ireland which had been dragging on for six years, with hideous atrocities on both sides. He put to the sword the garrisons of Drogheda and Wexford, and the act has been applauded by the partisans of heroic surgery, in language which has confirmed friends of humanity in their reprobation of it. But the hero himself spoke of it with sorrow

as a measure inspired by dire necessity. It was in full accordance with the laws of war, which at that time, and long afterwards refused quarter to the garrison of places taken by storm after being summoned to surrender; while the Catholic soldiers in Germany and the Low Countries regularly massacred not only the garrison but the inhabitants of captured towns. The Catholic army in Ireland to which these troops belonged, had given no quarter to prisoners taken on fields of battle.* Resistance quelled, Cromwell at once proclaimed an amnesty and set himself to work, not to exterminate the Irish people, as has been falsely said, but to civilize the island. He united it to Great Britain and gave it a representation in the Parliament; he sent it the best administration he could find; he treated it, to use his own expression, as a white sheet of paper on which he might introduce reforms which deeply-rooted prejudice made it difficult for him to introduce in England; and he took pleasure in marking the superior despatch of justice in his Irish Courts. A few years more of him, or of a government administered in his spirit, would probably have settled the Irish question, and saved all the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths from the danger with which they are now threatened, by a perpetual stream of emigration from an island thrown back into isolation and barbarism by the ignoble policy of the Restoration. Consummated at that early period, before adverse opinion had taken shape in Ireland, when there had been no Swift or Molyneaux or Grattan, or rising of the Volunteers, the union would by

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* It may be as well to give the proof of this. Monsignor Rinuccini, the Papel Envoy in Ireland, says in his report of a battle to the Pope: "The Catholic horse broke the opposing squadron, and having come to pikes and swords, the Puritans began to give way disordered and confounded, so that at last they were dispersed or remained dead on the field; even every common soldier on our side being satiated with blood and plunder. Those killed on the field have been counted to the number of 3,243. It is impossible to know how many were killed in flight, but as the slaughter continued for two days after the battle, it is certain that of the infantry not one escaped. . . . . The whole army recognised this victory as from God, every voice declares that not they but the Apostolic money and provisions have brought forth such fruits. Every one slaughtered his adversary, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, who bore himself most bravely, when asked by the colonel for a list of his prisoners, swore that his regiment had not one, as he had ordered his men to kill them all without distinction." Rinuccini's "Embassy in Ireland," (pp. 174-175.)

this time have been consolidated beyond any possibility of disturbance.

In England Cromwell contended during the whole of his Protectorate against a complication of difficulties, perils, enmities and plots which only in the very grandest of minds, backed by adamantine courage, could have left thought free for the work of statesmanship. He had to drag the weight of his great error, the execution of Charles I. Above all, he made the unpardonable mistake of dying before his hour. But about his system there can be no doubt. It was a union of England, Scotland and Ireland, a limited Monarchy with a Privy Council of constitutional advisers, and a reform of Parliament which would have made that assembly a real and just representation of the people ; this, with administrative and legal reform for the State ; and for the Church not disestablishment, but the largest comprehension and at the same time emancipation from Prelacy. What was the "glorious Revolution" of 1688, but the acceptance of a part of this settlement? What has the political history of England since been but the slow and imperfect working out of the other parts, including the Union of the Kingdoms. Colonial self-government may be added to the list, for Cromwell conceded it in full measure to New England. A foreign policy is always of the hour ; but the foreign policy which aimed at making England the protectress of Protestant Christendom, was at least as grand and as sound as that which aims at propping up the Turkish Empire or controlling the diplomacy of Cabul. Unquestionably the Radicals who wish the country to be governed by the "public opinion" of Irish terrorists, are moving on lines widely different from those laid down by Cromwell ; whether on better lines, remains to be seen.

From the ideas and sentiments of Cromwell and his contemporaries we are severed by a gulf of two centuries and a half, and in confidently presenting a finished picture of the man, biography has gone beyond the evidence. But as regards the broad outlines of the character, the consummate sagacity, inexhaustible energy, and unquailing valour, all under the strict control of the moral and religious sense, which made Oliver first the mainstay of his cause and afterwards the greatest of rulers, we have an-

other Cromwell in John Lawrence, whose life has just been written, and worthily written, by Mr. Bosworth Smith. It is far more pleasant to see Lawrence governing the Punjab with strong and righteous sway, than to see him quelling the Mutiny. Yet even in the suppression of the mutiny, appears in contrast with the infamies of such bloodthirsty terrorists as "Hodson of Hodson's horse," the steadfast humanity of the true hero. A few years of such a ruler as John Lawrence in the South of Ireland might bring the Irish question to a happy end.

THE BYSTANDER.

JULY, 1883.

WE are still in Canadian politics; but our next number will bring a respite. If we mistake not, readers of the class to which THE BYSTANDER is addressed are beginning to care less for these contentions and more for broader and deeper questions. This is well, so long as politics are not neglected. They form a small part, a very small part indeed, of the life of most of us; but they are a part of life which must be kept in right order, or all the rest will go wrong. You cannot afford to let demagogism have its own way. It will lay its unholy hand in time upon everything; upon the relations between the sexes, upon the happiness of domestic life.

—The Session of the Dominion Parliament, according to the Ministerial journals, was a display of legislative energy and wisdom which has endeared the best of Governments more than ever to the heart of an admiring people: according to the journals of the Opposition, it was an ignominious blank relieved only by outrages on the Constitution. The first part of it was expended in fighting the battle of the Ontario elections: governments must live, and party governments can live only by beating the opposite party. Then came a period of manœuvring and counter-manœuvring of which Orange Incorporation was the chief feature. At last, when it was too late for deliberation, three measures of importance were

brought forward. The Factory Bill, which alone of the three was urgent, was, with the Franchise Bill, thrown over, while the License Bill was pushed and carried, because, though less needed, it would be a blow to the Grit Government of Ontario and to Provincial independence. The other party, if it had the majority, would do the same. The upshot is that a session of the Confederate Parliament has been held at a cost of half a million to provide money for expenditures of which Confederation is the main cause. That reconciliation of party leaders, which the historical picture voted by Parliament will portray, was brief and perfidious as a harlot's love; yet a comparison of the rate at which the Canadian debt has advanced, while the American debt has been reduced, since that occurrence, will show that though the union was short-lived, its fruit has not been small.

The gratitude of the people is due to the Opposition for having closely scrutinized the Estimates, and not shrunk from challenging even petty expenditures. Evidently the large surplus has made the Government lavish. This is what a large surplus always does, and it is a strong reason for restricting the Finance Minister to the amount of taxation absolutely required by the public service. The Governor-Generalship probably now costs the country nearly double the nominal salary, and the same disregard of economy prevails elsewhere. This money is made by the labour of the people, and is a sacred trust in the hands of their representatives. But it is not mere waste that, in the case of this country, most calls for vigilance and restraint. It is the tendency of the Government to use the money as a bribery fund, under the colour of undertaking public works or subsidizing railways, for the purpose of buying local support, and especially the support of the smaller Provinces. Buying the smaller Provinces is a game, the cost of which Ontario pays.

—Among the feats performed by the Prime Minister, not the least surprising has been that of riding with one foot on the back of Ultramontanism and the other on Orangeism. It is true that Orangeism had been drugged. At last, however, the two horses

have run apart, and the performer would have had a severe fall if the leaders of the Opposition had not kindly enabled him to give a safe vote under cover of the majority which they made up, and thus to redeem his personal pledge to his Orangemen, while his *Bleus* were propitiated by victory. The upshot is that the Lodges have tried their strength against the Catholic vote in a pitched battle, and the Catholic vote has prevailed. An audience of French Catholics hailed with applauding shouts the victory of their cause. Before the same sinister divinity both Parties bow equally low, and the public man or journalist who does not bow to it is worth something to the country. In Ireland two local factions used on a particular day in each year to fight for the possession of a stone to which some traditional mystery attached; and the magistrates having on one occasion, to prevent the fight, sunk the stone in a river, the factions combined to fish it up and then fought for it as usual. Such a stone is Orange Incorporation, which can have no importance in itself, but serves as an object for the faction fight. The result is decisive, and there can be no doubt that *Bleu* influence rules the hour. The same thing was manifest in the Letellier case, where the Premier evidently yielded unwillingly to *Bleu* pressure. He is not so much a despot as an indispensable link, like Lord Liverpool, between sections which would otherwise fall asunder. The hour of adversity is the time for self-examination. What does the Orangeman conceive to be the aim of his society, and the reason for its existence on this Continent? Its aim and the reason for its existence in Ireland at the end of the seventeenth century are plain enough: and if it was the bulwark of Ascendancy we must in justice to it remember that in those unhappy days the choice lay between dominating and being crushed, perhaps exterminated; for peace on a footing of equality between the two religions in the time of Louis XIV. was out of the question. When we denounce the penal laws, let us not forget the Revocation of the Edict, the *Autos-da-fé*, which were still going on, the attempt upon British liberty in which James II. was backed by an Irish army, or the Catholic Parliament of Dublin under Tyrconnel with its sweeping proscription of Protestants, and that unparalleled Act

of Attainder which doomed to death not only thousands of men, untried and innocent, but several women and children. The work, in a word, of Orangeism, once was to prevent Irish Protestantism from being driven into the sea. But now, and in a land of religious liberty, what is its work ? A society organized merely for the purpose of keeping alive in the New World the feuds of the Old World would not only be absurd but criminal. The justification of Orangeism lies, if anywhere, in the compactness with which the Catholics are banded for political purposes, the solidity of their delegation from Quebec, and the visibly increasing influence of their vote. Where there is complete organization on one side, no head can be made without organization on the other. But to avail itself of this justification, Orangeism must be independent and devoted to its proper object: of late, according to the sorrowful confession of the best of its own adherents, it has been anything but either. It has been little more than a confederacy for mutual aid in elections, and for securing to the members, or to some of them, their share of the spoils. Its chiefs gave a recreant vote at Ottawa for the resolution of sympathy with the Irish rebellion. It has trusted politicians and been deceived : we shall now see whether it has anything better wherein to put its trust.

Whether incorporation ought to be granted to secret societies which bind their members by oath, is a more general question. Perhaps the oath is of less consequence than is assumed, a pledge of any kind being practically the same thing. It is clear, however, that inspection of the Statutes to see that they contain nothing incompatible with the duty of the members to the commonwealth ought to be a condition precedent to the grant of any public privilege. The day, it is to be hoped, will come when all these associations will be merged in the community. At present they are extending themselves on this Continent, and the taste for them is one of the most curious of the phenomena which meet the eye of the observer who is studying life in the New World. Picnics, regalia, processions, titles, with the love of mystery, no doubt, go for a good deal. But there appears to us to be a general desire for some closer bond of union than is furnished by the ordinary re-

lations of society in a somewhat loose, shifting and migratory state. It may be that the declining vigour of the Churches and the loosening of the religious tie have something to do with the increased longing for fraternity of another kind. Perhaps the best thing to be said for these brotherhoods, including Masonry, is that they traverse the boundary lines of class and thus, so far as their influence extends, prevent the community from being divided into the hostile armies which, by their antagonism, are threatening Europe with social war.

—In the Budget Speeches of great financiers like Sir Robert Peel, you distinctly see the broad basis of a fiscal policy. The speaker tells you, or allows you clearly to perceive, his view of the great interests of the country, of the relations between them, and of the manner in which collectively and severally they are to be promoted. We miss this in the Budget Speeches of Sir Leonard Tilley. What does he conceive to be the natural industries of the Dominion? How does he propose to benefit them by his system? Does he aim at turning Canada from an agricultural and lumbering into a manufacturing country? If he does, what is the object of such a policy, and how is it to bring additional wealth to Provinces with a fertile soil but without coal? One thing is clear; Sir Leonard has now stepped beyond the line of National Policy, and fairly committed himself to Protection. In the present state of the world, absolute free trade is impossible; revenue must be raised by import duties and each nation must have its tariff: the adjustment of the tariff, as far as possible, to the special circumstances of the nation is national policy, and the policy of common sense. But those who took it upon them to defend the tariff of 1878 before the incensed Free Traders of England, as a legitimate embodiment of the national principle, must hold different language now. Our Finance Minister has steered straight into Protectionism, and is about to add to the number of the wrecks which warn the economical navigator away from that ill-omened shore. His proposed duty on agricultural implements, and his bonus on the manufacture of pig iron are distinct instances

of the policy which seeks by protective duties or artificial inducements to force industry out of its natural channels into channels selected by a wisdom superior to that of nature as more advantageous to the people. Fallacies do indeed die hard, at least if any one has an interest in their life. More than a century has passed since the appearance of Adam Smith, and of his first great pupil, Pitt; the soundness of his doctrines has been proved by an increase of wealth in the country which has adopted them, passing anything of which their author can have dreamed, and eclipsing all the marvels of commercial history. Yet here is a Canadian minister, in the full blaze of New World intelligence, reverting to the policy which ruined benighted Spain. What arguments can be used to those who imagine that they are benefiting a nation of farmers by laying a duty on agricultural implements? What arguments can be used to those who imagine that they add to the wealth of the country by calling men away from the field or the lumbering station, to which nature has sent them, for the purpose of producing pig iron, and perhaps some day pineapples? What arguments can be used to those who when there has been a run of good harvests and a revival of the lumber trade, as well as of commerce throughout the world, can ascribe the return of prosperity, not to that, but to the increased burden of taxation? Sir Leonard Tilley rightly declined to produce the letters which he had received from his commercial correspondents; but in those letters, no doubt, would be read the true history of the modifications in the tariff. Each of the manufacturers has been demanding higher protection for his own industry; in other words, an increase of his private gains at the expense of the public. The whole order will soon form a Ring, and the control of parliament and the people over taxation will be lost. To the policy of fostering infant industries in itself and as a matter of principle, no reasonable objection can be made: the worst of it is that the infants are apt to remain infants for ever, in their craving for maternal support, while, for the purpose of extortion, they acquire the strength of men.

To contend that there has been no alteration in the policy of the Government is surely hopeless. The primary object of the measure of 1879 was stated in the Speech from the Throne to be the equalization of revenue with expenditure. To say that another object, at variance with that, was kept in the background would be to assume disingenuousness on the part of the framers of the speech and connivance on the part of the august speaker. Protection, in the proper sense of the term, and revenue, are manifestly incompatible. Throughout the campaign Sir John Macdonald avoided in a marked manner Protectionist language, and confined himself scrupulously to readjustment. Readjustment included the rectification of our tariff, in its relation to that of the United States, as a measure of justice to our producers. This was avowed plainly enough, and it is encouragement to native industry, but it is not Protection. The Finance Minister, the tide running strong, has been carried out to sea: there is no use in contending that his moorings remain unchanged.

The Opposition is weakened in the financial field by disunion. Mr. Charlton, and apparently Mr. Blake, stands upon what we still hold to be the safe ground of National Policy. They no doubt deplore the obstinate devotion to the abstract and the impracticable, which brought on the catastrophe of 1878. But Mr. Mackenzie, stung by defeat, has nailed his tattered colours to the mast, and misses no opportunity of giving an advantage to the Protectionists by vehemently reasserting the doctrine of Absolute Free Trade. Absolute Free Trade means the abolition of all import duties, and the raising of the whole revenue by direct or internal taxation. Mr. Mackenzie holds up to us the example of the Mother Country. A brighter or better we could not have, particularly as regards her fiscal system, the work of the most consummate financiers whom the world ever saw. But the Mother Country raises a large revenue by import duties, which interfere quite as much as ours with Absolute Free Trade; and she adapts her tariff to her commercial circumstances, which differ from ours

as widely as is possible, considering that the two countries are nearly in the same latitude. Cobden was, by conviction, an Absolute Free Trader; he would have done away with import duties and resorted to direct taxation, the burden of which he would at the same time have lightened, by reducing the expenses of government, and closing the gates of war. If Mr. Mackenzie takes this line, well and good; but unless he does, he must tell us what tariff he proposes, and let us see whether it is better than that of 1879. Perpetual borrowing is the worst course of all.

The National Policy, in our case, however, has its weak point, one indication of which is the Coal Tax. Nothing can be more iniquitous or more absurd than that impost, especially when it is combined with an attempt to force Canada into manufactures, which she can carry on only with imported fuel. It is at the same time, in form at least, an extreme measure of Protectionism: indeed, it was the only part of the tariff of 1879 which could be justly branded with that name. Yet the leaders of the Opposition dare not attack it; they prefer to share the responsibility by acquiescence. The truth is, that the measure, properly speaking, was not so much fiscal as political, or rather diplomatic. The tax is a fee paid to Nova Scotia for giving her consent to a Canadian tariff. It thus casts a vivid light upon the situation. Among the Provinces drawn out in long and discontinuous line from ocean to ocean, for which the Finance Minister has to legislate, there is no special identity of commercial interest: it is necessary to treat them almost as a set of independent countries, and to obtain the separate consent of each to a sort of commercial treaty. A ministerial journalist at Regina tells Sir Leonard Tilley that to frame a common tariff for that territory and Canada is as absurd as it would be to prescribe a common dress for both climates. A perfect basis for a national policy therefore is wanting. Again, Sir Leonard Tilley is obliged to modify his tobacco duty, in order to meet an alteration made in the tobacco duty of the United States. This shows that the group of interests with which he deals is deficient in distinctness of national demarcation, as well as in national unity. It is inextricably connected with the interests and the commercial policy of the Continent at large. The Anti-Continental

system of which Sir Leonard Tilley is the distinguished champion, is directed to political objects, the value of which we do not here discuss, but which are assumed to be of greater moment than the material welfare of our people. That political objects may lawfully be preferred to commercial objects, THE BYSTANDER has never questioned; yet it is right that the sacrifice should be understood. That the system presents difficulties its advocates will hardly deny. We are beholden to the other part of the continent not only for winter ports, but as matters now stand, for the transmission of goods in bond between one part of the protected territory and another, so that the whole policy is very much at the mercy of those against whom it is directed. In this our Chinese Wall differs from the original, which runs along a distinctly national line, and does not require for its maintenance the co-operation of the enemy.

The sharpest note of warning has come from the North-West. Was it not clear that when that territory was peopled and began to feel its strength, it would disarrange any programme framed on the assumption of its being a distant estate belonging to Eastern Canada, with which the owner was to be always at liberty to deal as she pleased? The programme was that, while Canada bore the expenses of a railway, large sections of which were political works and commercially unproductive, she should indemnify herself by keeping the North-West as a privy market. So far, the people of the North-West have submitted with patience: they have consented to pay tribute to Eastern Canada on their fuel, scanty and direfully needed as it was, on lumber, not less indispensable, and on the canned meats which also were a necessary of life. But the proposal to raise the duty on agricultural implements, not for revenue, but for the purpose of increasing the gains of the Canadian manufacturer, strikes too openly and directly at the life of a grain-producing community. From the organs of his own party the Finance Minister receives a protest which he dares not disregard.* Under cover of postponement he gives way,

* The fundamental blunder which underlies the policy of both political parties at Ottawa, is that the North-West settler is a pampered individual and that he ought to submit to little inconveniences like heavy taxation, unstable land regulations, and dis-

rating the insurgents at the same time, much in the language in which Granville and Townsend rated the Colonists when they protested against the Stamp Tax. "Ungrateful Manitobans, planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence to strength and opulence, will you grudge to contribute your mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?" The Manitobans of both political parties reply, as the Colonists replied, and with equal justice. The Indians have been managed, and apparently well managed; otherwise Ottawa has done nothing for the people of the North-West which they could not have done better for themselves. The development of their railway system, which is absolutely vital to their interests, has been shackled, and there is too much reason for their complaints that their country has been turned into a job-warren for broken-down or needy partisans. These are not benefits in return for which submission to a protective duty on agricultural implements, in the interest of Eastern manufacturers, can be required. Nor is it the price of the instruments alone that is in question. Protection almost invariably degrades the quality, and it is alleged that in this case the Protected makers scamp their work and do not produce implements such as are produced in the States. The Finance Minister must be careful, or the people will settle the controversy by sweeping away the Customs line. Smuggling, the irregular antidote to protection, already seems to be active along the frontier.

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regard of his rights as a squatter. The fact that large sums have been spent on the railroad here is held up to us as a proof of the beneficent treatment we are receiving at the hands of the older Provinces. That we pay three times as much per capita into the Dominion treasury as the Eastern taxpayer, that the National Policy increases the price of everything we buy without adding a mill to the price of wheat, oats or barley, that even with a free homestead the settler's life is for some years a hard and unprofitable one—these and such like considerations are quietly ignored. To make matters worse, the people at Ottawa forget that not many miles from here a foreign flag offers the settler nearly all the advantages he can obtain here with others, good railroad facilities for instance peculiar to old settled regions. He gets nothing here which he could not get elsewhere, and it should be the policy of the East to treat him, not as though he were beholden to it for special favours, but on terms of equality and in a spirit of fair play. A few more blunders, a little more stamping on his corns, may provoke him until he becomes "unreasonable in earnest."—*Winnipeg Times, Conservative Journal, in an editorial on the failure of the Government sale of lands.*

—If we are going into Protection, it is in the interest of the master manufacturers alone. This ought to be stated without shrinking when the material welfare of the people is at stake. While nobody will blame the master manufacturer for taking what the Finance Minister is willing to give him, the community must look to itself. Mechanics are persuaded that they too have an interest in Protection; but as a class they have none. With them the master deals on the strictest principles of Free Trade, buying their labour in the cheapest market, while he sells its products in the dearest, and dismissing them without compunction when he has more hands than he wants. The natural trades from which Protection withdraws them, and diverts the capital of the country at the same time, would give them as a class more employment than the artificial trades into which their labour is forced. Trades which depend on legislative encouragement are precarious, because by a change in the balance of political parties the encouragement may at any moment be removed. Over-production, too, in special lines, is the sure consequence of artificial stimulus: in the Canadian cotton trade it is already beginning to be felt; and there follows a reaction which throws the workmen out of employment. By the rise of prices in the goods which he must buy as well as make, the artisan loses in common with the rest of the community. For the people the natural and spontaneous industries will always be the most profitable, and the best of all taxes will be the lightest.

—There is no ground for any sentimental feeling against a duty on books. Intellectual luxuries may as well be taxed as luxuries of any other kind. The only thing to be said is, that whereas other luxuries are simply consumed, books, at least books of the better class, breed ideas which may be sources of national wealth as well as of mental improvement and pleasure. Our Finance Minister, we presume, hardly hopes to promote the growth of literature or science among us by Protection. But the seven years' rule is not convenient: it will entail trouble at the Custom House, and on many books there is no date. Weight, though a

rough measure, is probably the best. For our part, we suspect that the day will come, though it may yet be distant, when copyright will be no more, when the book trade will be perfectly free and authors and publishers will make their profit by consulting the requirements of the market like the producers of any other goods. The attempt to negotiate a treaty of international copyright between Great Britain and the United States has come to nothing, as we ventured to predict that it would. The people having tasted the benefits of cheap printing are sure not to resign them; nor is it likely that copyright, English or American, will be able for ever to hold its ground on one side of the water while all the books are being cheaply reprinted without regard to it on the other side. Free trade is the mark to which all who are interested will, in the end, find it best to direct their aim.

—The Liquor Question has now become involved not only in the party conflict, but in the conflict between the jurisdiction of the Dominion and that of the Provinces. Not a step henceforth will be taken by legislators, nor a word written by the leading journals, without reference to a party object. The constant danger of political tampering with a moral movement is one reason for settling, if possible, the main question, and bringing this agitation to a close. Other reasons are the perversion of ethics caused by the undue prominence given to a single point; the disregard of general rights and principles to which the reformer rushing headlong towards the goal of his enthusiasm is always prone; the suspicion which fills society, converting every flushed face into a proof of intemperance; and the temptation held out to anyone who is at all inclined to serve God by bearing false witness against his neighbour. Some of the most malicious of libellers are the most rigorous of prohibitionists. To arrive at a reasonable and lasting settlement, however, it is necessary that Prohibition should come down at once from the pinnacle of factitious morality. There is no more harm in drinking a glass of wine or beer than there is in drinking a cup of tea or coffee; the evil lies only in the excess, nor is excess inevitable in either case. In the wine-growing

countries of Europe the use of the national beverage at the meal is universal, yet intemperance is rare. Some ladies the other day in the United States protested against the use of wine in the Eucharist. This affectation of scrupulosity served to remind us that the founder of Christianity had himself drunk wine, had encouraged others to drink it at the marriage feast, and had made it an element forever of the most sacred ordinance of His religion. Nor was the institution the symbolical tasting which forms a part of the modern rite: it was a draught, as the original Eucharist was a meal. The theory that the wine which made glad men's hearts, of which the Master of the Feast at Cana deemed it improvident to keep the best kind to the last, on which some of the abusers of the Eucharistic repast at Corinth became drunk, was only the unfermented juice of the grape, is surely one of the most desperate shifts to which a controversialist was ever driven. This is a practical and a local question. Is intemperance alarmingly prevalent in Canada, and does it refuse to yield to the growing force of morality and the increasing regard for health? Have extraordinary measures really become necessary in order to save our people from themselves? If such an emergency exists, private liberty must of course give way, and all right-minded men are willing that it should give way, as it does when extraordinary measures are adopted by the State to meet the exigencies of pestilence or war. Unless such an emergency exists private liberty claims respect in matters of diet and regimen as in all other personal affairs. Nobody proposes to forbid the use of tea, coffee, or tobacco, though lecturers on physiology denounce these stimulants not less vehemently than alcohol. Nobody proposes to forbid or restrict the use of meat, though the vegetarians condemn it altogether, and it is certain that many people eat too much of it. Nobody proposes to close the druggists' shops, though perhaps the number of people killed by patent medicines is as great as that of the people killed by drink. Unless the need of prohibition is urgent, and demonstrably urgent, the law will fail in operation for want of public sentiment to support it. It fails in the cities of the United States and only adds the evils of contrabandism to the evils of alcohol. Men who have known

Canada long and well declare that intemperance, instead of growing, has manifestly decreased: they say that they remember a time when toping was universally looked upon as good-fellowship, and when a Canadian farmer seldom went home sober from market. In England, certainly, there has been a vast improvement among those very classes which have had the most unlimited command of the richest and most tempting liquors. The old saying "drunk as a lord," is a monument of by-gone times; for neither lord nor gentleman can now get drunk in England without incurring deep disgrace. The present agitation is itself the sign of a quickened moral sense in the community, which is effecting an unforced, and therefore a genuine, reform. A forced reform may not be genuine; it may be, and we know that in many cases it is, not a change from intemperance to temperance, but a change from the use of whiskey to the use of opium. Society is doing more for its own improvement than is supposed by philanthropists who are apt to look upon it as an inert mass, to which life and motion can be imparted only by their activity. One thing, however, is quite clear, supposing extraordinary remedies to be needed, they ought to be effectual. Once more we must repeat, that there is but one way of preventing liquor from being sold and drunk—to prevent it from being made. So long as it is made or imported, it will, through one channel or another, be conveyed to the lips that thirst for it. What is it but folly, or rather hypocrisy, to be passing laws restricting the retail trade while, in public view, a great distillery is pouring forth day and night a welling stream of the alleged poison, and beside the fountain stands a government officer, placed there for the purpose of securing to the State its share of the profit, under the name of revenue, and by his presence signifying in the plainest manner the public recognition of the trade? Contrabandism is inevitably the middle process between licensed manufacture and illicit sale. Absolute prohibition of production or importation, then, is, the only effective, the only straightforward, the only honest policy. To harass the retail trade, to place property invested in it always at the mercy of some arbitrary commission, to put a brand on those who are engaged in it, is merely to throw it into lower hands, and

to make it thereby more pernicious. Everybody knows that districts under restrictive laws swarm with unlicensed drinking shops, in which both the company and the liquor are worse than they are in decent taverns. In a system of monopoly, also, there are obvious evils, especially when the power of granting the privilege is placed in the hands of a party government; and instead of extinguishing the traffic, such measures tend to perpetuate it by creating a powerful interest in its favour. That places of public entertainment should be placed under strict regulations is desired by all, and by none we believe more than the respectable tavern-keeper himself. Public drunkenness is already treated as a crime. Voluntary effort and association have done much; they have done far more, as we firmly believe, than any sumptuary laws; while they are what sumptuary laws are not—instruments of moral improvement in themselves as well as in the reform which they effect. If more is needed, if a plague is upon us, and the life of the community is in peril, let us have the honesty and the courage to close the distillery and break the still.

There is no saying what measures might not be reasonable and lawful if it were true that the banishment of alcohol would be the extinction of crime. But in Maine, where prohibition is as operative as it is likely to be anywhere, crime, even violent crime, is by no means extinct. Many of us remember the time when it was proved to absolute demonstration that crime had its universal source in illiteracy, and would be annihilated by popular education. We find now that the source was deeper than illiteracy, perhaps it may be deeper than the use of alcohol.

After all, are they not in the right who say that whiskey, especially raw whiskey, is the real enemy? Is not this the liquor which, once taken in excess, acts as a poison on the coats of the stomach, engenders the deadly craving, and begets the congenital tendency? Do the same objections apply to the use of sound beer or of light wine? Are not these beverages, taken in moderation as wholesome as anything can be, except pure water, to which the race does not seem disposed to confine itself, any more than it seems disposed to discard all the varieties of food which form the complex diet of civilized man and confine itself to Graham bread?

At all events, the Prohibitionist will admit that beer or light wine is a less evil than whiskey; and if substitution offends his sense of principle by its mildness, he must bear in mind that it does not, like the more heroic treatment, involve the danger of recourse to opium. Canada cannot be made a moral oasis. Canadians will continue to visit European countries the people of which drink of the fruit of the vine without the slightest suspicion that it is a sin. Will they not conform to the seductive custom, and find it difficult when they return to Canada to become rigorous water-drinkers again? Suppose we were to encourage the production of wholesome beer, inspecting it so as to preclude the introduction of noxious drugs, admit light wines free, and restrict the manufacture or importation of ardent spirits to the quantity required for medical or scientific purposes, our policy would be sound at all events, so far as it went, and it would present less difficulty than a great and abrupt change in the diet of mankind. It would be also free from the injustice fatally inherent in all these licensing measures, which pass by the well-stored cellar of the rich to close the door of indulgence against the poor.

To restrain importation, the interposition of the Federal Government, to which the regulation of "Trade and Commerce" belongs, would, of course, be required. But the "Licensing of Saloons and Taverns" seems clearly to belong to the Province. The Resolutions of the Canadian Parliament are better evidence of the intention than the words of the Imperial Act. The two Acts being, in one particular at least, contradictory, a trial of the legal question must follow. It is therefore hardly worth while at present to discuss the Dominion Act. Population is not the proper measure of trade, in any case, irrespective of wealth or local circumstances; and the need of hotels depends not only on general conditions but on the lines of travel.

Dipsomania is regarded by many men of science as a species of insanity. It often becomes a propensity uncontrollable by the will of the patient, and may therefore be placed on the same footing as insanity for the purposes of medical police. Restraint is the only chance of cure; and committal to an institution in which

restraint can be exercised is the only mode of dealing with such cases. Ordinary charity is utterly at fault. An inebriate cannot be allowed to die on the street; and to give relief in any shape, while he remains at large, is to supply the means of purchasing poison. He must be consigned to the lunatic asylum, to the hospital, or to the workhouse; and as he is neither a meet companion for ordinary lunatics, nor a patient in constant need of medical treatment, the workhouse is his proper place.

—The Seduction Bill limped up to the Senate with so little life left in it that even the hand of decrepitude was strong enough to deal it a death blow. It fell by Priam's dart. The highly philanthropic provision that the testimony of a deeply interested, and not only deeply interested but vindictive, party should be taken as the substantive evidence of the crime, had already been struck out by unphilanthropic hands; and the framer himself had expressed his willingness to abandon the clause which not only set a gratuitous brand on the profession of the teacher but was calculated to put mischief into the heads of female pupils. It is curious that such a clause should be supported by co-educationists, who scoff at any suggestion of danger in the mixture of the sexes at college. A teacher has to come down from his desk to flirt, whereas between male and female students flirting is made as easy as possible. If such liabilities exist, let us return to the path of nature, and let girls, when they come to the critical age, be educated apart by teachers of their own sex. Seduction is a term which, applied indiscriminately to the illicit intercourse of the sexes, covers a serious fallacy. It implies that the criminal advances are always on the side of the male. Usually they are, not because men are worse than women, but because in the male passion is stronger, and if it were not, would hardly impel him to undertake the burden of maintaining a wife and family. But what is usually the case is not always the case, as every newspaper tells us, and as every man of the world who has passed through life attests. The woman, probably, is far more often led astray by love of pleasure or finery than by passion. But she must have con-

sented; and to tell her that her consent is guiltless, that the guilt rests solely on her accomplice, and that if she makes herself a harlot, the State will take care to make her a wife, is to fling her into the arms of a paramour. A servant girl who insists on going out frequently at night means perhaps no harm; but she steps forward to meet the tempter; she is an instance of that thoughtlessness which the advocates of seduction bills wish to save from itself, but from which they in fact remove the only effectual safeguard when they lead a woman to forget that her honour is in her own keeping. No sin, we repeat, is so destructive of human character and happiness as that against which measures such as Mr. Charlton's Bill are levelled: but all sins are not crimes, or amenable to criminal law. That the moral sense of society has of itself wrought an immense and most happy change in this direction, every reader of our social histories, or our older novelists, must be aware. It is, in fact, the improvement of opinion that gives birth to this desire of reaching the goal at once by violent legislation. Let philanthropy have a little patience before it clutches the whip of law. It may perchance make more mischief than it mends. A lustful man, in the hour of opportunity, is not likely to be restrained by the fear of remote and contingent punishment, which can be inflicted only through the hostile action of the woman who is at that moment in his arms; but when he has rendered himself liable to the penalty, he may do very desperate things to avert it. Between Mr. Charlton's imprisonments, or forced marriages, and the floggings of which his friends are lavish, some day a man of fierce nature, driven to frenzy, will shoot a philanthropic legislator, and perhaps be acquitted on the ground of lunacy. In "Measure for Measure," Shakespeare has taught us that, with regard to these matters, the ruthless and precipitate reformer may be one who has failed to study human nature as exhibited in his own heart.

These are not pleasant subjects, but they sometimes force themselves upon public attention; and this community, among others, may any day have to face a problem at once the most desperately difficult and the most afflicting which any community can be called upon to solve. Those raids of the police upon houses of ill-fame,

which the papers ever and anon record, are surely useless or worse: they can only sink the miserable inmates of the houses to a lower depth of degradation, and aggravate the evil in every respect. But what is to be done? That is the terrible question, and it is one which concerns not the offenders alone, but beings wholly innocent of the offence, as every one who has looked at the children in an English workhouse or reformatory must know. It concerns the public health, in the most serious sense of the term; and the source of our fearful perplexity is, that in this case the interests of the public health seem to be diametrically opposed to the interests of public morals. As a rule, in all matters connected with the prevention of disease and the alleviation of human suffering, the dictates of medical science are the dictates of morality; but, in the present instance, to what would obedience to the dictates of medical science lead? There is no use, however, in taking any view of human nature which is not practical and consistent with reality. The propensity which gives birth to this evil is not like the propensity to homicide and theft, unnatural and wholly criminal: it is only the presence in excess, and without due control, of the mighty force by which nature sustains the race and creates the affections which have their central source in home; though here, as elsewhere, she metes out rough measure, with little regard for special situations. In the social circumstances which preclude early marriage the fault often lies fully as much as in the man. Moreover, when by laws, sufficiently sharp, you have once put down homicide or theft, all is done: but when you have closed the brothel, all is by no means done. The malady suppressed on the surface may only be driven inward with effects of the direst kind. Let the rational moralist and the man of science confer, that we may be helped, if possible, out of the fearful dilemma: we shall not be helped out of it by sermons, however eloquent and sincere the preacher may be, or by legislation in the style of Lord Angelo.

—The Franchise Bill, like the Bills for the Redistribution of Seats and all measures on such subjects emanating from a party

government, was framed in the interest of the party in power; nor, as we venture to think, did it embody any principle upon which the franchise can finally rest. It would merely be a step in the incline down which every free community is being drawn to universal suffrage. More of this hereafter. More, too, hereafter, of the Female Suffrage Clause which has earned for the Canadian Government of Canada, in common with the ultra revolutionary party in Italy, the grateful approbation of the leaders of the Revolt of Woman. Evidently, the device was borrowed from the late astute leader of the Conservative party in England, who always supported Female Suffrage, in the belief that the women would vote Tory under the influence of the clergy, and tried hard to get his followers to do likewise; though they, while they followed him against their convictions into Household Suffrage, refused to follow him into what they plainly saw was social and domestic revolution. In Pennsylvania, the other day, a bill which would have practically made the marriage tie less indissoluble than an ordinary commercial partnership, passed the legisature, but was vetoed by the governor. Demagogic legislation is so reckless that society is always living on the brink of a precipice.

—The establishment of a small body of regular troops, though too grandly designated as the introduction of a standing army, is an important change in our military system. For purposes of external defence, no force that we can raise would be of any use. Our only neighbour is at once unaggressive and irresistible. If ever Canada should be involved in a war as a dependency of Great Britain, it would be a maritime war in which she would have to look for protection to the Imperial country: the landing of a hostile army on these shores is, if not impossible, a contingency too remote for consideration. It is rather to defend society against internal perils that a regular force may possibly be needed. We are constantly receiving as immigrants from Europe people imperfectly civilized, burning with discontent, and envenomed by social and industrial war. The Pittsburg riots were mainly the work of foreigners; so were the Molly Maguire out-

rages in Pennsylvania; and in both these occurrences we read warnings of the danger to which our civilization may be possibly exposed. Time will educate; but before the process is complete, the refugee may have to be saved from wrecking, by his barbarous violence, his own hopes as well as ours. The Biddulph affair some years ago raised the corner of a veil, and gave us a glimpse of something to which we are liable on a larger scale. Between the Sandlotters and the civilized community of California there rages a chronic conflict, the sources of which are not confined to the Pacific coast, and which, wherever it exists, may prove as irrepressible as did the conflict between Slavery and Freedom. Moreover, in Canada we have feuds of race and religion, such as that between the Orangemen and the Catholics, which may at any time lead to disturbance. A militia is not a good instrument to employ in keeping the peace, because it lacks the perfect self-control which belongs to discipline, and shares the political passions of the combatants, so that to employ it is to give the signal for a petty civil war. It seems wise, therefore, in the Government to set on foot a small force of thoroughly disciplined men. The only question is that between soldiers and a central police. The police is less uncongenial to democracy than soldiers, and for some purposes more effective; but Anarchy fears soldiers most.

It would be wrong, however, to deride the misgivings of those who hesitate to put military force into the hands of the Government. Encroachment, on the part of the Crown, is, so far as we are concerned, a thing of the past. But the danger of elective tyranny is more serious than is commonly supposed. There are things which a Tudor monarch did, and which a party in power under the elective system cannot do; but, on the other hand, there are things which a party in power under the elective system can do, and which could not have been done by a Tudor king. A Tudor king could pretty much at his pleasure cut off heads, especially the heads of courtiers; but when he ventured upon arbitrary taxation, he found that he had to deal with a people provided with arms and ready to use them in defence of its right, while he had himself no military force beyond the

yeomen of his guard. Such plunder of the community as the Pension Arrears Bill and the imposts which Congress continues to lay on the American people at the bidding of the Manufacturing Ring, or even the direct taxation to which Quebec is likely to be subjected by its elective spoilers, would hardly have been possible under what history brands as arbitrary rule. If a clique or a faction gets the control of the elections and becomes master of the national assembly, how is it to be dislodged? How is a reform of the Constitution to be enforced against corrupt representatives who have an interest in keeping it unreformed? Sismondi touches on the subject in connection with the constitutional history of one of the Italian Republics, and seems to think that the difficulty is met by saying that if the people wish to depose an elective government, they can at any time do it by refusing to elect. But this implies a unanimity and an organization on the part of the people which can seldom exist, while there are perfect concert and unity of action on the other side. It is conceivable that society may have to resort, in some extreme case, to old-fashioned methods of putting down incorrigible iniquity. At all events, intrigue and corruption ought always to be made to feel that, in the last resort, the national force is not in their hands. For this reason, as well as on social grounds, it is desirable that while a regular force is established, the militia should not be allowed to decline.

—Leaving finance to financiers, and political economy to political economists, the leader of the Opposition directed the fire of his forensic eloquence against the relations of the Government with the Pacific Railway Company. One important point, at least, he made. It is clear that the restriction on the amount of dividend, which is intended to operate as a limitation of fares and freights, would come to nothing if the amount were to be calculated, not on the sum actually spent, but on the full value of a stock which the Company is at liberty to water to any extent it thinks fit. The question is particularly serious in the present case, because the Railway is protected against competition, by which its tariff

might otherwise be kept down. Interrogated by Mr. Blake, the Ministers at first differed from each other in opinion; but at last a pledge was given that the measure of the dividend should be the sum actually spent. This, however, will not prevent the people of the North-West from having to pay in their fares and freights for the construction of the unproductive sections of the line, and for the loss of working those sections when they are constructed. Of course it will not in any way relieve them of the effects of the monopoly clauses. On the subject generally, Mr. Blake's speeches cannot be said to have made an impression on the country in proportion to their unquestionable ability. The Agreement has been made, and we must keep it, provided it is kept by the Syndicate, which has so far been guilty of no default, but, on the contrary, is allowed to have done its work very well. We have obtained what we most desired, extrication from the slough of public corruption, into which, while the road was in the hands of the Government, we were evidently sinking. If the gains of the Company prove large, no harm will be done us; but whether they are likely to be large nobody can tell till the unproductive parts of the road have been completed and brought into operation. The golden side of the shield is turned to the London Stock Market, the silver side to the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament. Mere criticism, without a counter policy, is always ineffective. Why did not Mr. Blake, when his party was in power, boldly refuse to concur in an enterprise to which in his heart he was evidently opposed? The good sense of the country would have come round to him, and his feet would now be on firm ground. The leading journal of his party the other day strove to rally to him the allegiance of his followers by setting forth, in an eloquent editorial, the integrity of his character, the purity of his aims, his intellectual gifts and accomplishments, and his uniform excellence as a speaker. If resolution could have been added, the panegyric would have been complete. Is Mr. Blake young Canada? If he is, Young Canada has intelligence in large measure, but somewhat lacks determination.

The announcement that an alliance was being negotiated between the Canada Pacific and the Grand Trunk produced a thrill of alarm, like that which used to shoot through Europe when it

appeared that the crowns of France and Spain were about to be united on the same head. Beyond doubt the league would be most formidable. In the United States, the shadow of these gigantic combinations falls darkly on the political field, and in a comparatively small country like Canada, there would be no power of resistance to the allied forces of the two great Companies. The Canada Pacific has been so fenced with privileges and immunities by the agreement, that it is already independent of the political authority of the Provinces, and forms a state within the state. In the fate of Mr. Dalton McCarthy's Bill for the Control of Railways and of the Toronto Esplanade Bill, we have already seen what the influence of the corporations is. No party government could for a moment stand against the combined pressure of the Canada Pacific and the Grand Trunk. We are tired of pointing the obvious moral.

—Why did not the Opposition say something upon the subject of Immigration? They were furnished with an excellent text by the telegram which was sent by the Minister of Agriculture announcing that there was urgent demand both for general labourers and mechanics in Old Canada as well as in the North-West, and instructing his agents in England to send out an unlimited supply. At that very time the best authorities on the subject at Toronto were speaking of the demand for mechanics there as uncertain. At the opening of the season it is sure to be brisk; but this is the artisan's harvest, and it seems a little hard on him that the Government should step in and prevent a rise in wages by importing competitors from abroad with money which he is compelled as a taxpayer to contribute. In England during the great railway epoch, there was an extraordinary demand for Civil Engineers, but the Government did not import engineers from the Continent to keep down the fees; and, if it had, the profession would have been in a flame. Nobody wishes to close a land of hope against those who despair of happiness in the Old World. So long as the emigrant comes of his own accord, all is well: he is then selected by nature, and is sure to bring with him

the necessary aptitudes and the proper equipments; it is probable that the market wants him as well as he the market: we may look on him with confidence as a valuable addition to our community. But these guarantees cease to exist when governments, with their hands full of public money, Steamship Companies, Land Companies, Colonization Companies, and artificial agencies of all kinds are vying with each other in the volume of emigration which they can produce, with less regard to the quality of the people selected, for whom the same fees and the same passage money must be paid, whether they are first-rate husbandmen or the refuse of British workhouses and slums.

—As we write, force is added to our appeals against Faction by the explosion of a second Pacific Railway Scandal, equal, if the accuser speaks truth, to the first. With the forms of a strictly legal indictment, the *Globe* avers that Mr. Shields, one of a firm of Government contractors, spent large sums of money for the Government in the elections and another sum in buying off a sinister claim against the Prime Minister, on the understanding that the firm was to be recouped by payments on the completion of its contract to which it would not otherwise have been entitled. The Government, in effect, stands charged with malversation, for the purpose of electoral corruption, to a very large extent. The *Globe* is to be commended, at all events, for having discarded the old habit of reckless imputation, and brought forward its charge with decency, courageously, and so as to tender a decisive issue. Mr. Shields threatens a libel suit, receives an answer of defiance, commences his proceedings, and will stand or fall by the result. With him will stand or fall the Government: much, which the morality of ordinary life does not permit, is permitted in the most unscrupulous of trades, as politics have unfortunately become; but even there a line is drawn, as the country, in the case of the former Pacific Railway Scandal, emphatically declared. On that occasion, the vein of ore struck by the opponents of Sir John Macdonald proved so rich that they have ever since been delving in the same mine, and have been tempted to neglect other and more

wholesome means of increasing their hold on the public mind, so that we cannot help receiving with some suspicion the joyful announcement that a new lode has been found. However, it would be wrong to form any opinion on a question which is coming before the Courts. Unhappily it can come before no Court perfectly competent to try a political cause: party prejudice is not to be shut out of the jury box nor can advocates be restrained from appealing to it, even by an English judge who has a firmer control over the bar than is possessed by judges here. A Royal Commission of inquiry, named by the very government into whose alleged delinquencies inquiry is to be made, would be an insult to public reason. A special tribunal, placed above all suspicion, is needed everywhere for the trial of such cases. In the course of ages we shall have one; in the course of ages too, perhaps, patriotism having triumphed over partisanship, the discovery that the chief servants of the State have betrayed their trust, will be a matter for sorrow to all and for joy to none.

—The retention of Sir Charles Tupper in the Cabinet, when he is Commissioner in England, can hardly be anything but a mode of putting off an unwelcome vacancy. The Government will be deprived of its most vigorous administrator and its most powerful debater. As a gladiator the Prime Minister is not Sir Charles' equal, though he possesses above all our public men the rare art of speaking for votes, which was also the great gift of Palmerston whose real counterpart he is. For prompt ingenuity, Sir Charles, perhaps, has few peers. To an antagonist whom he had accused of concealing his convictions on an important occasion, and who had been able to reply that he had expressed them in the most decided manner, the retort was ready, "It is not often, Mr. Speaker, as those who value the amenities of debate will bear witness, that the honourable gentleman states his opinion in language so little discourteous as to escape my recollection." Proteus is not to be bound. "Calm amidst the battles roar," Sir Charles cannot be said to be; "inventive" in the highest degree he is. Changes in the Cabinet are always ascribed to quarrels

or intrigues; but it appears that in Sir Charles Tupper's case health may well be the sole cause. Our public men, it is said, break down earlier than the English, because, instead of setting out like the Englishmen with patrimonial estates, they have to expend their health and energy in making a private fortune before they can enter on their political career. Perhaps the English statesmen have an advantage also in more invigorating habits and quieter nerves. But public men everywhere will soon be broken down by the demands of the stump, which have grown fearfully in ravenousness, and are still growing. Very few in number and very important were the occasions on which Sir Robert Peel made public speeches out of Parliament, and he would have been petrified by a request that he should appear on the platform at any election but his own. Now, even in England, statesmen, after spending half a year in the House of Commons, are expected to spend the other half in stumping the country. No time is left them for reflection or for the acquisition of knowledge, any more than for needful recreation. The consequences are beginning to appear in the ascendancy of rhetoric over statesmanship and the disproportionate rank taken by platform orators in the councils of the nation. Sir Charles Tupper has not lived or perhaps cared to live in the odour of political sanctity: he might possibly say, like the English politician who was taxed by the king with want of conscience, "It is true, your Majesty, that I have not much conscience myself, but I belong to a party which has a good deal." A little scandal which has recently come to light touching Sir Charles's dealings with the Catholic Vote is covered by the statute of limitations, and half condoned for the sake of his forcible expression as to the difficulty of placing confidence in "the breed." The infamous charges made against him in the *Globe*, under its former editorship, were never brought forward in the House, though the accused repeatedly challenged their production, and, as animosity was certainly not wanting, it is reasonable to suppose that evidence was. That the late Minister of Railways and the present High Commissioner of Canada has a personal connection with the Syndicate, is as grave an accusation as can be levelled against the character of a public man; no proof

of it whatever has been tendered ; but the levity with which it has been repeated and the indifference with which it has been received, are melancholy signs of the deadening effect of party strife upon the moral sense of the community.

"Puff us, puff us loudly, incessantly, and without scruple," is the cry which, sent up on all sides, rings at parting in the New Commissioner's ear. Not in our real resources or in our energies, but in being advertised without stint, so as to constrain England to bestow her notice on us, lies our hope of prosperity and greatness. If the original colonists of our race had been of the same mind, and had craved in like manner for the patronage of the Old Country on the Elbe, they would scarcely have made an England.

—The Governor-Generalship, soon to be vacated by Lord Lorne, after hovering over the heads of several English politicians, including Lord Dalhousie, who is too good for the place, and Mr. Forster, who was sure not to allow himself to be so shelved, has alighted on the Marquis of Lansdowne. A man who, after inheriting at twenty-one high rank in the peerage with a great estate, still strives to distinguish himself by merit, can hardly fail to have in him more force than enough for the part of a constitutional Viceroy, bound to speak as his advisers bid him, even when he is told to approve the grant of a bonus for the production of pig-iron ; though it is curious to see how English journals are still possessed with the belief that Canada, in the hands of a British nobleman sent out to rule her, is as clay in the hands of a potter. As an Irish proprietor, Lord Lansdowne, though necessarily an absentee, bears a very good name, and there is little sense in the objection taken to his appointment on that score. In politics he is a moderate Liberal, whose moderation is likely to increase : for a mitre does not more surely turn a Low Churchman into a High Churchman than a Viceroyalty turns a Liberal into a Tory. There need be no misgivings among Canadian Conservatives on that account. Lord Dufferin was sent out as a Liberal, but his tenure of office was a perpetual effort, by the use of all the social influence, flummery, and champagne at his command, to

propagate aristocratic sentiment, and repress the rising spirit of Canadian nationality. In truth, he availed himself, for these purposes, of instruments which Lord Lansdowne will perhaps hardly think it dignified to employ, while the purses of the Government clerks at Ottawa are said to have not even yet recovered from the effects of his glorious reign. A member of an aristocracy, and of an aristocracy whose power is departing, placed in the situation of the Governor-General, cannot reasonably be expected to refrain from acting in the interests of his order, and doing his utmost to delay if he cannot avert the final lapse, as he must deem it, of this continent into popular institutions and the elective system. Lord Lansdowne is not an adventurer; his personal position is assured; he has no need of using Canada as a stepping-stone: his mind may not be wholly closed against the reflection that, though sycophancy treats him as omniscient, he can know little of this country, and by tampering with its destiny for objects which are not those of its people, he may do mischief which history will scornfully record when the tongue of flattery has become mute. THE BYSTANDER will not be accused of democratic optimism, of believing in the divinity of the ballot-box, or of failing to acknowledge the difficulties and perils which beset the task, imposed upon us by Providence here, of organizing elective government, so as to combine wisdom and stability with freedom. But those difficulties can only be aggravated, those perils can only be enhanced, by the intrusion of a political principle which is utterly alien and incapable of naturalization. Whatever aristocratic influence may be to the communities of the Old World, to a community of the New World it is inoculation from a corpse. From the farcical catastrophe of Etiquette, Lord Lansdowne may infer the probable fate of that which is equally though less obviously exotic. The Court of Ottawa generates absolutely nothing but flunkeyism, and flunkeyism can only enfeeble and degrade. It may not be out of place once more to recall the fact that our genuine bond of political connection with the Mother Country is not the representation of Downing Street in the person of the Governor-General, but the mutual citizenship which exists, and it is to be hoped will never cease to exist, between Canada and England.

Among the persons named for the Governor-Generalship was the Duke of Albany. As Mr. Gladstone truly said, the Duke does himself honour by evincing his willingness to serve the country; and had all the members of his family for the last century and a half shown the same spirit, the feelings of the Irish people towards the Monarchy, and the state of the Irish question, would be very different from what they are now. But there was at least one strong reason against sending him here at the present time. That Fenianism will undertake any military operations on a serious scale, nobody but Irish servant girls can imagine: the bombastic extravagance of its threats forms the strongest guarantee against their execution; yet it has in its ranks desperadoes, as we have too good cause to know, and when it finds that all hope has gone, it may run-a-muck. Nothing is more likely to turn its frenzy in this direction than the presence here of an English Prince. The extraordinary precautions which in the case of Royalty it is deemed necessary to take, and the fussy nervousness which everybody thinks it loyal to exhibit, in themselves would act as stimulants to Fenian fancy. The other day we had a detective force summoned in haste from Toronto, and, if Ottawa correspondents spoke the truth, a session of the Privy Council held, because a boy had been firing at a musk-rat. This is not only undignified but dangerous, especially as the childish love of astonishing the universe mingles in no small measure with more darkly criminal motives in the Fenian breast.

—In the Nicholson Divorce case, the Senate demonstrated, to the satisfaction of everybody, its own inability to act as a legal tribunal, and the necessity of instituting a proper Divorce Court. Not only judicial dignity but decorum fled the scene. In the House of Lords, the Chancellor presides, and is assisted by other legal peers. To these professional authorities the House of Lords long ago practically delegated its judicial functions.

Saving this suicidal exhibition and the extinction of the last spark of life in the Seduction Bill, the Senate has done absolutely nothing but register what the Government laid before

it. Its name has seldom appeared in the reports. It does not even, like the House of Lords, maintain the decencies of impotence. It was called upon to pass the License Bill with only a few hours left for deliberation. How long is this to go on? Do not the men of ability whom the Senate contains see that their Chamber, if it remains unreformed, is doomed? It is doomed unless the Canadian people fall into dotage. History points the finger of scorn at the system of Rotten Boroughs and the nation which tamely endured it. Yet the system of Rotten Boroughs was a group of historical accidents which had grown up insensibly, and had never abruptly challenged the common sense and self-respect of the people; not to say that, in the judgment of such statesmen as Peel, it was capable, if not of a theoretical, of a practical defence, as a check upon the despotism of numbers, and as the side entrance through which a large proportion of the young men of promise had originally found their way into the House of Commons. But here we have a whole branch of the legislature, in the most open and deliberate manner, taken away from the nation and assigned to the nominees of the Prime Minister; nor can it be alleged that an anomaly so enormous is compensated by any sort of practical advantage. Out of seventy-two Senators, fifty-three now owe their appointments to a single politician, and a politician who appoints, and perhaps by the very structure of the combination which he leads is compelled to appoint, on the narrowest party grounds. There is no parallel to this in the political world. Of the House of Lords only the merest fraction can be at any time the nominees of a single minister. Senator Alexander preaches to the House independence, averring that such was the part which it was specially intended to play. Such was the part which it was intended to play, no doubt, by the British Statesmen who countersigned, and by the British Parliament which ratified, the proposal, whatever may have been the intention of the authors. But when Senator Alexander calls upon a body of nominees to show their independence, he might as well call upon a circle to exhibit the properties of a square. Some of the Senators, besides being nominees, are bound by ties of personal interest to their patrons. THE BYSTANDER is not a believer in a second

Chamber, but supposing that principle to be adopted, there might yet be time, by a judicious introduction of the elective principle, to infuse life into the bloodless veins, possibly to make the Senate the more important and more trusted House of the two. Yet everything points at present in the direction opposite to reform. For each vacancy, the claimant who has spent freely for the party is ready, and the leader of an army of sinister interests dares not repudiate the debt.

—Out of the imbroglio created by the Boundary Question and the Streams Bill, to which may now be added the disputes as to jurisdiction both in the Liquor and the Factory Questions, has naturally arisen a cry for the revision of the Constitution. More than once the suggestion has been thrown out in these pages. But can the thing be done under the present system? How could the two parties be brought to an agreement? The party in power would desire to centralize, the party out of power would desire to decentralize, and who could act as the arbitrator between them? The Colonial Office could hardly be trusted to decide: it is ignorant of Canada, and its award would practically be that of some one who had crept to its ear. Yet the machine in its present state will hardly work; every year reveals some new defect in its construction. The relative spheres of the central and local governments are ill-defined, and the two are perpetually running foul of each other. Provincial independence, which is a vital part of the scheme, has been swallowed up by Central Party. The framers of Confederation were struggling to escape from a deadlock, and though astute tacticians and able men of business they did not possess in an eminent degree either the knowledge or the habits of thought required by the architects of a constitution. They had not watched the progress of the great political experiment of which for half a century Europe had been the scene. Their appeal to the "well-known principles of the British Constitution," as a sufficient canon of interpretation in all disputed questions, shows that the special problems connected with the federal relation cannot have been distinctly present to their minds. That

which they avow to have been their guiding idea, the belief that in previous confederations the chief defect had been the want of power in the central government was an induction drawn from a single instance, which, moreover, had been misconstrued. Want of power in the central government was not the cause of the catastrophe in the United States: the cause was the antagonism between two social systems, that of Slavery and that of Freedom, which could not dwell together in the same commonwealth. Secession might even have been averted if the central government had been more narrowly circumscribed than it was, and if the Slaveowners had felt assured that it could never be used for the subversion of their peculiar institution. They rebelled because they apprehended that Congress was able to abolish Slavery, and would be impelled to do so by the increasing influence of the North. That limitation of Federal authority which is taken for weakness is really a source of strength. The self-government enjoyed by each of the States renders rebellion almost impossible, now that Slavery is dead, by removing any reason for rebelling. The action of the Washington government as a rule is felt only in immunity from evil; from war, foreign or domestic, and from impediments to intercourse between the States; and who is likely to take up arms against an immunity? Taxation, wrongly maintained in the interest and under the pressure of a Ring, is now the only apparent source of disunion, and this has its source not in defect but in abuse of central power. Our Canadian constitution is a hybrid, half national, half federal; a photograph, in which the features of the American system are blended with those of the British; and from the confusion fresh perplexities constantly arise. Nor have the framers provided any distinct authority like the Supreme Court of the United States for the decision of constitutional questions. That our Supreme Court is not such an authority, the very difficulties in which we are now weltering, prove. By way of makeshift, an oracle is being made of the Parliamentary Librarianship at Ottawa, the present holder of which is a most learned and respectable man, but in the absence of law or precedent can only spin judgments out of his own consciousness, and is besides inevitably influenced by his local surroundings, especially by his vicinity to

Government House, as his dissertation on the Pacific Railway Scandal plainly shows.

—There has been a revival of the debate about the extent of the exodus from Canada to the United States. Upon statistics framed by those who are engaged in the controversy little reliance can be placed. On the other hand, it seems unreasonable to dispute the accuracy of the American Census, which gives 717,157 as the number of persons born in British America who are now resident in the United States. The promoters of Repatriation in French Canada state that there are 300,000 French Canadians on the other side of the line. That many farmers go from Ontario to Dakota and other Western States, any one may satisfy himself by local inquiry. It is equally well attested that there is a constant flow of emigration from the Maritime Provinces to New England. The all-important fact, however, is that the circulation of the people between the two countries is now as free as it could be if they were two parts of the same country. No Canadian, except perhaps the very stiffest of U. E. Loyalists, hesitates to transfer himself to the States, if he thinks that he can thereby better his condition, any more than a Scotchman or a Northumbrian hesitates to transfer himself to London. The Canadian clergyman accepts a call from a wealthy congregation at New York with as little of real compunction as a farmer exchanges the farm which he has worked out in Ontario for fresh land in Dakota. Of fifty-five cadets trained in the Military College at Kingston to command our army against the Americans, it seems that eight have already settled in the States. Americans, on the other hand, in an increasing degree, take part in our commercial enterprises. Such is sure to be the case when two masses of population, identical in blood, in language, in every material respect, inhabit territories geographically interlaced, commercially united, and separated from each other only by a political line. Emigration Commissioners sent out by the British Government treat Canada and the United States as equally eligible for their purpose, paying no regard to political boundary. Nor do Englishmen, even

of the class most opposed to American institutions, any longer shrink from following their interest, when it leads them into American connections. Who can expect a Canadian farmer or artisan, originally, perhaps, an emigrant, to renounce, merely out of respect for a flag, or in deference to the memory of an ancient feud, the advantages offered by a virgin soil or a great labour market, when the scions of British aristocracy are marrying American heiresses, or making their fortunes in the commercial houses of New York?

—What we have said perhaps furnishes the only available answer to the more delicate question raised by Dr. Bender, as to the tendency of Canada to enter the Union. The Doctor is perfectly right in saying that there is no movement here at present in favour of political change. It is difficult to see how such a movement could be set on foot, when not only the legislatures, but to a great extent the organs of public opinion, are in the hands of the politicians, who, as a class, have a manifest interest in the retention of the separate government, with its vast array of paid legislatures, offices, and political prizes of every kind. To form an estimate of anything so intangible as opinion which has no organ, must always be extremely difficult; and in the present case there has hitherto been something like a reign of sentimental terror, every man who spoke his mind freely being at once marked down as a heretic, and every journal which faltered in its Shibboleth being eagerly denounced by the journals of the opposite party. That which is factitious, however, must sooner or later come to an end. The little Court at Ottawa influences to a ludicrous degree those who are within the sphere of its attraction; but the people do not dine at Government House, and the lord of that mansion, hearing nothing but loyal adulation, is in danger of living in a fool's paradise. Of the old Border feud hardly a trace now remains: when British Royalty has formally buried the hatchet, how can its subjects cherish the grudge? The French, it has been truly said, are indifferent, though the priests shrink, or have shrunk hitherto, from contact with the intellectual independence which is connected

in their ideas with a republic. The Irish are indifferent, and something more; probably, though not Fenian, they lean to a union with their kinsmen in the States: at all events they care little for British connection. As to the state of sentiment in the Maritime Provinces, we will not hazard a conjecture, except in so far as it may be indicated by the free flow of migration from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the United States. In New Brunswick, as we are assured by a good authority, there is a growing feeling in favour of Independence, but not in favour of Annexation, the memory of the Maine Boundary question being still strong. If the people of the Province of Ontario were to be told in the morning that they were the people of the State of Ontario, whatever their emotion might be at the first announcement, we suspect that before night the sense of commercial advantage would prevail. How should it be otherwise where there is no national feeling? And how can there be any national feeling where there is no nation? That free admission to the markets of their own continent would be to our people the greatest of all commercial advantages, no one seriously doubts; and against the growing perception of the fact, especially on the border, where the Customs barrier daily meets the eye of the producer excluded from his market, the politicians, in their struggle to maintain the Wall, will find themselves more and more called on to contend. Any such shock as a commercial crisis will in the future subject the Anti-Continental Policy to a serious strain. In the meantime, the duty of the patriotic journalist is the same whether the public men to whom he addresses himself are destined always to act on their present field, or to be called hereafter to an ampler sphere. He accepts the institutions of his country as they are, and faithfully does what he can to help in making them work well.

In estimating manifestations of Canadian opinion on whatever subject, it must be remembered that political dependency is not the parent of mental independence. The Englishman is a member of a nation, and though inferior to the Canadian in average intelligence, he is superior in political courage: he expresses his opinion with freedom, and he votes for the man of his choice: the opinion may be, and often is, utterly wrong, the man may be, and often is, ab-

surdly ill-chosen; but even the mechanic of Stoke, who believes in the Tichborne Claimant and votes for Kenealy, shows as an elector that his soul is his own. In the British Parliament there is always a Cross Bench, and a minority, even a minority of one, is sure of a hearing. The political character of the Canadian has been formed under the influence of tutelage; nor is he, like the Briton in his native seat, the direct and local heir of a long series of victories won by individual patriotism, such as that of Hampden, in the cause of freedom. Moreover, he has been tamed by the discipline of the caucus to an extent hitherto unparalleled by any tyanny of faction in the Mother Country. Hardly ever does he venture to leave his party lines, however much he may dislike the party candidate, or to give utterance in public to a thought at variance with established sentiment. as expressed by the regular leaders and by the orthodox press. Very secret must be the ballot, if the genuine opinions of our people on any tabooed subject are to be satisfactorily ascertained.

—It may be partly the feeling that events, unless speedily controlled, will take an unwelcome direction, which leads Sir Alexander Galt, at the risk of compromising his position as ambassador, to uplift his voice in favour of Imperial Federation. His addresses are able, of course; but all that it is to be said upon the subject has been said. To us it appears futile to propose that the Colonies shall surrender a large measure of their self-government, and subject themselves to the burden of supplying a military contingent, for the sake of a nominal representation in a distant council on questions in which they are little concerned; futile to propose that they shall all renounce their commercial independence and consent to adjust their tariff to the fiscal policy dictated by the widely different circumstances of Great Britain; futile to propose that England shall submit her diplomacy and her administration of India to the votes of dependencies, whose intervention in those affairs could breed nothing but confusion; and futile—a thousand times futile—to propose to British statesmen that the United Kingdom shall be broken up in order to furnish raw material for a Pan-Britannic Confederation. A moral reunion of the whole

English-speaking race is far more likely to seem practicable and attractive to English politicians, in their present mood. But we have only to repeat what we have said before: the advocates of Imperial Federation have given us words—eloquent and burning words—in unstinted measure: it is time for them to proceed to action, bring forward a definite plan, and move the different legislatures, Imperial and Colonial, to take up the question. Their trumpet has sounded again and again: now let them march!

—Their opponents march. Mr. Edgar presses vigorously the subject of Diplomatic Independence. Conservatives hold up their hands in horror: but let them recollect that they have sent to Europe an Ambassador in the person of the High Commissioner, who has been doing, or trying to do, under the mask of subordination to the Foreign Office, that which Mr. Edgar proposes to do without a mask. In that sort of political wisdom which consists in changing the real character of institutions without changing their forms or names, and which culminates in the King who reigns without governing, the British race has never had its peer. Canada has extorted legislative independence, administrative independence, fiscal independence, and all but extorted judicial independence; she is now laying claim to diplomatic independence; yet she vows all the time that she is a dependency, destined ever to remain so, and even makes a creditable show of indignation if, when the whole of the substance is gone, any one speaks with levity of the shadow. Diplomatic independence presents a difficulty not presented by the previous steps. If treaties are to be made with foreign countries, there must be a method of enforcing them, and recourse must be had to the power of the Mother Country, which can scarcely be expected to accept this responsibility without controlling the terms of the treaty. Ecuador, says Mr. Edgar, enters into commercial treaties, though she has no means of enforcing them. True, but then the honour of Ecuador is protected by her very weakness; nobody expects her to go to war in defence of her rights. The case would be very different if the honour of Great Britain were involved; and involved it must be, unless separation is complete.

—When our last number appeared, the misfortunes of the Premier of Ontario were not at an end. He afterwards lost Muskoka, and his majority is now reduced to a number barely exceeding that of his government. Nothing fails like failure, and the stars which fought against Mr. Mowat from Ottawa in the elections will no doubt continue to fight against him in the House. If we are to have party government, an occasional change of ministry is in itself desirable; it takes legislation out of a rut, gives an opening in the public service for a new set of men, and, above all, saves us from the perpetual domination of a clique. Symptoms of improvement in the demeanour of the government of Ontario are already beginning to appear. We would fain hope that such considerations prevailed with the electors; but the struggle seems to have been generally one of less respectable influences; and in Muskoka there was evidently a pitched battle of corruption, which can hardly fail to leave deep traces on the political character of a young community.

"But," cries a critic, "if you say there is corruption in the Ontario elections, public peculation in Quebec, jobbery in the exercise of patronage, torpor in the Ottawa senate and the legislative council of New Brunswick, do you hold the Canadian people worthy of self-government?" Are the facts denied? If they are not, the inference, whatever it may be, presses on the objector with as much weight as on us. Worthy of self-government, we, for our part, do hold the Canadian people at present to be; and to see it restored to them by the liberation of the constituencies from the tyranny of the wirepullers, is our earnest, though perhaps chimerical, desire. Yet the education which they are receiving under the system of organized faction will have its effect, and in half a century, or less, the capacity for self-government may be lost. History presents examples of such decline. But why turn upon THE BYSTANDER with this reproach? Has anything appeared in our pages comparable in severity to what is constantly appearing elsewhere? Is there truth in a tithe of what the two parties say of each other through their organs every morning? If there is, the country must be in a bad way indeed. If there is not, our politicians on both sides must be steeped in calumny; and

the man who is steeped in calumny can hardly be in general respects a paragon of honour. We commend this dilemma to the consideration of the offended patriot. No doubt each party will aver that all is veracity on its own side and slander on the other; but supposing either party to be right, half the prospect is still left in the shade: and as the ascendency of parties alternates, every other year on an average will be one of incapable and dishonest government.

In the London *Advertiser*, again, a writer of eminence protests against our assumption that in this country there are no issues great enough to justify a division of the community into organized parties. "The differences," he says, "with regard to a protective and a revenue tariff, about the absolute control by the Provincial governments and legislatures of Provincial matters, about the right to decide on foreign commercial relations, the right of the majority of the electors to elect a majority of the representatives in Parliament, the propriety of keeping the public lands out of the hands of speculators, the propriety of avoiding monopoly in the carrying trade of the country, are questions as large and as important as those which usually divide parties in other countries." But an inspection of this list will show that it is made up of two classes of questions, a class about which there can be no difference of opinion among honest men, and a class about which honest men may differ in opinion without having any occasion to form themselves into organized parties. To the first class belong the avoidance of monopoly in the carrying trade, purity in the disposal of the public lands, and fairness in the apportionment of parliamentary representation. To the second class belong the legal limit of central or provincial jurisdiction, and the regulation of fiscal policy. There are Radical Protectionists, many a one; there are Tory Free Traders; and the interpretation of the British North America Act no more involves party politics than does the interpretation of any other statute. People take that to which they have themselves always been accustomed for a part of the constitution of nature. Yet they do not accept the conseqences of their own theory. To the party system the existence of two parties is necessary. Why then treat

the other party as evil? Why not recognise it as the complement of your own? Does one lung revile the other lung? Does the engine denounce the boiler?

It is forgotten that Canada herself was able to dispense for a time with that which is alleged to be indispensable. Faction having brought on a deadlock, a government without party was formed and carried Confederation. Yet there was no suspension of the political life of the community, nor any collapse of the administration. People rather look back upon that period as an agreeable respite from the endless strife. True, Party soon returned, but it was not brought back by the force of natural gravitation or by the spontaneous action of the people: it was brought back by the personal instrumentality of Mr. George Brown, and as a consequence of his quarrel with his colleagues. The people, far from hailing the revival of that which they were told was the only good and feasible system, were with difficulty driven back within the party lines, and displayed their gratitude to Mr. Brown by refusing to re-elect him to parliament and ejecting him from public life.

This discussion is not so unpractical as it seems: if it were we should not recur to it. There will, in all probability, before long be a break in the continuity of one of the Parties, which will give the nation the opportunity of reconsidering the system. The Conservative leader is always reminding us that the day of his public life is far spent, and the motley bands which he has managed to unite under his leadership can scarcely remain united under any other chief. Even if it were possible to find a successor equal to him in skill, it would be impossible to find one equal to him in knowledge of the game, or possessing anything like the multiplicity of personal connections which he has formed throughout the Dominion in the course of his long career. That the present leader of the Opposition will be strong enough at once to take Sir John Macdonald's place and to hold power with his own train of followers, becomes every day more unlikely. In spite of Mr. Blake's high character and undeniable ability, his hold upon the country does not increase. A crisis will come. The nation will be called upon to decide whether organizations which nature has

dissolved shall be artificially reconstructed for the purpose of keeping up perpetual strife, or whether a national government shall be established and the land be ruled in peace. Seeing then that a decisive hour is not far distant, let us prepare ourselves for it by purging our vision of the mists of conventional fancy and trying to see things as they are.

—Manitoba is at present strewn with the wrecks of a "Boom" and of a "Boom" in which there was as much of roguery as of madness. At Winnipeg, more of the newcomers are prospectors than emigrants; the emigrant, remembering the carnival of extortion of which the place was the scene last year, goes farther afield and takes his own provisions with him. Trade therefore is low while rents remain high, landlords having given "Boom" prices for the land. Summer and the influx of emigrants will soon put a brighter face on things. But Manitoba cannot afford to be weighted in the race with Minnesota and Dakota. Her harvests are her all; and scant is the time which her climate allows for getting them in: an accident to a binder, where the means of mending it are not at hand, may cause a farmer to lose his crop. With the Syndicate, so far as we can learn, no fault has been found; it has kept its faith, done its work well, and behaved honourably to everybody. But the Ottawa Government has fallen into errors like those into which Downing Street used to fall when it was managing the affairs of Colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. Nor are the land regulations and the land sales which have roused the wrath of the people the only bad effects. It is most essential that the first rulers and judges of a young community should be qualified to impress the character of society for good, and give sentiment the right tone; but party has, on both sides, made Manitoba a refuge for its destitute; indecency has disgraced the judgment seat, and Government House has hardly been free from land-gambling. The foundation stone of public morality has been laid by inauspicious hands, and in more than one direction the consequences are beginning to appear.

—A correspondent, whose word is decisive, tells us that we must not ascribe to despondency Mr. Joly's retirement from the Liberal leadership in Quebec; it was a measure of strategy adopted partly on account of his religion, which is that of the minority. But if the political situation is such as to make Mr. Joly's retirement a strategical necessity, though he may not despond, many friends of honest government will. There is a reform party in Quebec, and its efforts deserve the warmest sympathy. But can it hope to stem the tide of corruption? How can it make head against the influence of priests, who, for objects of their own, may put the votes of the peasantry into the hands of the political intriguers. The French Canadians are a moral, kindly, and courteous race, happy on little; life among them is very likely pleasanter than it is among people whose political reputation stands much higher. But they are fatally destitute of independence; nor is it easy to see how it can be infused into them without a complete change of the influences which determine their character, and of which the chief is the spirit of their religion. Yet the clergy had better beware how they continue blindly to lend the aid of their authority to political corruption: bankruptcy is a stern teacher, and in the overgrown wealth of the Church, Quebec, if she is reduced to desperation, will see a rich fund on the counterparts of which even the nations which have remained Catholic in doctrine have one after another laid confiscating hands. The Reformation itself was in no small measure an economical movement, caused by the inordinate growth of the Church property. A young politician who should dare to unfurl the banner of thorough disestablishment and disendowment in Quebec would stand alone at first, but he would have no unhopeful career before him.

—With manufactures, the introduction of which on a large scale into a country is always deemed the greatest triumph of commercial statesmanship and the height of national bliss, come the Factory Question and the necessity of guarding women and children, that is to say the health and vitality of the race, against

the fell demands of avarice. To those who, like ourselves, are Conservatives in questions of sex, the sight of a number of women, especially married women, employed in factory work is anything but a source of joy. We cling to the hope that some day, by improvements in automatic machinery, or some other beneficent agency, female labour may be rendered needless, and woman may be restored entirely to the home. In this, however, it must be owned our sentiment runs counter to the prevailing tendency, which is to turn women into weaker men and set them the same work as men, so far as their strength suffices. Some economists even look forward to the day when human wealth will, as they imagine, be doubled by adding to the labour of the men that of all the women. What they mean to do with the family does not appear. The Factory system, in the case of married women, can at best hardly be made compatible with domestic duty. Maternity must be sacrificed to Mammon, and the penalty of that sacrifice must be paid in the sickliness of the race. It is sad, but not surprising, to hear of an increased use of narcotics for the purpose of keeping children quiet while the mother is at the mill. Yet the Factory system we must have, and the most that can be done is to put breaks on the wheel of Juggernaut's car. The Government had better have spent the time left them in passing the Factory Bill, than in piling another Liquor Law on the Crook's Act. That women are for such purposes wards of the State, is denied by theorists such as Mill and Fawcett, who refuse, in the sphere of industry, as well as in the political and social sphere, to recognise the distinction of sex; but the conviction retains its hold on the common sense of the practical world. That children are for the purposes of a Factory Act the wards of the State, nobody denies, nor does anybody question the terrible effects of setting them to work beyond their strength, for too long a time or in unwholesome air. Feeble and sickly, they will become parents in their turn of children feebler and more sickly than themselves. Heart-rending and disgraceful to civilization were the disclosures which caused the Factory Act to be passed in England; and the delegates of the Toronto Trades, when they went to Ottawa to advocate legislation, found, as they reported, a practical proof of its

necessity in an establishment where two hundred children were employed in a manner injurious to their health. The requirements of proper sanitary arrangements in factories, and proper means of escape in case of fire, everybody will approve. To dub protective legislation of this kind socialistic is preposterous. It bears no affinity, nor does it in any way commit us, to the chimeras of the Socialist, to his scheme of substituting a central taskmaster for industrial liberty, or to his tyrannical interference with the private discretion of citizens competent to take care of their own interests, much less to any of his theories of confiscation. We might as well apply the name of Socialism to an intramural interment Act, to a law requiring proper means of egress from the theatres, or to the guardianship exercised by the Court of Chancery over lunatics and minors. It would be hard if, while the master manufacturer is protected against the community, the community were to be debarred from protecting the health of its women and children against the selfishness of the master manufacturer. Nobody is accused of wilful cruelty ; but there are employers who are in haste to grow rich.

The weak point of such a measure is that so much is almost inevitably left to depend on the inspector. We follow somewhat blindly in the track of British legislation ; but the circumstances of the two countries are not the same. Great Britain still retains much of the character of an administrative monarchy. Central departments, such as the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board, continue to exercise powers to which there is hardly anything analogous in the communities of this continent. Moreover, at the head of each department is a permanent Secretary, who for all ordinary purposes is the Minister, and who, as he does not go out with the Government, is independent of party, and as inaccessible to clandestine influence as any judge. Under such a system perfect reliance may well be placed in the integrity of the inspectors, who are appointed with scrupulous regard to the interest of the public service and, if they forgot their duty, would be called to account before a tribunal of inflexible justice. Under a system widely different, and in which everything has been absorbed by party, the same confidence cannot be felt. It is true

that we have trustworthy inspectors: Toronto, we believe, has no reason to complain of any want of uprightness or vigilance on the part of Mr. Awde. But when it comes to enforcing an unpalatable law against a mighty and combined interest, which forms the chief pillar of a party government, the courage and virtue of the inspector will be more severely tried. Here again a text might be found for a sermon in favour of national government.

Besides the want of provisions for their health and safety, the women in our factories complain that they are underpaid; and appeals to public sympathy have been made by the press on their behalf. But this is an evil for which legislation has no cure, because it arises from the overstocking of the labour market. The overstocking of the labour market, again, has its source partly in the prevailing antipathy to domestic service. Women prefer independence, with liberty to do as they please in the evenings, to the better fare and greater comfort which they might enjoy as cooks or housemaids in a private family. Such a taste is not unnatural, and it derives strength from the democratic sentiment. But those who choose to indulge it must be prepared to take the consequences. Wages will rise when the number of applicants for employment is reduced. It is very likely that one of the first consequences of female suffrage will be an attempt to raise the wages of women by legislation; but the result will only show that philanthropy fights in vain against nature. We have learned to recognise physical law; we shall gradually learn to recognise economic law, and become sensible that in both cases we can control only by submission.

—The mention of the Servant difficulty is like the opening of a seal in the Apocalypse. It is followed by a universal wail. We have pointed probably to the main source of these troubles in naming the democratic sentiment which makes the female citizen unwilling to call anybody mistress. The feeling shows itself even in outward habiliments. The dress of the waiting woman here is an attempt to vie with her mistress, while in France, at least in provincial France, the servant wears the dress of her calling, and

is no more ashamed of it than a soldier is ashamed of his uniform. Democracy, if it is ever destined to ripen into gentleness, is at present crude and harsh: we have not yet learned to reconcile moral and political equality with industrial subordination; and the classes whose lot was subjection in the Old World are paying off their scores against the governing classes here. Even the Old World, however, has ceased to be a paradise of the mistresses, as is shown by the jeremiads of poor Mrs. Carlyle, whose letters we have elsewhere noticed, and who walked all her life through the shadow of the valley of domestic difficulty. Fractiousness, impertinence, inebriety, uncleanliness, wholesale smashing of glass and china—that consort of a great teacher endured them all; and the annals of her affliction may afford a melancholy satisfaction to her Canadian fellow sufferers. There are, indeed, in England, or have been within living memory, households presenting the relation between master and servant in its fairest aspect, not as a mere commercial engagement, but as a sort of secondary kinship; households in which the constant attention of the master and mistress to the welfare of their domestics was repaid by the attachment of servants, who entirely identified themselves with the interest of their employers, considered themselves as members of the family, and thought of no other home, knowing that provision would not fail to be made for them in their old age. But English society has changed; instead of being stationary and quiet, life has become migratory and restless; servants are discharged when the family goes to town or abroad; the tie for the most part has become wholly commercial; and if a household of the ancient type is anywhere to be found, it is a relic and an oasis. In the controversy which has been going on here, the mistresses have accused the girls of insolence and impertinence; the girl has retorted with charges of intemperance and family discord. Intemperance is not likely to be common, and family discord is an evil which affects the belligerents more than their domestics; while it is certain that the complaints on the other side are in many cases well founded, and that kindness and liberality are often met by increased aggressiveness and an apparent delight in giving trouble. Yet it is as foolish, if you are a domestic, not to be a good

one, as it would be to cultivate inferiority in any other calling. Perhaps in managing a household there is an art which depends, in some measure, on early habit, and which at the time of life when many make their fortunes it may be too late to acquire. Nor do all understand the secret of scrupulous abstinence, even when called upon to find fault, from any word that can wound feeling. However, there are well-ordered and attached households in Canada as well as elsewhere.

—In the Report of the Toronto Conference of the Combined Charities, of which part is appended to this number, the Conference, with a reluctance which may well be believed to be unfeigned, intimates its opinion that it has become necessary to establish a public institution and a public officer for the relief of the poor. This sounds like the knell of a happy state of immunity; but the nations of the New World have lived fast, and commercial prosperity is always attended by its dark shadow. That Poverty has advanced with Progress, as the apostle of Agrarian Socialism assumes, is utterly untrue. Not only has the number of those who are well off enormously increased, but the proportion of the indigent to those who are well off has enormously diminished, and the lot even of the most indigent has become far less miserable than it was in those days when famine, plague and leprosy, as well as brutish ignorance and barbarism, were the familiar inmates of the hovel. That production has been multiplied manifold nobody can doubt; and what is produced is consumed, all the more certainly since the facilities of distribution have kept pace, thanks to the railway and the steamship, with the facilities of production, and there can be no longer, as there was in the Middle Ages, dearth in one district of a country while there is plenty in another. It is preposterous to form a general estimate of the homes of this continent from a comparison drawn between Vanderbilt's palace and the worst tenement-houses of New York. Still, where over-population is gathered in large masses, there must be a certain amount of failure, infirmity, disease, decrepitude and intemperance; the vicissitudes of commerce and industry

on a large scale must give birth to cases of individual misfortune. The length of the close season in this climate presses hard on industry; and a summer's improvidence, which is almost pardonable, often leads to winter suffering. Moreover, the pauperism of the Old World is being constantly thrown upon our shores. There is happily no need for darkening the smiling prospects of our land with the Bastiles, as they are somewhat unjustly nicknamed, which mar the loveliness of the English landscape. But there is need, and in our great cities pressing need, for the institution of some relieving agency more regular, more certain, and more responsible than private charity, whether it be that of individual citizens or of charitable corporations. It appears from the report of the Toronto Conference that thirty or forty persons are annually committed to the gaol, for no offence, but to give them shelter and save them from starvation. Innocent, and perhaps respectable misfortune is thus sent, it may be after a long life of hard labour, to herd with crime. It also appears that in one month three hundred persons were fain to take shelter for the night in the different police stations of the city. Private charity will go on: it is the most suitable as well as the most Christian way of dealing with a multitude of cases, including that bitterest of all kinds of indigence, the indigence of those who have known better days, and to whom to beg is as hateful as death. It is with waifs, hopeless wrecks, and castaways who might otherwise starve on the street that the relieving officer will have to deal. He will have, with the aid of the police, to maintain order, which no private person can maintain, among the inmates, often rough and turbulent, of a casual ward. He will also have to forward wanderers to their homes or destinations, which there are at present no regular means of doing, though that duty and indeed the duties of a relieving officer in general are incongruously cast upon the Chief Magistrate of a great city. But here the action of the legislature will be needed to prevent the country districts from shipping off their pauperism to the cities, and to compel each county to take care of its own poor. To talk of making the Churches the organs of charity, in such cases as the Conference has in view, is surely futile. How are you to inquire into the Church membership of a

waif who presents himself late at night and famishing at your door?

The Toronto Conference has applied the labour test with success to tramps. It is the only mode of dealing with those cases, nor can it be feared that the work done by them in a stone-yard, or in some equally coarse employment, will seriously compete with the industry of our regular workers. Fed they must be, and the only question is whether the community shall bear the burden of feeding them for nothing, or whether they shall earn their bread. The tramp is not necessarily bad: he is often merely restless; indisposed to settled industry, but capable of being put to uses of another kind. In Europe he would become a soldier: it was of such men, and often of men much more nearly akin to the criminal class, that the victorious armies of Marlborough and Wellington were composed. Discipline and service under a great commander turned the vagabond into a "Corporal Trim." We have fortunately little demand for soldiers. Would it be possible to form a regiment of government workmen to which the tramp might be committed, and where he might be placed, not indeed under the elevating influences of military honour, but, at least, under the schooling of military discipline?

—It might be thought that both in the United States and Canada the community was dependent on alms, if one were to judge from the anxiety with which the opening of every will is watched, to see what the dead man has left to charities. Testamentary munificence is represented as a public obligation, to be enforced by the penalty of a thinly attended funeral. Sir Hugh Allan's funeral, we are told, would have been thinly attended if it had been known that his will contained no charitable bequests. There may be persons, whose aim in death as in life is show, who think with pride of the train of hacks which will follow their hearses, as well as of the mountains of marble under which they will lie, vainly soliciting with their epitaphs a sympathy which, if it ever was felt for them, has long grown cold; and for these the threat of a quiet and unnoted mingling of

dust with dust may have its terrors. For those whose nature is such as to make them charitable on principle, it can have none. The belief that your memory will live in the hearts of the few who have known you well, till they too are gone, is pleasant and a spur to well-doing; but no man of any depth of character can think without repugnance of the crowd of formal mourners who go back chatting and laughing from the grave. Dare we say that old Sir Hugh Allan, though certainly no object of adoration, is rather exalted in our eyes by his indifference to what is called public sentiment? He did with the earnings of his industry that which, rightly or wrongly, he thought just. The earnings of his industry they were, and the interest of the capital which his daring had risked, not, as censorious philanthropy represents them, gains wrung from the labour of others. So long as he gave his men fair wages, paid for all the goods he used, and acted fairly, he owed nothing on that score to the community. Rather they were in his debt for whom the enterprise organized by him and set on foot with his capital found employment which they could not have found for themselves. Language is beginning in some quarters to be held upon these subjects which is likely to defeat its own object. There are persons so conscious of the duties of property, that they may almost be called voluntary communists, who would yet, in the broad interest of society, set their faces against moral confiscation. Men will not strive to make money unless they are allowed to enjoy it with freedom; and unless men strive to make money, industrial enterprise will expire, and those who live by it will be deprived of their bread.

—The President of the Bank of Montreal, who is installed as our commercial weather-prophet, has opened his mouth in sayings which have the due prophetic cast of ambiguity. Over-production, and present dulness of business he notes as certain facts: for the rest he bids us hope yet fear. So Sibylline is his art that we should be puzzled to say what it is which makes us feel that there is more sincerity in the expression of fear than in that of hope. For our part, as humbler seers, we prefer to reserve our predictions

till we shall have received inspiration from the event. Tell us whether the harvest is good, and the lumber trade active; we will then forecast the commercial future. The root of all wisdom in these matters, we venture to think, is a clear and sober estimate of the real productive powers of the country, and the actual extent of its market. It is surprising to see how men of great practical ability and skill in business seem to lose their hold of this simple truth, and to treat a country which has no sources of wealth but its agriculture and its lumber, as though, by some magical process of development combined with robust advertising, it could be tickled into unlimited production and endowed with purchasing power equally unbounded. Into over-speculation, over-importation, over-borrowing, and over-building of railways, it has been tickled and may be tickled again. The President, like everyone else, speaks of the North-West as a part of Canada, and of its wealth as Canadian wealth. It does at present afford Canada a new market and a new field for investment, while it takes from her many of her best farmers and the money which they carry away. But seas divide land from land, and it is not salt alone that makes a sea. The people in the North-West speak of the East as "Canada."

—A movement is on foot in Toronto for the foundation of Sisterhoods, while from Montreal comes a practical warning against shutting up girls in nunneries. It would seem that the cenobitic life ought to have its uses, if these could be disengaged from superstitious abuse. Of women there must be not a few who have passed the age for marriage, have no family circle or domestic employment, feel a lack of interest in life and would find in a sisterhood companionship, increased comfort and facilities for association in good works. Even among men there are some unsuited either for domestic life or for living alone in the world, with recluse pursuits, yet desiring and needing society. Every Oxford or Cambridge College could show in the list of its Fellows some specimens of this class. Bacon dreamed of a cenobitic life for the purpose of scientific research, and Renan seems to have a vision

of the same kind. Some day this idea will be taken up in a practical form. But there is nothing in it ecclesiastical, much less is there anything ascetic, at least if asceticism is taken to imply the propitiation of the Deity by self-torture or privation. There are convents in which the nun is absolutely immured for life, never being permitted to see the world from the time of her entrance into the cloister. This does not differ in kind, though it differs in degree, from the practices of the African Pillar Saint or the Indian Fakir. Perpetual vows and the seclusion, which is virtually the imprisonment for life, of young women are things which some day, when the world is not so much afraid as it is now of the Catholic vote, will be brought under the cognizance of law. No Protestant fanaticism is needed to make us believe that nunneries must contain many an unhappy inmate, the victim of a rash vow; nor is the case improved, if the captive spirit, instead of beating against the bars, sinks into a vacant apathy which can hardly be called life. That these institutions are engines of great power in the hands of priests, both for the extension of ecclesiastical influence and for the collection of money is evident enough: and there will always be a tendency to establish them or something like them on the part of every priesthood which finds itself in need of props. Community of religion, apart from asceticism, is a natural bond, and one which may be fruitful of good works, as well as of brotherly and sisterly feeling. The only thing to be said against it is, that in the case of women especially, it is almost inevitably connected with absolute submission to sacerdotal influence, to which Protestants necessarily object, though Roman Catholics, or High Anglicans, do not. If we are to have nunneries, it seems better on the whole that they should be Roman Catholic. The Church of Rome, recognising the monastic system, regulates it by laws, with proper authorities to enforce them; it thus guards against certain dangers, and while it deprives the nun of her liberty, exempts her from the tyranny of individual caprice. In an Anglican nunnery, which is unrecognised by the Church and therefore uncontrolled by law, there are no such securities; a sister must be left to the will of the superior or of the clergyman in whose hands she is; and those who remember a controversy which broke

out in England some time ago about the administration of a nunnery by Miss Sellon, Dr. Pusey's female lieutenant, and led to disclosures on the part of one of the inmates, will be sensible, to say the least, that there are perils in that direction.

—Canadian literature, in the limited space at our command, must, for the time, give place to Canadian politics. There are several works relating to the history of this country, with which we hope soon to deal, collectively, and in connection with their general subject. In the meantime, we can venture to say of Mr. Collins's *Life and Times of Sir John A. Macdonald*, that while men will differ and differ widely in opinion about its judgments, according to the party to which each reader belongs, nobody can fail to find it lively reading. We can do no more than salute Canadian Drama in M. Frechette's "Thunderbolt," and Mr. Allen's dramatic poem on the "Loves of Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson." In criticism, we note Mr. Dawson's "Study of Tennyson's *Princess*," careful, tasteful, and eliciting at least the full meaning of the poem. *Vera*, the authoress of *Honor Edgeworth*, promises to be a sprightly writer, and she has a curious field of social observation in the little Court of Ottawa. But to be a critic she must preserve her social independence. There is a passage of Viceroyalty-worship in her book which once more shows us what effect is produced on character by the atmosphere of Rideau Hall.

—The Royal Society has held its second session, which would probably have been its last, had not a cordial been given it in the shape of a grant of money from the overflowing coffers of the Finance Minister. The literary section in itself shows no signs of life: the scientific section may possibly find work in chronicling the fruits of strictly local research, though papers of a wider scope are sure, if they are worth anything, to find a place in the regular organs of the scientific world. There is life enough, on the other hand, in the Royal Academy, and the exhibition of this year is generally pronounced successful. Still we feel our limitations. The best pictures are simple transcripts of Canadian scenery;

and wood, water, autumn tints, and georgeous sunsets ever recurring begin to pall. We have no "old poetic mountains," to breathe inspiration, nor anything historic or romantic to lend a human interest to the scene. If we could even give birth to a Turner, the materials for his imagination to work upon would be wanting. In the Exhibition there are good paintings of flowers, but this at best is a lowly kind of art. There is one exhibitor at least who, rising into a higher sphere, tells a story and tells it well, if only this gift were wedded with the command of the technicalities necessary to freedom and force of treatment; the hand here fails the mind.

—In the United States, each of the two parties is looking about for principles and questions to justify its existence and supply it with materials for a platform. The Republicans are at the same time engaged in endeavouring, without much success, to heal the desperate quarrel between their two sections, the Half Breeds and the Stalwarts, the difference between which is really fundamental, so that there is nothing but a name and a tradition to keep them in the same camp. The only great issue before the nation, in truth, is that of Administrative Reform, which the Half Breeds advocate and to which the Stalwarts are opposed. The issues of the war are now thoroughly dead, though in each political caste there lingers the odour of the liquor which filled it a quarter of a century ago. The Democratic party was the party of Slavery and the Irish, the Irish in the North having been the paid retainers of the Southern oligarchy which, in requital for their support of its institutions, gave the North up to them for pillage. It is now, Slavery being out of the way, the party of the Irish alone; at least it embraces no other interest equally powerful and united; so that its victory would open the way for Irish ascendency and for a series of attempts, which would infallibly follow, to force the United States into a quarrel with Great Britain. The question between Protection and Free Trade is undoubtedly exciting more interest now that the war and its consequences are forgotten, and to a certain extent the division upon it co-

incides with the party lines. The Democrats are most in favour of Free Trade, a tendency perpetuated from the time when the Southerners were the ruling element of the party and there were no manufacturers in the South: but the Democrats of Pennsylvania are manufacturers, and when the signal is given to advance under the banner of Free Trade, they always break the ranks. It would be a singular and impressive lesson on the tendencies of organized faction as a system of government, if by a division between two bodies of native Americans, for which no real ground or justification can any longer be assigned, the country were to be delivered into the hands of a horde of foreigners, who do not even profess that their hearts belong to their adopted country, whose avowed objects are anti-national, and of whose influence, whatever vote-seeking politicians and enslaved journals may say in public, every loyal and respectable citizen speaks in private with terror and disgust. If the Republican party were to declare itself in favour of a stricter naturalization law, the step would be daring, but the real state of opinion among native Americans being what it is, it might in the end prove not unwise.

—Three warning bells have tolled. At Chicago, an arch ruffian has been elected by ruffians, and out of sympathy with his ruffianism, mayor for the third time. If, as is said, respectability was supine, this does not much mend the matter, and it leaves untouched the fact that the suffrage is to a fearful extent in the worst hands. That the exercise of the franchise in itself elevates and enlightens the possessor, is a pleasant theory; but no doubt many of the supporters of the Chicago demagogue, like the mass of the supporters of Andrew Jackson, had exercised the franchise all their days. Can a tolerable government be based on such constituencies as that of Chicago? It cannot, and if the whole country were a Chicago, revolution and anarchy would be at hand: happily the whole country is not a Chicago, and the farmers of Illinois would, in extremity, take arms against the rowdies and put them down with ease. Yet this triumph of rowdyism is ominous. The greatest danger of the Union, though it does not yet appear in

its full magnitude upon the surface, is a collision between American civilization and the forces of barbarism, mainly foreign, by which it is assailed, such as would kindle the flame of local civil war.

The investigation into the management of the Tewkesbury Alms-house, again, unless the testimonies, which appear conclusive, should hereafter be contradicted, will have revealed the limited efficacy of agencies on which we have been in the habit of relying as all-sufficient to make the people moral. Here, in Massachusetts, the mother of the public school system, the focus of all the enlightenment which can be produced by lectures, public libraries, and intellectual apparatus of every kind, are persons educated enough to be placed in positions of public trust, yet at heart savages, and not only savages, but fiends. With cruelty to the helpless living is combined the perpetration of execrable outrages on the dead.

The third of the warning bells is the disclosure, in a paper contributed by Mr. Joseph Cook to the *Journal of Education*, of wide spread and growing illiteracy. Of the fifty millions of people, Mr. Cook says, five millions cannot read; of ten millions of voters one in five cannot write his name; at the present rate of increase of the number of children not attending school there will be, in ten years, more children in the United States out of school than in them. Ignorance is not always vice any more than Tewkesbury education is virtue; but it fatally incapacitates for the intelligent exercise of political power. In this apparently disastrous balance sheet of the public school system, the influx of uneducated foreigners, as well as the negro element, no doubt, goes for a good deal. Yet the system itself, indispensable and almost above discussion, as we must for the present deem it, is human and not divine. It kills the sense of duty in the parent, who is materially bound to educate as well as to feed and clothe the children whom he brings into the world, while experience seems to teach that what is gratuitous is less valued, and that attendance is better with a moderate fee. As to compulsion, though it may be practicable under the strong governments of Europe, it appears to be impracticable in communities like these.

—In the Fenian Convention at Philadelphia, dynamite was not denounced; to denounce it would have been to cut off the supplies: but silence was kept about it in deference, perhaps, to the opinions of American associates, who would be sure to whisper that Satanism openly avowed was unsuited to the American market. The assembly indemnified itself by a tremendous explosion of rhetoric in the shape of a manifesto, charging the government over which Mr. Gladstone at present presides, and over which before him Grey, Peel, Melbourne, and Russell presided, with being in the habit of wantonly massacring whole communities, applying the blazing torch to the asylums of terrified women, bombarding helpless towns, butchering age and infirmity, racking and hanging venerable priests, impaling puling babes on the point of bayonets, and when sword, cannon, torch, dagger and explosive fail, deliberately employing the agency of famine for the execution of its purposes. The manifesto does not explain how it comes to pass that whenever famine approaches, Ireland at once holds out her hand to the contrivers of the calamity for relief, suspending her curses till she has been fed, when she renews them with greater energy than ever. Carlyle said, after hearing O'Connell speak, that every sentence seemed not only to be, but to know that it was, a detected lie. There is little use in criticising the calumnies of delirium; but it happens that the chief of the venerable priests, whom it is the pastime of the British government to rack and hang, has just avowed that in no other country where the ruling powers are not Catholic, is the Catholic Church placed on so good a footing, or so liberally treated. English fomenters of the Irish Revolution, however, may ask themselves whether the sympathy with the Irish, of the lack of which they accuse their own countrymen, is likely to be evoked by a perpetual torrent of savage slander. The effect of this oratorical bombardment upon England is not difficult to predict. The old ship which through the centuries has borne the battering of shotted guns till her masts were gone and her decks ran with blood, will not be sunk nor compelled to strike her flag by guns, which, though their roar is tremendous, are not shotted. The effect upon opinion in the United States can be calculated with equal certainty. Some of

the Americans may yet be sufficiently under the dominion of an ancient hate to lend a ready ear to any invectives against the elder portion of their race which do not pass the bounds of sanity; few of them can be sufficiently devoid of sense to lend a ready ear to the ravings of a malignant Bedlam. They begin apparently to have misgivings as to the clearness of the connection between misgovernment and Irish outrage since they see that a violent outbreak of crime, together with a furious eruption of hatred, follows immediately upon measures of remedial legislation, which interfere with the rights of property in the interest of the peasantry to an extent such as would never have been tolerated in the United States. They ask themselves whether the butchering of men before the eyes of their wives, the slaughter of an inoffensive boy in his mother's arms, the burning of widows' houses, and the cutting off of cows' udders are things which can either be justified by any recent conduct of the British government, or palliated by the calamitous incidents of feudal conquest, the religious wars which enveloped Ireland with the rest of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and other events nearly as remote from the present day as the catastrophes of the geological era. They remember the Anti-draft riots, in which the Irishman committed the same devilish atrocities under the constitution of the United States, which he is now committing under that of the United Kingdom; and if they live in a city they are made sensible every hour that Irish character is a thing entirely separable from the malign influence of Dublin Castle. The fact is perhaps dawning on their minds that all the communities of the English-speaking race have a common interest in repressing a domination which threatens with ruin their polities and their civilization. The Americans are also startled, and with good reason, by the attitude which the Irish openly assume, and which is not that of citizens bound to think only of the interests of their adopted country, but that of aliens and exiles, using their acquired privileges and powers simply as engines for the purpose of sustaining a war of assassination in Ireland. "We shall continue to instil venom in every land against these (British) plunderers of the world. It is the duty of every Irishman to bring about a war

between the United States and Great Britain. Put Irishmen in high places—into the State legislatures, into National offices, into the cabinet of the United States—and they will do their work well." So spoke amidst loud applause an Irish orator who had been a Senator of the State of New York, and in whose mouth the words were nothing less than an instigation to treason against the country to the citizenship of which he had been admitted. It would not be wonderful if a more stringent enforcement of the naturalization law were to be the outcome of this attempt to turn the power of the United States into a Thug-knife of Irish hatred.

Neither from the Convention at Philadelphia nor from any other Irish source comes a hint of the port into which the pilots of the Revolution intend to put—of the form of government which they mean to establish in Ireland when the Union has been dissolved, and for which they expect in the twinkling of an eye to secure the allegiance of all the races, Churches and parties, Celts, Scotchmen, Englishmen, Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, priests wedded to monarchy, Constitutional Liberals, and American Invincibles whose aim is a more than Red Republic. What the actual result would be nobody doubts; it would be a chaos of hatreds, rivalries, cupidities and chimeras; a scene of mutual treachery and of mutual denunciation; an outburst of murderous vengeance against all Protestants and men of English or Scotch blood; a British intervention and a reconquest.

Appeals to the comity of nations made by certain British journals unfortunately reawaken in the American breast the recollection of the part played by those journals and by an aristocratic faction in England during the civil war in the United States. Once more, Great Britain sees what she owes to Lord Salisbury and the members of the Southern Club. On the other hand, Americans should remember that in that death-struggle between Slave-owning Oligarchy and Liberty, England was too deeply concerned to remain indifferent and neutral; that her people were divided by the same line which divided the people of the United States; and that in the decisive hour when the French Empire proposed joint intervention, the party of liberty prevailed. The material injury has been more than made good. At all events, let the

Anglo-Saxon communities adjourn their quarrels till the civilization of all of them has been rescued from the common peril.

As to the main seat of the Irish malady, our diagnosis remains unchanged. It is true, memories of ancient strife, of the dispossession of the weaker race by the stronger, and of religious feuds in which each sect slaughtered or proscribed the other, still hang over the scene, embitter the agrarian disputes, and form a reservoir from which demagogism draws streams of poison to be infused into the soul of the people. But these by themselves would soon evaporate in rhetoric and cease to envenom. That which gives them their noxious power, and is itself the real cause of the difficulty, is the economical evil. It is the overgrowth of a population subsisting, in districts which will not produce grain, on a low kind of food, bad for storage, and liable to failure. For this there is no remedy but emigration, and such emigration as will not only stave off famine for the moment, but clear the districts, and make them what nature intended them to be, a grazing country, supplying meat and dairy produce to the markets of Great Britain. The sentimental grievances about which much nonsense is being talked, would cure themselves as soon as the inhabitants of Ireland became thrifty and civilized. Absenteeism has been a curse, though really it prevails in some parts of England now almost as much as in Ireland. Whatever legislation can righteously do to separate Irish from English estates ought to be done. But residence would spontaneously increase if the safety of life and property could be restored, and investments could be made secure. If any great political grievances exist, the fault rests on the Irish members themselves, who for many years held the balance between parties in the House of Commons, and might practically have carried anything they pleased, but chose rather to cherish grievances as political capital than strenuously to seek their removal. Of the two ablest exponents of Irish wrongs, one can only point to the want of perfect local self-government which prevents the police from being handed over, as liberal principles prescribe, to the undetected accomplices of Mr. Councillor Carey, while the other complains that the Procrustean pedantry of the British forbids his countrymen to gratify their special tastes for homicide

and for arbitrary government. We are not sure that with regard to the last point the advocate has not right on his side. For a time, at least, a mild dictatorship might for Celtic and Roman Catholic Ireland be the best form of Home Rule.

In the Pope's manifesto against the Parnell Fund we have the final bill of divorce between Catholicism and Fenianism. So much, at all events, has been gained since the days when a Papal emissary was sent over to organize religious rebellion in Ireland, and joyfully reported to his master the slaughter of Protestants by the army of Phelim O'Neil. Fenians, of course, declare that the intervention was solicited by the British Government: assertions cost them nothing, not even the assertion that the assassination of Cavendish and Burke was contrived by the landlords for the purpose of casting odium on the League. No British ministry could live an hour under a well-grounded imputation of having solicited foreign intervention of any kind. Lord Grenville is a man of perfect honour, and what he has said about Mr. Errington's position may be implicitly believed. Nothing can be more natural than the action of the Pope: it is only surprising that he should have delayed so long. Whatever may be the doctrinal character of his Church, it must, at all events, like other Christian churches, be founded in morality, and can have no fellowship, except to its manifest ruin, with outrage, conspiracy and murder. Besides this the Pope is the spiritual head of the Conservative interest in Europe, and he is well enough informed to know both that American Fenianism, which holds the purse, is the animating spirit of the movement, and that the American Fenian fights for the Red Republic. Leo, is not like Pius, a fanatic propelled by Jesuits, but an Italian statesman: he is embarrassed by the disastrous legacy of his predecessor's pretensions, but whenever his own tendencies appear, they are in favour of a good understanding with established governments. He seems to be sagacious enough to read the moral of the times, and to perceive that the bark of Peter is on a lee shore. His authority, though flouted by Fenianism, can hardly fail to control the clergy and that large section of the Irish people, over which, especially in Ireland itself, the clergy still has influence. With one or two exceptions the

Irish hierarchy is already opposed to Fenianism; and it would be more reasonable to believe that the Bishops had invited the Pope to strengthen their hands than that the British Government had invoked his mediation. It is true, that, of the inferior clergy, drawn from the peasantry and imbued with the sentiments of that class, not a few are Land Leaguers and Nationalists, though none can be Invincibles. It is true, also, that the whole order is compelled, by dependence upon the people for its stipends, to keep terms, as well as it can, with every popular movement. Yet even against the personal inclination of the priest and at the peril of loss of income, the Pope will in all probability be obeyed. These are not the days of mere Papal primacy or even of mere supremacy, in which, when the Pontiff threatened clerical contumacy with his ban, he could be told that if he excommunicated Florence, Florence would excommunicate him. Loss of secular support, combined with growing dangers in every quarter, has compelled the Roman Catholic Church to have recourse, in self-defence, to a spiritual centralization, which was consummated in the dogma of Infallibility, and which has made the Pope not only her dictator but her earthly God. At present an excommunicated prelate would be morally as well as ecclesiastically extinct.

In the House of Commons, those who love England are still doomed to witness the same calamitous and ignominious scene. Patriotism, in the hour of national peril, has miserably succumbed to faction, and Conservatives are not more ashamed than Radical adherents of the Irish vote to co-operate with rebellion for the subversion of the government. If any practical warning can have influence with the blind upholders of the party system, surely it is the fate of the British Parliament, which seems to be falling before a conspiracy, numbering scarcely thirty members, but abetted by the baseness of party on both sides. Too plainly does it appear that if Irish grievances are not redressed, the failure is due to want of will in the Irish members, not to their lack of power. The new rules from which so much was expected, have done little; obstruction only diffuses itself and assumes a somewhat less tangible guise: a change in formal regulations was not likely to be effective while the spirit of the assembly remained unchanged. If

Sir Robert Peel were leading the Opposition in place of Sir Stafford Northcote, something might, no doubt, be done; but Sir Stafford Northcote is leading the Opposition in place of Sir Robert Peel. That high-souled preference of the country and the public service to all personal and party interests, which reconciled Opposition with loyalty and patriotism, sleeps, with the power which could control the minor imps of faction, in the great leader's grave. The Conservative party has undergone training in a different school. Lord Randolph Churchill, in his attempt to reproduce, at the expense of Sir Stafford Northcote, the political assassination of Peel by Disraeli, has met the fate of imitators; but he may be assumed to have carefully studied the practice of the statesman whom he has taken as his model, and whom in his article on "Elijah's Mantle," he holds up as an example. "Obtain the victory, know how to follow it up, leave the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness to critics,"—"take office whenever it suits you, but put the government in a minority whenever you decently can"—"whenever, by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, it is compelled to support the Government, the support should be given with a kick and not with a caress, and should be withdrawn at the first available moment"—such are the maxims in which Lord Beaconfield's policy is summed up by the worshipper of his memory. Beyond all doubt, the representation is authentic: this is the veritable mantle of that Elijah; and it has fallen not only on Lord Randolph Churchill but on every sharper in London. What the ordinary sharper lacks in order to win eminence and the Garter, is only the ampler sphere. No prudent man of business would take into his service a clerk whose principles he knew to be as low as those which are ascribed by the most trustworthy authority to the paragon of party tacticians. How is it possible under such a system that patriotism should exist or that a nation should be carried safely through the hour of peril?

It is only in the conduct of the Irish trials that England still commands respect. The admiration of Americans is extorted by the swift and certain march of British justice, which while it gives every man a perfectly fair trial, is baffled by no technical chicane, and inflicts the penalty with the promptitude necessary

to the efficacy of the example. It appears that British statesmen are preparing to introduce the principle of appeal in cases of murder. Whatever is requisite to preclude the wrongful infliction of the death penalty, ought to be done; though there has very seldom been reason to suspect that the death penalty had been wrongfully inflicted. But a warning against the abuse of technicalities for the purpose of sheltering guilt or staving off execution will be found in the United States, where no life seems so safe as that of a murderer, and the upshot of the system may almost be said to be impunity for homicide tempered by Lynch law. Even if a final conviction is obtained, execution is deferred so long that the example loses all its force.

—In the rejection of the Affirmation Bill by the British House of Commons, religion has gained a victory which by sincerely religious men will be celebrated in sackcloth and ashes. Tens, and perhaps hundreds, of thousands are now wavering between belief and unbelief. To all of these it is proclaimed that religion cannot afford to dispense with a political test, and a political test so utterly tainted and discredited by the lips which have taken it in avowed mockery or in thinly veiled hypocrisy, that it is difficult to see how any genuine Christian can regard it with any feeling but abhorrence. What can be imagined more offensive to a spiritual mind than a defence of God by such a theologian as Lord Randolph Churchill, who displays his appetite for place with as little shame as a dog displays its hunger for a bone. Great dishonor has been brought on Christendom; yet let it not be forgotten that it was the chief of Christian statesmen who moved the abolition of the test, and that he was supported by the truest followers of Jesus. The question has served as a criterion of spirituality. Nobody who knows the characters of Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning can have been surprised to hear that the first was in favour of the Affirmation Bill, and that the second was opposed to it. Bradlaugh's personal behaviour has been so reprehensible, his character is so repulsive, his preachings and those of his partner, Mrs. Besant, have so shocked

public morality, he is so closely connected with the coarsest attacks, not only on the doctrines of Christianity, but on the feelings of all Christians, that a battle, fought apparently in his cause, was fought at the greatest possible disadvantage; and the feeling against his admission, the strength of which was admitted by Mr. Gladstone, may be fairly ascribed, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, to motives less odious than intolerance. But this excuse will not avail the cynical politicians, who, while they laugh in their sleeves at the popular ferment, have turned it to the purpose of their worldly and unscrupulous ambition. How much had the yell of triumph, which these men raised over the rejection of the Bill, in common with the accents of the teacher of Galilee? The Conservative leader is so pitiably weak that it is almost ungenerous to reproach him; but he has given us one more proof that weakness in a high position is a crime: charity cannot credit him with obtuseness enough not to know that he sacrifices the interests of Christianity to those of his party. It is unhappily no new thing to see the State Church of England proclaiming by her acts that The Lord's Kingdom is of this world, and cannot stand without the help of political power; and the protest of a minority of the Bishops and Clergy must be welcomed as a set-off against the abject Erastianism of the mass. The Irish cast a large vote on the side of intolerance; their main object no doubt was to stab the Liberal government, which takes the bread out of the mouths of political incendiaries by improving the lot of the Irish people; but they are also utterly alien at heart to true liberty, as the conduct of their American brethren in the Slavery question showed. Mr. Hubbard, a Ritualist from the City, presented a petition against the abolition of the Test, signed by "Christians and Hebrews" of the Stock Exchange. Jews, themselves newly emancipated, have not failed to show on this occasion what the tendency of Judaism is. One of their number, the Baron de Worms, graciously bade Mr. Gladstone go to the country with the cry of "Bradlaugh and Blasphemy." In love of mental liberty, the Baron has not degenerated from the partisans of Caiaphas. The Christians and Hebrews of the Stock Exchange no doubt worship at heart the same God, and alike re-

gard the Test as a protection of the strong box. But the absurdity of the oath stands confessed when we consider that the God to whom the Jews appeal, is not the God of the Christian, the Christian God being the Universal Father of All, while the Jewish God is the Deity of a race; so that the pious formula on which the religious character of the nation and its title to divine favour are supposed to depend, is in fact a miserable equivoque, and might be conscientiously taken by a believer in Allah, in Vishnu, or in the most degraded divinity of the Pantheon. It is needless to say that in the end the Test will drop into the general grave of such devices, among which, let it never be forgotten, was long included a political profanation of the Eucharist; but it will have lived long enough to do a great mischief to the Church, in the hour of her utmost peril. If the Englishmen who think to defend religion by identifying it with political iniquity, only knew how the defeat of the Affirmation Bill was received by the friends of Christianity on this Continent, where the precept of the Master touching the relations between Church and State is obeyed, they might learn wisdom. Strange that, in face of American and Canadian experience, people should persist in believing that a community cannot be religious without State Churches and Tests!

English Tories had, in their late leader, a distinguished example of political religion, and an instructive measure of its worth. Lord Beaconsfield was in all things an imitator of Bolingbroke, from whose "Patriot King" his Tory Democracy is a plagiarism tricked out in tinsel phrase. Bolingbroke, for his political purposes, courted the bigoted clergy of the State Church, and pandered to their fanaticism so far as to frame, amidst their ferocious applause, the last and the most infamous of the persecuting laws against Nonconformists. While he was doing this, he was himself an infidel, and was inditing attacks on Christianity which he left to be published after his death. Lord Beaconsfield imitated his master's piety. He upheld the law excluding Nonconformists from the Universities, the compulsory payment of Church Rates and the Established Church of the minority in Ireland, with every other relic of intolerance except the disfranchisement of the Jews; he fooled the clergy with adulation to the top of their

bent; spoke of the Dissenters with contemptuous hatred; attended Anglican Missionary meetings, and went through all the public forms of religion, including the reception of the Sacrament, with a solemnity as edifying as that with which Bonaparte when he was in Egypt performed his politic devotions in a Mosque. But on his deathbed he threw off his mask, and ordered that no clergyman should be allowed to come near him. It was never doubted by anybody, except his clerical dupes, that in religious belief, as in everything else, he was a counterpart of Bolingbroke.

In another quarter a step, and a great step, has been gained. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, a man whose religious character and zeal in the Church's cause are above question, has put a rational construction on the dictum that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. In the sense in which it has been commonly understood, that dictum would be a restraint, not only on the utterances of the free thinker, but on all theological discussion; for the Christianity which is a part of the law, must be the Christianity by law established, and thus no one could be permitted to question any one of the myriad propositions of theology embraced in the Articles, Homilies, and Prayer Book of the Church of England. But the Lord Chief Justice has ruled that fair argument, though it may be directed against Christianity, is free, and that nothing is prohibited except those outrages upon the religious feelings of the community, which are breaches, not of orthodoxy, but of public decency. The question arose in connection with the prosecution of the *Freethinker*, for blasphemies which even prominent Agnostics deemed worthy of punishment on social grounds, and indeed wished to see punished, lest their infamy might compromise the Agnostic cause. They are more likely to compromise the Agnostic cause than to overthrow Christianity. We have not read the effusions of the *Freethinker*, nor do we intend to read them: there is no use in gratuitously soiling one's mind, which is sure to contract stains enough in any case. But the "Comic Life of Christ" indited by French Atheism, we have read; and, rightly estimated, it is an addition to the Evidences of Christianity. It proves by its total and hideous failure that the Character, on the perfection of which all depends, is per-

fectly proof against ridicule, and that an attempt to assail it on that side, issues in a mere series of outrages on humanity. The book is nothing but a yell of mockery from the lips of a baffled fiend.

—In India, a proposed law subjecting Europeans to the jurisdiction of native judges has roused the fierce resentment of the dominant race. Of all conquerors, the Englishman in Hindoostan has been, since the institution of the Board of Control, the most beneficent and the most liberal; but there must always be a limit to the beneficence and liberality of conquest. The conquered people may be wisely governed; to associate them in the government is a measure fraught with peril, especially when between the races a great gulf of character and interest is fixed. Association is in fact a partial abdication and could not fail to be regarded as preliminary to withdrawal. The British will probably find themselves compelled to retain their position as the governing race; nor is there anything in such an assignment of functions opposed to the ideas or offensive to the pride of the Hindoo. No pulse of nationality throbs through that vast population, which is made up of tribes utterly alien to each other in every respect, and prevented from renewing the mutual wars in which they were engaged at the time of the Englishman's arrival, only by the control which his hand maintains. A series of social strata has been deposited by successive torrents of invasion descending from the mountains of the north, and the English did not so much conquer the Hindoo as thrust the Mahometan from the conqueror's throne. The only thing for which the Hindoo cares is caste: when that is touched, he shows resentment analogous to the feeling of wounded nationality in more political races: an aggression upon caste, real or apprehended, was the immediate cause of the great mutiny, as it had been that of the mutiny at Vellore, and other outbreaks of the same kind. So long as caste is respected, though the Mahometan may be restless, the Hindoo will acquiesce; nor will he feel in any way injured or degraded because, besides the other castes, there is a caste of rulers and lawgivers separated from the

rest by blood and by religious rites. There are many things in the world which had better not have been done, but which being done cannot be undone ; and among them, perhaps, is the establishment of the British Empire in Hindostan.

—If England is ever arraigned at the bar of nations for her conduct in India, she cannot do better than take the Life of John Lawrence (let him not be degraded to a peerage,) in her hand. Might not this book, to which we alluded in our last number, be cleared of the matter which interests only Anglo-Indians, and made a counterpart of Southey's "Life of Nelson?" A religious Puritan, with a love of freedom and justice such as is imbibed under constitutional government, set to rule, with absolute sway, myriads of a subject race is a character peculiar to British Empire in India. A Roman Proconsul was a Republican, and if he was a good man brought with him valuable ideas of law and right ; but his republic was a slave-owning oligarchy, and he was not a Christian. We call Lawrence a Puritan. The mould of the Puritan character as it was under the early Stuarts, like that of the French Huguenot and that of the Roman Stoic, was broken : but unlike French Huguenotism and Roman Stoicism, English Puritanism has left deep traces on the life of the nation in every sphere ; and if you find now in England lofty patriotism, high souled devotion to the public service, and above all, a union of reverence for law with the love of liberty, you will be able to trace their pedigree through some lineage or other to the party of Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell. Of Lawrence it might be said, as truly in the darkest hour of the struggle with the mutineers, as it was said of Cromwell in the darkest hour of the struggle with the Stuarts, that hope shone in him like a pillar of fire. But we turn with more pleasure to his administration of the Punjaub, so wise, so vigorous, so liberal, so full of blessings to the conquered people, or rather the people who had been freed from Sikh oppression, that we are tempted to think that liberty itself might be well exchanged for such a ruler, till we remember that such a ruler could be trained only by liberty. The

character is not less remarkable for simplicity than for massive strength; and with the force of the thunderbolt cleaving its way to the mark, it unites unfailing reverence for the law of righteousness. To any one who loves England and deplores her present state, it is a comfort to think that behind the selfishness, weakness, and poltroonery which fill the ignoble scene, there may still be Lawrences, and that extremity may bring them to the front.

It is needless to say that the counsels of John Lawrence, like those of all the really strong, were counsels of moderation. Jingoism was a stranger to his soul. His wisdom deprecated and condemned those raids on Afghanistan in quest of a "scientific frontier," which have twice brought dishonour, and once brought a hideous calamity, on the British Empire. But the advice of this great public servant was set at naught, and the giver was all but insulted by the literary dandy who had been sent out to misrule India.

—"The European Terror" is a startling phrase, when it appears as a heading, not to an electric article in a New York journal, but to an essay by so sober a publicist as M. de Laveleye. Nobody can deny the writer's opening averment, that "after the repression of the conspiracy of the Mano Nera in Andalusia, the explosion of bombs charged with dynamite in peaceful little Belgium, the riots of Monceau-les-Mines in France, the Nihilistic character which the Irish agrarian movement is taking, and the terrible explosion at Westminster, it is clearly time that this movement, which has attained so wide a development, should be studied attentively." Whether the movement is "destined to play a most important part in the history of Christian and civilized nations," is perhaps a question which admits of more doubt, if by important is meant either salutary or permanent. It is needless to say that this is not the first appearance in social history of the disturbing force. The Communism of the present day has had its precursors in the movement of the Pastoureaux, those of the Ciompi at Florence, and of the Commons in Flanders, the Jacquerie, the rebellion of the English serfs under Wat Tyler, the

Peasant War in Germany, the insurrection of the Anabaptists, and last not least the French Reign of Terror, brought on by the mad uprising of all the misery, crime, and savagery which had been accumulated during centuries of misgovernment in the purlieus of Paris. We need not go back to the servile wars of Rome. Minor shocks of the earthquake have been continually felt in the shape of local outbreaks and labour wars. The present movement is, it is true, distinguished from its predecessors in several respects. In the first place, it has in it none of the religious fanaticism which mingled with social discontent in the case of the Pastoureaux, in that of the Anabaptists, and in that of the Levellers of the English Revolution. The place of religious reveries is taken in it by wild theories of social science, and in the main it is Atheist, or at least strongly Anti-Christian. In the second place, instead of being like previous agitations, local or national, it is universal, thanks to the unification of the civilized world by railways, telegraphs, congresses of all kinds, and to the activity of a cosmopolitan press. It extends even to America, though chiefly as an importation, and manifests its full virulence there under the form of Dynamitic Fenianism. In the third place, it reflects the modern spread of popular education by being on the surface highly intellectual, while inwardly its spirit is much the same as ever, and by having philosophic leaders and a scientific language, not to say a jargon, of its own. In the fourth place, it is armed for destruction with a new weapon in the form of dynamite, a tremendous agency in desperate hands, which exalts every Rapparee into a power of evil. On the other side, we note that though, on a cursory view, Socialism appears a single movement, and though all the sections of it are in part pervaded by the same fallacious belief in a power supremely good and wise, called the State, which is to set all our parts anew and redistribute everything by the rule of justice, it nevertheless embraces sects differing so widely in opinion that their common action would be impossible. The Irreconcilable, the Nihilist, the Dynamitic Fenian, the member of the Black Hand, want to fall on at once and to plunder, burn, and slay; while upon the mind of the more philosophic Possibilist or Evolutionist has dawned the fact that

Social Progress is gradual, and that with no amount of dynamite can a way be burst at once into the Millenium. Such Communists as Prince Krapotkine and Elysée Reclus are dreamers not bandits, revolutionists of the library and the laboratory, not of the Faubourg St. Antoine; nor would they or their compeers take up pike and petroleum at the call of savagery inspired by absinthe. We note, also, that the excesses of the Nihilists, Anarchists, and Fenians are rapidly producing a reaction, perhaps even a reaction more violent than was to be desired, among all the classes which do not hope to gain by universal pillage; we may add, among all who do not desire the destruction of the family, which Nihilism openly avows its intention of involving in the general ruin. Nor does the soldiery or the police appear anywhere to waver in its allegiance to the cause of order: even in Andalusia, the soil of which glows with revolutionary fire, the authorities seem to have acted without fear, and to have gained an easy victory over the Black Hand. Violence of sentiment and language without military force, if not injudiciously compressed, expends itself harmlessly like powder fired in the open air. People will play with projects which, so long as they have anything left for dinner, they will never exert themselves or face danger to execute; and those who are alarmed by the popularity of Mr. George's manual of agrarian plunder may observe that no freeholder feels less secure in his possession, nor has the value of real property been impaired. Still, the time has its dangers and its lessons, serious dangers and lessons earnestly to be laid to heart. Prudence as well as principle calls upon the possessors of wealth to prove, by a worthy use of it, that it is a blessing not a curse to the community, and to avoid, as not less dangerous than vile, such ostentation of riches as is practised by the low-bred millionaires of New York. Prudence as well as principle exhorts all, as they have opportunity, to soften the harsh lines of division between classes, and to smooth away the social and industrial antagonism which isolation must breed, by making the different orders of the community feel that they are members one of the other. Mention has already been made of the good done and the evil averted in England by such mediators between classes as Thomas Hughes, whose

intervention was the more needed because unhappily the English masters, living in their villas apart from the men, and imitating the manners of the aristocracy, have broken the social bond which united the captains of industry to its private soldiers in the guilds of the Middle Ages. There is a sterner counsel which yet is not to be omitted where civilization is threatened by Nihilistic brigandage, with dynamite and petroleum in its hands. Every citizen must remember that he owes to the State at need the service of a soldier, and ought to train himself, if he can, to the use of arms. No man, however sensible of the claims of the masses, and anxious for the improvement of the general lot, can imagine that any good is to be done by a reign of Anarchy, or that the result could be anything but desolation and destruction of industry, followed by famine. Everybody must desire to avert social bloodshed; and the way to avert it is to let Anarchists see that while the ear of the community is open to all proposals of reform, however radical, a resort to violence is hopeless.

—The defensive alliance or agreement between Germany, Austria, and Italy is a proclaimed fact; but it does not portend war. On the contrary, it may impart to those powers such a sense of security, that they may venture to relax their military system and reduce the vast expenditure which it entails. The day of the "Parliament of Man" is not yet, and the Peace Congress is much before its hour: but a sort of European Police for the repression of lawless ambition, by a commanding union of forces, without actual recourse to arms, seems to be gaining ground; nor would there be anything chimerical in proposing an annual meeting of Prime Ministers, or of accredited representatives of each power, for an interchange of views, which might soften differences and promote amicable solutions, though nothing binding on the governments might be done. The circle of subjects with which it would be possible for such a convention to deal, must be limited at first, but it would grow. Mr. Gladstone is in a position to initiate something of this kind, and if he succeeded, he would be for ever blessed by the millions who groan under the military system, even

when their blood is not being actually shed in war. Even the friendly visits sometimes paid in passing by one statesman to another, like Mr. Gladstone's visits the other day to the heads of the French Government, on his way through Paris, seem generally to have a good effect.

It is obviously against France that the coalition of the three powers is directed, and her demeanour fully justifies the precaution. Pity was vastly misbestowed on her when, after attacking Germany with the evident intention of dismembering it of the Rhine Provinces, she was herself mulcted of Alsace and Lorraine. She had brought herself by dint of incessant self-worship to believe that while the territory of all her neighbours was open to her rapacity, her own was sacred and inviolable. Of this fancy she has been disenchanted by the German arms, to the great relief of all nations; but neither defeat nor changes in her form of government have availed to exorcise that restless, unscrupulous, and vainglorious ambition which, ever since the consolidation of the French Monarchy, has been the scourge of Europe and the bane of civilization. Foiled at home, and confronted on every side by a hedge of spears, France indemnifies her vanity by filibustering in Tunis, in Madagascar, and in Tonquin, where she expects to gain easy victories over barbarians. We ventured once to surmise that civilized pirates attacking barbarians who are armed no longer with bows and arrows, but with Krupp guns and Martini rifles, might encounter a resistance for which they were not prepared. The finances of France are in a critical state, and she is beginning to realize the fact that though she paid the German indemnity, it was with borrowed money. Bismarck looks on and smiles, while his enemy wastes her strength and resources on acquisitions which, when obtained, will be only elements of weakness. Nothing shows his profound sagacity and his knowledge of the times in which he lives more than his refusal to encumber Germany, dissipate her forces, and expose her to attack at remote points, by annexing to her distant dependencies.

As to the internal politics of the European nations, there is always the same story to be told. Everywhere, party government is on its trial, and nowhere does it stand the test well. In Eng-

land, the Mother of all the Constitutions, we see the Liberal party in a state of disintegration, which deprives the government of a firm basis, the different sections of the Conservative party wrangling and almost coming to blows in public about the principles and objects of their organization, the wheels of legislation clogged by obstruction, the Minister threatening a penal prolongation of the session as the only means of enforcing attention to business, and a group of Parliamentary rebels hardly numbering more than twenty votes, enabled, by the collision of reckless factions on both sides, to paralyze the action of the House of Commons. In France, the best authority tells us, that "all is difficulty and darkness; that on every side there is an undefinable lassitude, an increasing mistrust, the vague sense of a crisis which, though it has not exactly come to a head, may do so at any moment; a feeling that anything, nobody can say what, may result from a situation in which a policy of passion, infatuation, and blindness has accumulated confusion of every sort." The Chamber is full of sectionalism, demagogism, factious violence; and as the executive is the creature of its passing mood, no government can exist stable enough to afford security for public order, or strong enough to resist any gust of passion which may chance to blow. A serious check in war would be likely to overturn the Republic. In Italy there was not long ago a Parliamentary anarchy. The Left, having overthrown the Right upon a Railway Bill, scrambled into power, but being itself composed of the most heterogeneous elements, Centres, ex-Republicans, Intransigeant Republicans, Radicals, and even Clerical Reactionists madly seeking the destruction of the Government, its victory gave birth merely to a series of short-lived Ministries, in which each of the groups successively grasped power without being able to hold it. All the groups were still ready to combine against the Right, which was thus rendered powerless to form a government, but no sooner was the Right beaten than they all fell out again among themselves. At last appeared Signor Depretis, a deft parliamentary tactician, who has managed to keep in existence a weak and precarious administration. He is compelled to bend to every gale, to make concessions, against which his judgment rebels, to folly, to violence, and even

to baseness. But he asks in what other way government could be carried on "with a House of all the colours of the rainbow?" He has been compelled by the political and social revolutionists to accede to a large extension of the franchise, including a measure of female suffrage, and the most serious misgivings are felt whether, after the next election, he or anybody else will be able to carry on government at all. Belgium, distracted by the internecine struggle between her Clerical and Anti-clerical factions, is always in a state bordering on civil war. Holland has hitherto been comparatively exempt from trouble, but now her hour is come. The Van Lynden Cabinet, after passing through a crisis, had been for some time dragging out a feeble existence. The other day it fell before the usual enemy, a combination of sections disunited among themselves, but united against the government, and Parliamentary chaos ensued. A new Ministry has been formed, but it is composed of men of little mark, and gives but faint promise of endurance. Sectionalism is not an accident, it is the natural offspring of times in which thought is ever growing more active and independent. It is certain not to diminish but to increase. If in Spain the ever-shifting combinations and the unceasing intrigues do not bring on daily convulsions, it is only because the people are still intensely monarchical, and the young king is a man of some force. In Germany, Bismarck, towering over everything in his personal renown and power, holds himself altogether above party ties; he carries his measures with such support as he can get, no matter from what quarter it may come. But his Parliament is divided into nine or ten sections which, while they are severally ready to fly at each other's throats, are always forming coalitions for the purpose of factious opposition, and place in no small jeopardy the great work of national consolidation. Bismarck, too, is compelled to buy adhesion by concessions which he probably does not approve; and his attempt to vaccinate Socialism by introducing State Insurances may perhaps be reckoned among the number.

—With the crown on his head at last, the Czar stands victorious over Nihilism, which is far too desperate in character to have

allowed the coronation to pass over quietly, had it retained strength to strike a blow. On the minds of a simple and superstitious people the effect of this triumph cannot fail to be great. The money lavished on impressive pageantry was therefore wisely spent. Nor will any rational friend of liberty repine. The Czar, though an autocrat, is not a mere despot of the sword. He is virtually the elect of a half-civilized people, whose sole idea of government he embodies, and who, if they had votes, would most certainly cast them in his favour. Every impartial observer describes the attitude of the masses towards the Father of the nation as that of the most passionate affection; while the Czar, when Nihilism does not threaten his life, goes about with paternal familiarity among his political children. Suppose the Empire to fall, what would follow? That is the question which everyone but a Nihilist would ask? Not only is Russia unripe for elective government, but apart from the authority of the Czar, she lacks even the first elements of political order. In England, if the Sovereign were, like another James II., to abscond after throwing the Great Seal into the Thames and burning the election writs, confusion might reign for a few days; but municipalities, local magistracies, and leading men would form centres round which society would speedily crystallize, and a fresh government would soon be evolved. In Russia there is no authority, hardly any influence, save that which belongs to the Czar or is delegated by his fiat, and the triumph of Nihilism would plunge eighty millions of people in a weltering chaos, the dark waves of which would soon be tinged with civil blood. Nothing can be worse, at all events, than a despot in constant peril of his life: rare indeed is a Cromwell with nerve enough to plan and execute great measures of improvement while the dagger is at his breast. It will now be seen what is the real temper of Alexander III., and whether he is inclined to revert to the path which the Emancipator of the Serfs was treading when he was scared from it by the shadow of the assassin. There is in Russia a party of reform which the hideous doings of the fanatics of destruction have reduced to silence and inaction: it may now feel at liberty to make its voice heard again; and the Czar, if he has a heart and a brain,

will give ear to its counsels, which are sure to be those of administrative purification and gradual approach to constitutional government, rather than those of sweeping change. The coronation has been wisely signalized by a measure of mercy and at the same time by a reduction of the poll tax; further relief to the people may follow if the Czar proves to be, as he professes, a lover of peace.

—The shade of Carlyle finds it difficult to cross the Styx. First the controversy about his character is revived by the publication of his memoirs; then it is revived by the publication of his wife's letters. The letters will be taken as a warning to women against marrying men of intellect. But literature would be a mere sea of gall if every man of intellect were as dyspeptic, cynical, and cross-grained as Carlyle. A woman would make a great mistake if she allowed these letters to frighten her out of accepting the hand of Wordsworth or Walter Scott. Genius is necessarily sensitive, and to sensitiveness irritability is nearly allied, but so on the other hand is intensity of affection. Mrs. Carlyle, herself, had taken the false step of marrying for ambition instead of marrying for love. What she sought, she obtained: when her husband gains a victory in literature or in the lecture-room, she rides exulting in the triumphal car; and it is amusing to see how eagerly on these occasions she drinks in the applause of "the millions mostly fools." She had also the privilege of receiving at first hand the gospel according to Carlyle; and if salvation was to be obtained through it, she was saved. To one who had said that nobody could stand up for the perpetration of the Jamaica massacre, her reply was, "I hope Mr. Carlyle does: I have not had an opportunity of asking him; but I shall be surprised and grieved if I found him sentimentalizing over a pack of black brutes." Nor had she failed to catch the dialect. "There is at present alive," she writes, "in God's universe a man named Forster." "There is a man named Forster," would be the language of common mortals. For the rest, she was not, and probably she never expected to be, a mother, or in the full sense of the term a wife: with eyes

open she had married a Merman, and she found him a denizen of the sea. Moreover, though eminently bright, quick-sighted, clever to the verge of genius, endowed with no small force of character, she was herself ill-suited for a hard part: she was full of megrims traceable partly, at least, to overeating, overdosing, mistaking stimulants for medicines, and forcing the semblance of sleep with narcotics. Her picture of the world and the people in it is almost as black as her husband's, and her cynicism is not merely an imitation of his. The love which has its seat merely in the brain is to the love which has its seat in the heart as moonshine is to sunshine; and it is attended by a faint lunar kind of jealousy. Such was the jealousy which was excited in the spouse of Carlyle's intellect by his preference for Harriet, Lady Ashburton, and upon which Mr. Froude dwells with characteristic gusto; for nobody is fonder of dallying with delicate secrets and displaying an intimate knowledge of female infirmities than the historian of Henry VIII. Harriet, Lady Ashburton, was the nearest approach that England could produce to a great lady of France before the Revolution. Intellectual power of that kind which sways the *salon* she had in no common measure, and to back it the power of rank and immense wealth. She too was childless. Ascendancy was her happiness, and it is easy to believe that in drawing the renowned teacher to her feet she did not enough consider the feelings of his obscure wife. People in her position are brought up like Royalty to think of nothing but themselves. It is due to her, however, to say that she was a most sincere admirer of Carlyle. Her good genius did not put it into her heart to expend a hundreth part of the wealth at her command in making her philosopher's home comfortable and his partner happy. This is a sad page of the history and leaves a decided stain on Carlyle's memory. Peevishness and frowardness may be easily forgiven in a man who was a martyr to indigestion, and was overworking his brain at the same time; but it is not so easy to forgive anything like neglect of the woman who was slaving to make him comfortable. After all, "his own Queen Margaret," that in Cheyne Row "all lonely sate and wept the weary hour," while he enjoyed himself at Bath House, seems in every gift of mind to have been fully Lady Ashburton's peer.

As to the effect of these letters on our estimate of Carlyle's philosophy there can be no doubt in any reasonable mind. His wife accounts for the comparative failure of one of his lectures by saying that he had omitted the day before to take his pill. Omission to take his pill or some better remedy for indigestion was, plainly enough, the real source of his Stygian cynicism. Dyspepsia steeped the world in its own hue. Worshippers may rend their clothes if they please: they will not deter any sane man from making allowance for the physical condition of a Great Teacher who has swallowed five grains of mercury and then taken a ride in the rain. Once more we desire to do rational homage to the genius of Carlyle. In brilliancy of description the author of the "Battle of Dunbar" and the Escape to Varennes has no superior, and scarcely an equal. High he stands also as a humorist. He restored the comic element to its place in history beside the tragic. As a social philosopher he did service in rebuking the Optimism of Democracy and the blind belief in the Ballot Box: he would have done better service if he had exaggerated less and admitted, as any man of sense must, that, apart from demagogic rhetoric and when all due deductions have been made, mankind has grown happier and better with the progress of civilization and the advance of freedom. History he saw through the glass of his cynicism darkly; and he falsified the Past by turning it into an oblique libel on the Present. His Hero-Worship now is an anachronism; it belongs to the times of Tribalism, when humanity was a herd following a leader; nor has the theorist ever attempted to show how the Hero is to be found, unless society is to fling itself periodically into convulsions for the purpose of throwing a Cromwell to the top. As to Carlyle's Immensities, Eternities, and Infinities, they are wind; and windiness will be the state of every soul of man that is fed on them. The limit of his practical sagacity, as well as of his humanity, was evinced by his ardent sympathy with Slavery in its conflict with Freedom, and his confident assurance that the Slaveowner would win. When we said this before, we were denounced as heretics. Heretics, then, after the long controversy, we must remain.

The publication of Mrs. Carlyle's "Letters" raises again the

question of social morality which was fiercely debated on the appearance of the "Memoirs." But there is no more to be said. A curious world loves carrion and will have it; have it at any cost of right feeling, decency, and friendship. If a word of remonstrance is uttered, the scandal-monger drowns it with denunciations of false sentiment. There are in this volume of "Letters," as there were in the "Memoirs," things, some of them relating to people from whom the Carlyles had received proofs of kindness, such as no true gentleman would have left for publication, and no true gentleman would have published. If you had asked Walter Scott to edit what Mr. Froude has edited, and suggested to him the pretexts for compliance which are complacently pleaded by Mr. Froude, you would have received a brief and proud reply.

If Carlyle was unfaithful or unkind to the wife who was faithful and kind to him, his name must bear the reproach: literary genius will not absolve him. We cannot help thanking a writer in the Toronto *Mail* for the frankness with which he has combated the notion that intellectual distinction is a warrant for moral laxity. If a man whose morals are loose does by his mental exertions great things for his kind, charity, and not only charity but justice, will weigh his merits in the scale against his demerits and allow the balance to incline to the favourable side, not forgetting that the temperament of genius is liable to perils of its own. This is one thing: it is another thing to say or insinuate that wrong is less wrong because it is done by a great poet. The man who wallows in sensuality, keeps a foul harem, behaves ill to his wife, and outrages the memory of past love by lampooning her after their separation, is an object of contempt and disgust, though he may be the author of "Childe Harold." Shelley's conduct to his first love, Burns's filthiness and depravity, may be partly pardoned, but do not the less stand in need of pardon because both the offenders wrote divine poetry. Whatever there may have been blamable in the connection of Miss Evans with Mr. Lewes remains blamable, in spite of her having produced "Adam Bede." It is even the more necessary that judgment on the delinquency should be unflinching, when the delinquent is one whose brilliancy may mislead. Above all, it would be

the height of folly to allow the sanctity of marriage, the central source of all virtue and happiness, to be compromised, out of maudlin tenderness for the reputation of a popular writer.

What we have said about Byron, is said in face of Mr. Jeffreson's supposed rehabilitation, which glosses all the facts, but alters none. It does not even persuade us that Byron, in his marriage, was above mercenary motives: if he was, and if he had anything noble in his nature, why did he continue to draw money from his wife's estate after their separation, and when he was vilifying and libelling her? Compared with the lampoons, the matrimonial quarrel, whatever may have been its exact nature, is an every-day affair. Shelley's account of Byron's swinish life in Italy stands unchallenged, even by a biographer devout enough to pretend that when Byron gave a memoir-writer a monstrous story against Lady Byron, he did it for the purpose of stamping the memoir with incredibility; as though he could not have done this in a more direct way. A great deal of nonsense has been talked on this subject by Macaulay and his imitators. Can society be justly accused of hypocrisy and cant because it protests, in a conspicuous instance, against a license which would turn the world into a sty?

—"Those," says M. Caro, in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, "who can for a moment withdraw their minds from politics and take an interest in the intellectual drama, find a moving spectacle in the grand attempt of the positive sciences to extend their dominion over the whole being of man, his conscience as well as his organism, to reduce moral freedom to the level of a universal determinism, and annex to the widening empire of physical law all that which seemed to constitute a nature apart in the midst of Nature, and a state within her state. Human personality is driven successively from all its positions, and threatened in its last retreat by the invasion of science." Not, however, without a struggle. On one hand, there is a passionate determination to bring down the soul to the level of matter as intense as ever animated the most fanatical missionaries of a new religion; but, on

the other hand, a steady resistance is kept up by the inextinguishable consciousness of moral freedom, which refuses to be thrust down into the dark current of material necessity. M. Caro himself, though a thorough adherent of science, points out the fallacy of Mr. Galton's work on "Hereditary Genius." "Genius," argues M. Caro, "is precisely the thing which is not hereditary, and Mr. Galton's induction, especially if the negative instances are taken nto consideration, comes to little or nothing. The strongest case of heredity seems to be that of the Bach family, which, in the course of two centuries, produced eight generations of musicians. But," asks M. Caro, "how came it to pass that among all these there was, after all, only one man of genius, only one Sebastian Bach?" The principle of heredity is itself a supplement to that of Natural Selection through the Struggle for Existence, which was originally tendered as the universal solution; and it is so extensive and momentous that we naturally inquire whether any more such supplements are yet in store, in which case it will be well to keep our minds open for the present. In the same journal, M. Alfred Fouillée, evidently a decided Rationalist, urges against the ethical theories of Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Spencer objections substantially the same which have been urged in our pages, though more metaphysical in form. He argues that it is impossible to construct a rule of human conduct without reference to the object of human life and the ultimate destiny of man. "Am I to act as if this life of sense and my individual being were all, or as if they were only a part of something more universal and deeper than sense?" "Supposing the *Unknown* to be a positive idea, belief in it must enter as a motive into all actions, and the highest action will always be a speculation on the great Unknown." "Morality is, of necessity, a seeking after the ideal, and its practice is an embodiment of our beliefs, our reasonable hopes, with regard to the future of humanity and of the world." Agnosticism, we venture to think, as a permanent and practical frame of mind, is an impossibility. In the highest kind of action the agent will have either to affirm that the world of sense and the present life are all, or to admit the influence of a motive drawn from a belief in something beyond: he will have, in fact, to be practically an Atheist or a Theist.

—Methodist Union in Canada is struggling towards accomplishment, clerical reaction forming, as usual, the chief obstacle. It will be a step, though a small step, towards reducing the number of those "Variations of Protestantism" of which Rome has made such telling use. The charge of persecution brought both by Rome and Agnosticism, Protestantism may face without fear. Of course the demon which, during the whole reign of the Papacy, had possessed the Church, did not come out without rending: but we should not hear so continually of the burning of Servetus if it had been a common case. It was more on political than religious grounds that Protestant governments persecuted the Anabaptist, who was the Nihilist of his time, the Quaker who was often a great social disturber, and the Seminary Priest who was the accomplice of Babington and Guy Fawkes. Protestantism never had an Inquisition, never pried with the rack and the thumb-screw into the recesses of thought; it has shown its nature by constantly advancing in respect for conscience; and the unanimous voice of all its Churches would repudiate with horror the principles of coercion embodied in the Syllabus of Pius IX. But of that sort of intolerance which is displayed in the continuance of needless schisms, Protestantism has undeniably been guilty to a lamentable extent, and here the adversary has it at an advantage. Differences of opinion, which to the eye of history were originally due to little more than accident, perhaps to mere idiosyncracies of some eminent teacher, have been perpetuated through the mutual repulsion engendered by dogmatic controversy, and have been afterwards stereotyped by organization. They have even been intensified by intolerant orthodoxy and by their connection with endowments: everybody who has compared the Institutes with later Calvinistic theology knows that the most moderate of Calvinists is Calvin. But, under the influence of a broader education and a growing charity, combined perhaps with a sense of common danger, a process of reunion has now commenced. First, as might be expected, the minor secessions are reabsorbed by the great Churches. Next will come, and indeed is visibly coming, not a fusion of the great Churches, each of which is deeply rooted in its separate ministry, property, and in-

stitutions, but their unrestrained co-operation in good works, their full recognition of mutual communion, and such evidences of that recognition as the interchange of pulpits. Economy will lend its aid; for nothing can be more senseless than the maintainance in one village of three or four Protestant churches, each in a starving condition, where one might be well supported, while the Christian morality taught in all of them is the same, and the differences of doctrine are such as few of their members understand. Methodism is specially fitted for the work of reunion, because, as has been said before, it was born not of dogmatic antagonism, but simply of Christian protest against the irreligion and the vices of society in the last century. On no ground of doctrinal division would it ever have been formed by its founder into a separate Church. Hence it is peculiarly free from rigorous tests, and has managed, in a remarkable way, to preserve its faith without their aid. The Articles of the Church of England, which it recognizes with certain exceptions, are a relic of a previous state of existence, and can hardly bind it with the same stringency as if they had emanated from its own authority; while the sermons of Wesley, to which adhesion is also required, being the discourses of a man, whom no one would deem infallible, cannot possibly command the submission which the conscience of a High Churchman pays to the Nicene or the Athanasian Creed. Methodism, in fact, if we look to its origin, is not so much a Church as the organized perpetuation of a revival; its institutions are still the forms of a revival stereotyped; and its principal danger lies in the retention of such forms, when the fervid zeal which gave them birth having ceased to glow, they have become hollow and inimical to genuineness of religious character. Another danger, also incident to revivals, is a contempt for worldly knowledge, of which it is impossible to speak harshly, when we remember what Methodism has done in both hemispheres for the poor, but which must place every Church at a fatal disadvantage in a highly intellectual age. The debates of the Ministry on Union have, by their occasional narrowness and coarseness, betrayed the absence of high education. Methodism, however, now has its colleges, and we rejoice to hear that the Methodist College of Ontario may possibly leave its seclusion at

Cobourg and transfer itself to a city. To which city it ought to transfer itself, there surely can be no doubt. Little could be gained by going to any city except Toronto, where, in connection with the Provincial University, theological colleges for the Presbyterians and the Baptists, and even a Catholic College, have already been founded. A right instinct leads all these bodies to the centre of influence, as well as to the only place where anything like adequate means for secular instruction can be found. Victoria will surely follow their example, which she may do without the slightest prejudice to the integrity of her religious teaching, or of any system of moral discipline administered within her gates. She will then no longer be constrained to seek an ostensible increase of importance by uneasy and treacherous union with Medical Colleges under the sway of the Church of Rome. A ray of light falls on what seemed the darkening prospect of University Consolidation. If Victoria comes to the centre, Queen's will have some day to follow: she will find that isolation is incurable weakness; and there is nothing in her buildings at Kingston to which it need break any one's heart to say farewell. The accession of the Principal of Victoria to the Academical and social circle of Toronto will not be the least pleasant part of the change.

—At last the English Cathedrals, though built for eternity, seem to be feeling the tooth of time. The tower of Peterborough is falling, and Westminster Abbey is said to be attacked by decay, the consequence, perhaps, in part of that corrosive action of the London smoke which will one day turn the elaborate ornament of the Houses of Parliament into a blurred and blackened mass. In Westminster Abbey would perish, not only one of the most glorious of the glorious sisterhood, but the historic centre of our race. The Benedictine Monastery, which forms part of Peterborough, perfectly presents the life, as well as enshrines the memory, of those who, under an ascetic form, were the pioneers of literature, art, and civilization. We see how the brotherhoods dwelt, in a cloister, unglazed and open to the air, so that in the winter, the writer of a chronicle had to suspend his work, his fingers being be-

numbed by the cold, and his ink frozen. The Cathedrals and the other fine churches of England are not merely monuments of ecclesiastical architecture; they have exercised and are still exercising a deep influence on the religious character of the country. Their august and fascinating beauty has constantly nourished the sentiments which gave them birth, and inspired a desire to revive the sacramental and ceremonial worship to which in form they are essentially adapted, and which alone finds in them a congenial home. They have been the most potent fosterers of Ritualism; nor is it easy to see what Protestantism could do with them. For congregational worship or preaching, they are ill-suited; the whole structure points to the Sacrifice of the Mass. Their grandeur is almost miraculous when we consider the period in which they were built. One of our leading journalists, the other day, was severely arraigned for having said something which seemed to imply that he deemed the Middle Ages better than the modern times. Socially and economically, such a preference would be absurd. A minute investigation recently made into the history of an English village shows the peasantry living in a state of barbarous lawlessness and mutual violence, while their dwellings were wretched huts without chimneys, their food was of the worst kind, and each of them had only a single garment. Even a city was little better than an assemblage of hovels, crowded together for safety within a wall, dirty, undrained, with unpaved alleys, and unsupplied with many things which we now deem indispensable to civilized existence. Out of the midst of these hovels soared a work of art, so vast in its proportions, so daring in its conception, so marvellous in its execution, so full of religious poetry and symbolism, that all the intellectual and architectural science of later times have failed to produce its peer, and it stands, like the poems of Homer and the dramas of Shakespeare, unapproached and unapproachable after its kind. Unlettered were the builders, unlettered were the people for whom they built; but builders and people must have had a something which is not produced by Institutes or by public schools. It is this height of spiritual aspiration, in its contrast with the meanness and poverty of everything material, which, whether it be seen in the Cathedral, or the Crusades, and the Orders of Chivalry, or in the

Universities and their wonderful though barren philosophy, constitutes the historic charm of the Middle Ages, and excuses,in the eyes at least of a student of history, the rash writer who said something in their favour.

—The Liberal party in the Church of England, though it has lost its chief in Dean Stanley, is not extinct. Among its leading members is Mr. Freemantle, Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and author of "The Gospel of the Secular Life." In this book we note the prevalence of two tendencies which in the minds of Liberal theologians grow apace. One is a disposition to embrace the theory of Immanence, that is, to regard God not a Creator and Ruler apart from the Universe, but as its pervading spirit, and to look upon all active Being, and especially the activity of Man, as pulsations of the Divine Life. This view is clearly distinguishable from Pantheism, if Pantheism implies the identification of the Deity with Matter and Force. But it labours under the apparent difficulty of affirming Immanence in Evil, moral and material, as well as in good. Still, on any hypothesis, Evil is there: it is not really eliminated by any verbal artifice such as calling it a mere negation; and its existence can be reconciled with Supreme Beneficence, only, it would seem, by assuming that effort, or an upward struggle, which presents itself as effort to human consciousness, is essential to the production of the highest moral good. As was said in meeting the arguments of Mr. Leslie Stephen, effort in itself cannot be regarded as the good, nor has anyone, so far as we are aware, affirmed that it is; but it seems to be the condition of progress, and under the dreary guise of the Struggle for Existence is in effect accepted by the Evolutionists themselves as the Law of the Universe. If such a theory as that of Mr. Spencer is true, and Being is nothing but an endless rotation between Homogeneity and Heterogeneity carried on by a Mechanical Necessity, belief in a Beneficent Deity, Immanent or Presiding, is at an end; but it is not so if we suppose progress instead of rotation, and progress towards a moral goal. So far as the difficulty may lie in the aspect of physical nature, with its apparent defects and wastes, we cannot too often remind ourselves that our knowledge of phys-

ical nature is derived from our bodily senses, of which physical science can only collect and methodize the perceptions; and that the completeness and finality of the knowledge received through our bodily senses are assumptions totally unwarranted and contradicted by Evolution itself. Phenomenal and provisional truth, so far as the world of sense is concerned, suffices for the guidance of our life. But no shock would be given to our being if we were assured that the lifting of a curtain would in a moment change the whole, and show that Newton's discovery was as far from being complete and final as the primitive belief in the rising and setting of the sun, which is also a phenomenal and provisional truth.

The other tendency which we note, is an indication to care less about the Church as an institution separate from the State, and to regard society at large as the sphere of the Christian and the field for the application of Christian principles. Mr. Freemantle treats the progress of constitutional government, the improvement of international morality, and the introduction of arbitration in place of war, as the great triumphs of the Church in modern times. He would have no mere concordat between Christianity and the ordinary interests of life. Christianity, he says, must take the lead not only in appreciating but in stimulating art, literature, invention, conscience, advances in political freedom, progress of every kind. Nay, he is prepared to see the functions of the Church decline in importance compared with the agencies, hitherto deemed secular, of education and the Press. The Press he holds to be a great engine which dispenses the pulpit from part of its work, and replaces the symbols of Christian worship by the realities of life. The long drawn ritual and sermons of other days were then the instruments not only of public worship but of popular instruction, and are now superseded in the latter function by the school and the book. Life outside the Church has been enlarged, life within the Church has been narrowed. We acquiesce, says Mr. Freemantle, in the change; we cannot tell how far it may go; but we may look at the question with perfect calmness if only life outside the Church can be made Christian and spiritual. The clergy, if they are above caring for the special interest of an order, may look with calmness,

but they cannot fail to look with trembling interest, on the progress of a change which must plainly diminish the importance of their ministry and in the end supersede it altogether. In the Republics of antiquity, Church and State were one; this was the necessary consequence of Tribalism, which assigned to each race or nation its peculiar god. Arnold, whose intellect had been nurtured on Greek and Roman history, regarded the identity of the Church with the State as the ideal, and his theory, reproduced by his disciple, Dean Stanley, has percolated to the other Liberals of the English Church in whose minds, however, it is taking more the form of an absorption of the Church into the State. The saying "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's" abrogated the Tribal system, under which allegiance to Cæsar was necessarily treason to the tribal God and instituted a spiritual society apart from the temporal though acting on it. This, Positivists allow to have been the greatest step in the progress of humanity. To the union of the Church with the State under Constantine, and the perpetuation of that union under the monarchies which arose out of the dissolution of the Empire, we owe the deep corruption of the Church, episcopal and sacerdotal tyranny, fighting prelates, persecutions, inquisitions, religious wars, and most of the crimes with which religion has been unjustly charged. But this was the effect of the conversion, by unspiritual influences, of the Kingdom of Christ into a power of this world. The conversion of the Kingdoms of this World into the Kingdom of Christ by influences strictly spiritual is set before us as the ultimate goal, and when it is attained, perfect union must of course ensue. Whether the consummation is so clearly in view as theologians of Arnold's school think, is a different question; and the terrible results of Constantine's experiment warn us against short cuts. However, let us accept the exaltation of political duty. If the Church is gradually to become less and the community more to us, the stronger are the reasons for refusing to give the community up to organized factions, demagogism, and corruption.

—We wished for a collection of the Sayings of Christ, and re-

sponsive to our wish it comes.* In the exact arrangement of the Sayings not everybody will acquiesce; while the use of the Fourth Gospel is, in the present state of the critical discussion, to say the least, precarious: the Alexandrian spirit of its doctrinal utterances is made more evident than ever by juxtaposition with those from the Synoptics, through which breathes the native air of Galilee. Still, we would draw attention to the book, and we would entreat any candid Agnostic to compare its contents with the sayings of Mahomet, of Buddha, or any other founder of a religion. The reproach constantly cast by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and others of his school, on Christendom, of not acting up to the words of Christ, is itself a proof that Christianity is not exhausted, whereas the exhaustion of Mahometanism and Buddhism is manifest and complete.

—Renan has published a curious pamphlet about the Jews, of whom he has almost become one by living in their history and literature. He denies the unity of the race, maintaining that foreign elements were incorporated to a large extent in different countries during the period at which Jewish proselytism was active, and that the Jews consequently are at present a people of mixed blood. The physiognomy and other physical peculiarities he ascribes to special habits of life, isolation in the Ghetto, and exclusive intermarriage. If he is right, the Society for the Conversion of the Jews will have to qualify its language about the Seed of Abraham: perhaps it may be persuaded to transfer to some enterprise of more promise the money which it now spends in a barren field. It is not the less true, however, that when the period of proselytism was over, and nationalist reaction had set in, Judaism became intensely tribal, and remains so to this day. Renan seems to think that the Jews in France have, by liberal treatment, been completely humanized. But do they not practise circumcision, and is not circumcision a tribal rite intended to cut off those on whom its mark is set from the rest of mankind, and teach them to regard other men as strangers and unclean? That

* The Very Words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Gathered from the Four Gospels according to the Authorized Version (1611), with marginal quotations from the Revised Version (1881). London: Henry Froude. Oxford University Press.

the Jews in France form a financial Ring, the Tunis affair plainly showed.

That Judaism once was proselytizing and afterwards shrank back into more than tribal exclusiveness, and what Bacon calls "secret, inbred rancour against those among whom the Jews live," is a significant fact; and the tendency to become human and universal coincided with the moment at which Judaism, not alone but in combination with a different element, gave birth to Christianity. Renan exaggerates in saying that the Founder of Christianity was Isaiah. What is true is, that there was a Judaism of the Prophets, and a Judaism of the Law, and that the first broadened into Christianity, while the second was narrowed into Pharisaism and the Talmud. "The Talmud," says Renan, "is reaction." It is not only reaction, but of all reactionary productions the most debased, arid, and wretched. To have given birth to such a code of casuistical legalism and to have embraced it as the rule of life, is the brand and the punishment of those who rejected and persecuted the religion of Humanity. It is to the Judaism of Isaiah and the prophets solely that our immense debt of gratitude is due; and this Judaism passed entirely into Christianity. To Talmudic Judaism, which is that of the modern Jew, we owe less than nothing; for it strove with savage energy, while strength was left it, to extirpate Christianity out of the world. As Renan himself says, not much is due to those at whose hands one has narrowly escaped assassination.

The Jews have been renewing in the organs which they can command (and what organs can they not command?) their accusations of persecuting intolerance against Christendom. Even Christendom is entitled to justice, perhaps to more than it sometimes receives at the hands of Christians. In Spain, a deadly conflict for the possession of the country between the Oriental and Occidental races, led to fearful cruelties, in which religious bigotry mingled with and intensified race hatred. But elsewhere the Jews will find it difficult to point to a clear case of religious persecution unprovoked by their usurious oppression of the people. In the Middle Ages toleration was unborn. Is the Jew himself tolerant in profession or even in practice now? Does he not by circumcision, which he imprints with savage indelibility, cut off

those of his faith socially and morally from their fellow men? Does he not refuse to intermarry, and when he is strict, to eat and drink with other people? Does he not draw a line in his dealings between those of his own faith and the Gentile? Does he not declare eternal and immutable a law which makes death the penalty of religious error? Does he not cherish as proofs of the goodness of God to the Chosen People, the slaughter of the Canaanites and the massacre recorded in the Book of Esther? Does he not continue to celebrate with frantic delight the execution of Haman and Haman's innocent sons? Persecution is nothing but intolerance armed with a sword. The Jew has not in recent times had the sword in his hand; when he had he butchered men, women, and children with as little mercy as any Dominican or fanatical Crusader of the Middle Ages. Imagination is active about the sufferings of the Chosen race. The other day a number of Jewish maidens were cruelly flogged at a place in Africa. It was at once assumed that this was the act of a Christian, and the world rang with outcries against persecution. It turned out to be the act of a Jew who had got the maidens flogged for leading astray his hopeful son.

The Jews, it seems, refuse to repeople Palestine. Very good; let them stay where they are, give up their tribalism, cease to put its mark upon their children; learn to eat, drink, and marry with their fellow citizens; identify themselves with the nations of which they become members, labour like the rest, and be as other men. Everybody will welcome them to equal privileges, and gladly accept any gifts of mind or character which they may bring to the common store. Only they must cease to demand sympathy as a race deprived of its country by an unjust world. But if they mean to cherish the distinction of race, to treat the rest of the world as Gentiles, to be a nation apart in every nation, with objects different from those of the rest of the community, to intrigue everywhere, without owing allegiance everywhere, and to form in commerce and politics a cosmopolitan Ring for the purpose of sucking up the world's wealth and transferring it to the coffers of Finance, they will always be in danger of exhausting, not only in Russia and the Danubian principalities, but elsewhere, the sufferance of oppressed humanity.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF THE TORONTO CITY CHARITIES.

(*See* BYSTANDER, *page* 206).

It is with unfeigned reluctance that the members of the Conference find themselves constrained by the facts before them and by the result of their observations to represent to the Council, that the growth of the City and the consequent increase of vagrancy and destitution render it necessary that the question of making some public provision for the relief of the poor should be taken into practical consideration. The action of private organizations, with the occasional intervention of the Mayor, which sufficed in the earlier stages of the City's progress, appears no longer to meet the need.

In the City Jail are a number of homeless, destitute and infirm people, guilty of no real offence, but committed to prison solely to give them shelter and save them from starvation. Mr. Green, the Governor of the Jail, states that at least from forty to fifty persons are thus committed annually for various periods, and "for no other cause or reason than simply being infirm, aged, or sick and poor." He remarks that when in Jail, however innocent or respectable they may have formerly been, they are compelled to associate with the criminals. Many of them, he says, are sent to Toronto on various pretexts, for the purpose of getting rid of them. Some are imbeciles and lunatics. Admission to the Hospital is generally refused to strangers.

The number of persons who were fain to take a night's lodging at the Police Stations in the month of January last amounted to nearly three hundred. This does not include any arrested for offences.

It is the rule of the House of Industry not to lodge the same person for more than two nights; and as the number of nights' lodging given during the month of January was 570, the number of applicants was probably not less than 280. The Conference has not the means of stating how many of these cases are identical with those of waifs who have been sheltered in the Police Stations. It is probable that trivial offences are sometimes committed for the purpose of obtaining food and shelter in the jail.

Cases frequently arise of penniless wanderers seeking immediate relief and the means of making their way to their destination. Recently three French Canadian women in this situation, and wishing to be forwarded to Montreal, applied for assistance to the Conference. The Mayor could only, by a relaxation of the usual rule, grant them a pass as far as Kingston. To send them the rest of the way, private subscriptions had to be collected by Mr. Pell, under whose notice many such cases have fallen.

The Mayor, it is understood, finds the number of applicants at his office for relief extremely burdensome as an addition to his duties.

The labour test can be satisfactorily applied only in connection with a casual ward for the reception of tramps and vagrants ; while a casual ward, in which turbulent characters must often be received, can be well admistered only under civic authority and the superintendence of the police.

For the benevolent efforts of voluntary visitors in connection with the House of Industry and other organizations the hearty thanks of the community are due. But voluntary visitors cannot be always disengaged and able to meet an urgent call. It seems desirable that in cases of urgent distress there should be an officer responsible to the public for doing what may be necessary, and doing it without delay.

In view of these facts and for these reasons the members of the Conference beg most respectfully to submit to the consideration of the Council the following resolution which was unanimously passed at one of their meetings.

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this Conference it has become desirable that a public institution should be established, under municipal authority, for the relief of urgent cases of distress and for the reception of vagrants of both sexes, such institution to be provided with a casual ward, and with the means of applying the labour test to tramps"

Five thousand dollars a year are now granted by the city to the House of Industry. So much of this sum as is expended in lodging and feeding vagrants might be transferred to the casual ward of the City. The sketch of a simple building with a dormitory for men and another for women, a kitchen and a house for the superintendent is sent herewith, and the estimated cost of its erection is about $5,480. The cost of keeping each waif would be from twelve to fifteen cents *per diem*. If the means of setting them to work were, provided the expense would be reduced. The annexation of the casual ward to the House of Industry, if found desirable with reference to the site or for other reasons, would be perfectly compatible with the objects of the present proposal, provided the casual ward were under municipal control.

In addition to stone breaking, for which not even every male vagrant is fitted, other simple employments might be introduced. In Montreal, splitting and binding kindling wood is adopted as an employment. In the Institution at Detroit common chair-making is the occupation. Jealousy is sometimes aroused among the working classes by poor house or prison labour, which they fear will compete with their own. But these unfortunates must be fed ; if not set to labour, they must be fed entirely at the expense of the community ; and it is hard to believe that by doing the simplest and coarsest work they can take the bread out of the mouths of others.

For those urgent cases of distress or of wanderers needing to be forwarded to their destination, the task of dealing with which falls at present on the Mayor, the Conference proposes that a Relieving Officer should be appointed.

These municipal provisions for vagrants, tramps, and urgent cases would form as it were the foundation of our whole charitable system, while for other purposes the superstructure of voluntary effort and organization in which the zeal and liberality of our citizens are nobly manifested, would remain intact.

The House of Industry, relieved of the casual ward, which is evidently the most troublesome part of its functions, and also relieved to some extent by the City Officer of the duty of visitation, might be devoted more to the reception of the aged and infirm.

To provide for the transmission of waifs to their homes, with a proper division of the expense between the different municipalities, and to prevent the improper transmission of the destitute from other localities to Toronto it is obvious that general legislation must be obtained.