

COMMERCIAL REVIEW AND FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

{ MONTREAL WITNESS, (Tri-Weekly,) \$2 per annum Post-paid.
DAILY WITNESS, \$3 per annum. Post-paid.

ACCORDING TO HIS FRIENDS the late O'Mahony was one of the best of men, and we are inclined to disagree with them without fuller knowledge on the subject. But Cardinal Cullen—whose loyalty to the Church and to Ireland is undoubted, considered him as an enemy to both more particularly the former, and therefore would not allow his body to lie in state in the

case for doing very dirty work, and in a measure has contributed to give a certain section of the Bar a rather low standing. The matter was brought up in a peculiar manner in England by Mr. Justice Field in a Court of Queen's Bench, a few days ago. A lawyer, Mr. Glyn, in a breach of promise case, persisted in reading to the jury a letter which proved conclusively the evil character of his client, as well as what he desired, after the judge had declared it too indecent to be read in public. At this Mr. Justice Field asked him if he had read the letter "as a man." Mr. Glyn replied that he was there "as a lawyer," not "as a man," and, under those circumstances, did not wish to be addressed "as a man," and that it was impossible for him to take any other course. The judge replied: "Mr. Glyn, there is a point where the duty of an advocate ends and that of a man comes in; and, in place of raising a laugh at the letter, I thought you would have regretted having been the means of introducing so filthy a case to the jury." This seems to be the proper view of the case; but, on the other hand, if there were fewer acknowledged rascals

THE STEVEDORES in St. John, N.B., have decided at a meeting, to charge \$1 per standard stowing deal, and to pay their workmen \$2 per day; the rate for stowage and for wages is to be uniform for the season. This arrangement gives satisfaction, and sudden jumps in the rate of wages will no longer occur.

Comes!" Smiled on by the priests, bishops and the Pope himself, doubtless his heart was well with pride and gratification, and as his eyes proudly see the flags waving to the breeze at slight intervals, and bearing the inscription "\$32,000," he will be able to congratulate himself that his high position is not only

an office in rear of Bate & Co.'s grocery store Sparks street, setting fire to an elevator. The fire made rapid headway, but the brigade arrived promptly, and prevented it from spreading. The loss will be about \$200.—On the same day a fire occurred in the Queen's Restaurant, Ottawa, kept by M.^r Kavanagh, taking place, i

The 17th of March, St. Patrick's Day. The jurors having been sworn, Evidence showed that while crossing the street she was knocked down by a marshal with a green sash who was riding rapidly at the time. The poor woman when dying was told by her son that he would hunt up the offender but she expressed her belief that it was all an accident.

The jurors were charred by Mr. Coroner

Those who had not the opportunity of getting some of the smuggled article, resorted to the old method of moulding tallow candles, but it shows the stratagems farmers particularly will resort to rather than be imposed upon. There is double the quantity of coal oil consumed in the country now that there was some months ago, notwithstanding that the days are much longer.

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WEEKLY WITNESS.

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ISSUED LAST WEEK.

Number copies of WEEKLY WITNESS	21,100
" " TRI-WEEKLY "	7,550
" " DAILY "	73,420
" " MESSENGER "	49,100
Total.....	154,270

The Witness.

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1877.

PARTIES WHO MAY SEND orders for any articles advertised in our columns must remember that we can in no way hold ourselves responsible for the quality or even for the delivery of such articles. While we will not knowingly insert a fraudulent advertisement, we cannot undertake to interfere between the advertiser and the buyer, and must therefore ask our friends to do all their correspondence direct with advertisers.

GOVERNMENT BY NATURAL SELECTION.

Birmingham has during the past few years developed a form of political life which, whatever its imperfections, is certainly a grand step in advance of the condition of things to which we are accustomed. Everywhere, and notably with us, political conditions are in the hands of small, irresponsible, and often contemptible cliques, and the power of the public man is beset with demands and annoyances from electioneering supporters, which no one of any delicacy of feeling can regard as other than intolerable. A Toronto member has attempted to rid himself of this vexatious side of public life by requiring his party to appoint a committee to administer the patronage, thus placing the matter formally in those hands into which it would, under any circumstances, necessarily fall; but why an electioneering clique should monopolize not only the nomination of members, but of all other public positions, is much more easily explained on grounds of party expediency than of public advantage. The party clique has been abolished in Birmingham by the organization of the voters into a gigantic and permanent electoral association. The "Liberals" of each of the sixteen wards of the town are called together once a year to a public meeting to elect a ward committee, and delegates to a central committee, all being held to be Liberals who choose to answer to the name. Whether these ward meetings will some day be governed by local grog-sellers or similar agencies remains to be seen. The system has been as yet but a few years in operation, and has to far worked entirely in the opposite direction. Those annual meetings elect first a ward committee of indefinite number, with a chairman and secretary. Then they choose those who, with the president and secretary, form the ward delegation to the executive committee, and then thirty more who, with these five, form the ward delegation to the general committee technically known as the six hundred. There are thus besides the ward committees forming a body of about two thousand, a central executive committee of one hundred and fourteen, which last chooses a management committee of eleven. The executive committee has power to initiate as well as to carry out the resolutions of the association, but it is the six hundred in whom all power is vested. Lest the ward elections should have left out the names of some who services as members might be deemed desirable the six hundred have power to add to their number thirty persons not elected by the wards. The process of election at the ward meetings tends to throw the most trusted men of all sorts to the front, and to make plotting in the highest degree difficult. Any man may attend and nominate whoever he likes, and the series of elections, of course by ballot, that follow make it exceedingly likely that every man worth anything will get upon the committee of six hundred. Feeling that it is a position of real power it is not despised, and men of all classes in reasonably exact proportion to the confidence they enjoy in their own neighborhoods are thus thrown together without any sort of prearrangement. It seems evident that this scheme was not devised by self-seekers, but by persons who had confidence in men, as men, and who believed that by making them feel the responsibility that the suffrage threw upon them public affairs would soon get to be managed more in the public interest and less in that of schemes. It is an understood thing that the nominations of the association will be loyally supported, and that the whole association will support the nominations of the ward committees for the Council and for the School Board, this association always carries its candidates, so that the real election is the choice of the six hundred. In the case of the School Board, owing to the cumulative system, it requires the utmost management and

the utmost unanimity for even an association like this to secure a bare majority. Yet they have been successful. There are obvious *prima facie* objections to the whole plan. There would be extreme danger of tyranny from such a powerful body as this working at the dictation of mere majorities, were it not that the body is entirely open and represents practically the entire people so far as not awayed by sectional influences, and varies in its acts exactly as the public opinion of the town varies. No one can control it except by persuasion. Eloquence has probably its value, but electioneering management and the endless shapes of corruption lose their power in the bright daylight of public discussion. We are, of course, presenting the bright side of this system, as it is presented to us by the Rev. Mr. Crosskey in the February number of *McMillan*, waiting for time to develop its imperfections. Not the least of the advantages of the plan seems to be its tremendous power in educating the people to intelligent self-government, and in the formation of a vigorous public opinion, a thing so much lacking in Montreal. The Birmingham six hundred is a deliberate body. All the great questions of the day must come before it and be acted on in some general way, and its conclusions are sufficiently important to secure for it the instruction of those best informed. Sectional interests have no chance. A Labor Representation League stronger in Birmingham than in most places attacked the association, and was crushed by the fact that labor was represented in full proportion in its committee of six hundred. The best class of men are willing to accept political or municipal nominations under circumstances where they can be elected without degradation, and will find backing in working for the public good. The best class of citizens have found their way to the Town Council with the most happy results. First the water works were bought, and regions which but a year or two ago were supplied by filthy wells are now flowing with pure water. Forty-three acres of land covered with the vilest of habitations have been bought by the city with a view to the erection of suitable dwellings, in which the dense population may live among ennobling rather than degrading influences. The Town Council has carried a scheme to close all liquor shops or take charge of them in the interests of the town. This measure, which is now awaiting parliamentary action, was doubtless the best temperance measure the six hundred saw their way clear to. They certainly took very little time in passing it and showed themselves entirely free from groshop control. Under our system we would find ourselves, after twenty years' advocacy, no further advanced than such a movement than at first. When the six hundred become convinced that this plan won't work they will probably be just as summary in altering it. To sanitary and educational matters the greater part of the association's attention has been directed, and the working people of Birmingham have for their children the best teaching talent that can be paid for, and look forward to seeing their children much more capable than themselves of carrying on the plans of self-government they are initiating.

The friends of constitutional liberty in Montreal—and why not those who have in hand the organization of the proposed Constitutional or Civil Rights Association?—might perhaps wisely examine this general scheme, as it seems to present a plan by which the public spirit and intelligence of a community can be powerfully arrayed against all systems of plotting and scheming whatsoever. There would, of course, need to be serious modifications. Primarily it should not be allied to either political party. We are, unhappily, not so homogeneous a people as the people of Birmingham; but we should not be surprised if such an association were formed, not in favor of either party, but calling together men of all parties and credits to act together for the enfranchisement of our Province and good municipal government, if it would be able to decide the fate many of the elections and to bring about many of needed reforms. The success would be less a foregone conclusion than in Birmingham, and much up-hill work might be involved in its inception, but the very lack of public opinion already formed should make it worth considering whether such a means of educating such a public opinion should not be made use of. The objection to the Birmingham scheme that naturally suggests itself is that a City Council is not a political body, and that its selection should not be mixed up with any political organization. This objection applies with more force when the political organization is identified with a party when it is simply a vitamegone of all that is intelligent in the community to consider public movements, it is a question whether it is not just the missing link between the people as a whole and those who are supposed to act for them.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The universal worship of national institutions which has prevailed in the United States, has been suffering during the four years of Mr. Johnson's rule, and perhaps still more during the two terms of General Grant's presidency, a gradual decline. This has begun to manifest itself in the outspoken utterances of literary men, who have concluded that a country cannot live for more than a century on the glories of a revolution, and that a rigid constitution which, when formed, carried self-government to a point far in advance of the world, cannot much longer, even by the most ingrained patriotism, be imagined to be for ever the noblest possible embodiment of popular freedom. Men who look about them have indeed found that responsible government is already established in Great Britain, in Canada and other colonies, in Austria, Belgium, Italy, France, Holland, Bavaria, Saxony, Baden, Denmark, Sweden, Serbia, Greece, Spain, Nicaragua and Paraguay, while the United States is still without it. Its people are unable either by themselves or by their representatives to control the executive except by the antiquated process of impeachment. Elections do not adjudicate on live questions, but on party organizations, whose distinction is their past history rather than pronounced differences of present policy; and, worst of all, the men who rise to prominence are necessarily party men, as distinguished from great men. The accession of President Hayes will probably temporarily, but only temporarily, check the rising tide of dissatisfaction and put a stop for the time to the destructive dominance of small men, which has so glaringly characterized President Grant's incumbency. Most of the men selected by General Grant for Cabinet positions and for foreign ministries have been mentally and morally inferior. Those who were exceptions found very soon that they were not the sort of men wanted by the President, whose notions of personal government were as decided as they were narrow, or by the party oligarchy, to whom he was supposed to owe much allegiance. Under him all sorts of sins could be condoned, but interference with his favorites met sooner or later with unfailing retribution. So unblinking and so utterly corrupt had the Washington bureau grown to be, that but for the fact that all the powers of inquiry were openly on the Democratic side, and were still more abhorred, the

election of 1876 would have reversed the sweeping majority by which General Grant was elected first majority. Fear of "Rome, Ruin, and Rebellion," and not respect for themselves, enabled the Republicans to carry the nation—if, indeed, they did carry it in the election of General Hayes. We find in him a man who dares to face his own party, and every party who dares to do right in spite of the unmitigated corruption of the party management which controlled the election campaign, all party men of all sorts will be instinctively against him. Outside of the persons by whom he may be able to surround himself he will be utterly alone in Washington, alone along the lines of all the political ramifications which radiate from Washington, alone in his going out and coming in, in his down-sitting and up-rising, surrounded by hungry office-seeking and office-trading hucksters, growing wilder as they grow hungrier. Will he be able to stand it? everyone is asking. He needs the prayers and support of the good that he may be able to carry out the manly course he has marked out for himself, and that all Governments and all politicians may learn from him that the path of manly integrity is not impossible, as many think it, but is a safe and prosperous path. Lincoln had not the same sort of difficulties as Mr. Hayes will have. In Lincoln's day the great majority of the opposing party was in armed rebellion, while the great majority of those still loyal was, necessarily, strongly attached to him. Mr. Hayes has two alienated elements to bring into harmony, and risks the enmity of both. Then there was an over-ruling, all-subduing sentiment of loyalty; now people are divided on many issues, and politicians are all agreed in wanting office most of all. On the other hand, the non-political element on both sides, though habitually latent, is by far the largest part of the nation, and it may be said to be a unit in favor of the Civil Service reform which Mr. Hayes has attempted to translate from a theory or a profession into a fact. It is probable, however, that the evil, although it may be held in check by the strong hand of an honest autocrat, is the normal result of a system which gives the legislative branch of the Government so little direct control of the Executive. Speeches in Congress are not so much to conquer victory as to please "Buncle," or whatever constituency the member may hail from, and consequently great men are not needed there, nor forced to the front when there. That man is greatest who best knows how to manage patronage. To do away with patronage is to render useless the special gifts of nine-tenths of Congressmen. The Cabinet Minister has no fear of being turned out for all his misdeeds, so long as he can please the President and strengthen the party organization against next election; so the best men for such positions are good party managers. It is true that public indignation forced President Grant several times to remove his followers, but not until they had done what would have upset a whole ministry in short order with us. Lacking a great and good man, their system is as much behind ours in moral efficiency as it is in accountability to the people, and the utmost reforms of administration can only postpone the demand for responsible government which must some day take shape in some modification of the hitherto prevailing system.

STRENGTH OF THE ENGLISH NAVY.

The comparative strength of England on the sea has never ceased to be with her people the subject of chief concern in view of possible complications with foreign countries, although it is fortunately the case that the fear of such complications occupies every year less and less of the nation's thoughts. Competent French authority has been examining this question with results flattering to England, summarized by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, M.P., in a recent magazine. This examination has been made on the principle that just as in the old wars of Nelson, the frigate counted for nothing in a naval battle, being liable to be sunk by the first broadside from a line of battleship, so now armor-plated vessels would be in a battle worse than useless. All armor-plated vessels built before 1865 with less than six inches of plating are by this rule condemned to count as second-class. In 1793 the English navy was superior to that of France, but a combination of either France and Holland or France and Spain would have formed a larger fleet, yet she managed to defeat the fleets of all three countries almost within a year. At that time out of three hundred and forty-nine line of battle ships in all Europe, England had one hundred and fifteen less than one-third. At present, counting all first-class sea-going vessels, masted and unmasted, built or building, England has twenty, France, ten; Germany, six; Turkey, seven; Italy, four; Austria, five, and Russia, one. Adding to these coast defence vessels of the same class, England has six, France twelve, and Russia two. These vessels have all different values in proportion to the thickness of their plating and weight of their guns, which, being carefully estimated, the powers are supposed to stand to each other in the proportions of the following figures:—England, one thousand one hundred and twelve; France, eight hundred and fifty-three; Germany, three hundred and seventy-two; Italy, two hundred and eighty-four; Turkey, two hundred and fifteen; Russia, one hundred and fifty-three, and Austria one hundred and thirty-four, giving England more than a third of the whole, with much less probability of any superior unfriendly combination, the armaments of continental nations tending rather to weaken than to strengthen each other against her. Her relative seamanship always counted for much. Napoleon would not let a fleet of thirty vessels attack more than twenty-three, or thirty-five attack more than twenty-nine. This advantage has certainly not a lower relative comparative value now than then, while the introduction of steam and the long range of guns have given her the added advantages of being the only nation which has able coast stations everywhere and of commanding the Straits of Gibraltar and Babelmandel, and practically all other equally valuable positions. In old times the value of a fleet in one of these straits depended on the condition of the wind; now that is an infinitely small element in the matter. Leaving ironclads out of the question, England has of the steam-carrying trade of the world so great a preponderance as to amount in time of disturbance to a monopoly, practically speaking. All ocean steamers are English-built, and the Clyde alone could turn out in a year a steam tonnage equal to that of any other power than England. Ocean steamers so long as they can keep clear of ironclads form a very valuable auxiliary in case of war, besides being the best nursery in times of peace for the Naval Service. The mighty waste that all this armor-plating involves is evident from the above statement that the "improvements" of ten years have been sufficient to render useless all the fleets of older date. England has at present on hand no less than twenty-six ironclads counted out, nine of which being built of wood are positively rotten. Indeed, it seems as though the race between heavier metal and thicker plating must culminate in some way and render the whole business of armor-plating useless, if, indeed, the torpedoes do not, like the little dog in the rhyme, do for them.

It is perfectly terrible to think of the sudden extinction to which such mighty weights of metal with their precious freightage are liable. Meantime, the race goes on with accelerated velocity. Plating has reached twenty-four inches in the "Indefatigable," which, however, may be long-proved false, and give way to something more good. Woolwich has produced an eighty-one ton gun, against which Sir W. Armstrong has made for the Italian Government a hundred ton gun, against which Woolwich promises a two hundred ton gun, the difficulty in the way of enlargement not being the size of the gun, but the problem of providing turret-ships to fight with such guns. What all this is going to grow to we do not know, but there is a satisfaction in the thought that, so far as we know, no such gun has ever fired an unfriendly shot, and may we not cherish the hope that none ever will? Any other possibility is indeed too terrible to contemplate. If a cessation of hostilities should be in any measure the result of the vast annual expenditure which these engines of destruction cost the nation, it would prove well-spent money.

A rather more alarmist view has been taken by Mr. Donald Currie, an extensive South African ship owner, who in a conference at the Admiralty complained that the coaling stations of the Empire, however well they may compare with those of other nations, are far from sufficient in number and strength to make vessels of war safe on distant service or on blockade duty. The first act in time of war would be the destruction by any enemy of any coaling station that might be open to attack after carrying off what of the supplies might be possible. In the same manner the Suez Canal might be closed with the utmost ease, making the distance between England and India possessions and the Australian colonies, and their base of operations at home, that of the voyage round the Cape. At one time ships doing blockade service were at the end of months in better condition than those they locked; in but now with iron hulls the bottom of the blockading ships are the more liable to foul and that, Mr. Currie says, to such an extent that it would make a difference of several knots an hour in homeward speed. All this makes it most evident that a necessary complement of our stupendous fleet is a series of perfectly fortified coaling depots, strong enough to resist any ordinary attack, and within short steaming distance of everywhere. Now that none of our ironclads have first class sailing powers, and some of them are absolutely without masts, it is clear that they are only mighty during the short period for which they can carry coal, and must become, from the moment that supply runs out, helpless monsters at the mercy of the elements as well as of the enemy. Another grave lack insisted on by Mr. Currie is telegraphic connection. Sir Garnet Wolseley might have terminated the Ashantee campaign on the near side of the Práh, had he not been dependent on communication with England on a temporary fast mail line between Madeira and the scene of action. The colonists of Natal would have actually the advantage in telegraphic communication in any of those sudden eruptions into the colony, having the primitive method of beacon fires well developed among them, while the whites are at fifteen days distance from help. Sir Bartle Frere bears out the opinion of Mr. Currie with regard to the certain destruction of the Suez route in case of war, and endorses his opinions as to the need of securing fortified coaling stations and marine telegraphic communication. From all that is said, it would appear as though the contest of the future would be one of means against means, and brains against brains.

It is to be remarked that a war hereafter must be undertaken under conditions that never existed before, and would largely depend on how far the attendant conditions had been foreseen and grasped. Among other elements of the question, it is plain that England fully appreciates the greatly increased importance which belongs to scientific training as distinguished from mere nautical experience and pluck. The scientific engineer is now the most important man on ship-board; but it is exceedingly difficult to break through the social red-tape by which officers of this sort are kept in subordination to the sailors hitherto the pride of England. It is to be hoped that it will not require disaster to bring about the full practical acknowledgment of the rights of brains.

THE SECRET SERVICE EXPENDITURE.

The investigation into the items in the Public Accounts for Secret Service is now practically closed, and it only remains for the Committee to discuss the evidence, and to decide on what report shall be made to the House. There have been no startling revelations, and there was a good reason for there being none. No enquiry as to how the moneys were disposed of was permitted. Mr. Blake's reason for intervening, when some questions were asked which looked in this direction, was a very simple one. The money was voted for Secret Service, and, therefore, was not an ordinary item for investigation, as any other appearing in the Public Accounts. In consequence of this, after a good deal of discussion, a resolution was passed in the Public Accounts Committee, and adopted by the House, setting forth that future expenditures of the same character should be audited by a special committee in which the Opposition should be represented. Mr. Blake therefore considered that it would be a transgression of the authority of the committee to make an ordinary public investigation of the expenditures, when the Commons had ordered a different sort of investigation. The special committee ordered never met, and no steps were ever taken to keep records of the items in detail for it to investigate. If it had met. No money was voted for Secret Service after this committee was decided upon, and Sir John Macdonald says that he did not consider that the \$47,000 which was at the credit of the Secret Service Committee of the Privy Council at the time, came within the spirit of the resolution. He considered that the money was spent as soon as it was handed over to this committee. The Public Accounts Committee and the House of Commons of course knew nothing at that time of the \$47,000 still unexpended of what had been voted. If they had, they would have insisted that the audit should apply to this as future expenditure. His contention that the money was spent as soon as it was handed over to this Committee is a most extraordinary one. If it was there could be no use for the confidential Committee of Audit. The warrants transferring the money to the Secret Service Committee could have been produced in the Public Accounts Committee, and as this was the expenditure there would have been nothing further to be done. That was how the money was spent. It was given to the Secret Service Committee, and there was an end of it. It is quite certain that this was not the idea which the Commons had of the work of the Confidential Committee, and that they did not consider the money spent when it was handed over to the Secret Service Committee. The principal points which will be discussed by the Public Accounts Committee on Tuesday will probably be the withholding of the balance, \$32,000 for two years, and finally chequing out

\$6,000, without the consent or knowledge of the Ministers of the day or of any one of them. Mr. Langton and Mr. Drummond are neither of them free from questionable conduct. Mr. Langton for two years knew that there was money which should have been under the control of the Government, and which was not under their control, for they knew nothing of it. Yet he never reported the matter to his chief as he should have done without delay. He could not divest himself of his responsibility as an officer of the Government, by laying the responsibility on Sir John Macdonald. His course towards Mr. Drummond was equally questionable. What the conversations between these gentlemen were, of course, cannot be ascertained. But there is no doubt that Mr. Drummond was led to believe that he was authorized to pay Sir John Macdonald the \$6,000. Mr. Drummond inferred the same from the letter, and that precious epistle seems to have been so as to appear to give an authority which he carefully refrained from giving. Such sharp practice as this is utterly unworthy of a high official of the government. He all the time was of the opinion, he states, that the money could not be paid out without the consent of the ministers of the day. Yet in all his conferences with Mr. Drummond, he never sought to make that clear for him, but on the contrary gave him to understand that it would be proper to allow Sir John Macdonald to cheque it out. Mr. Drummond could not appear in the most favorable light. For two years he, the banker of the Government, had \$32,000 of the Government's money, which an ex-Minister was seeking to draw upon, and he never told any minister of it. It was only to be withdrawn by cheques with the names of two ministers signed to them. Yet he paid it out on the cheque of one ex-minister and on an inferred authority from the Auditor General, for it is probable that Mr. Langton was quite as careful in his conversations as he was in his letter. The whole tenor of his evidence before the Committee, would lead to that belief. The most important personage to deal with, however, is Sir John Macdonald. For a long period he was the first Minister of the Crown in Canada. He still holds a most important position in Parliament, that of leader of the Opposition. He kept this money for two years after he ceased to have any right to it, and he withdrew \$6,000, and paid, or is to pay, to two of his colleagues in defiance of the law. He himself testifies that an ex-minister had no right to cheque out the fund, that Mr. Macdonald would have had no right to do so, even for engagements made while he was in office. Yet he did this very thing himself, without the consent or even knowledge of the Ministers of the day, who alone had any right whatever to dispose of this money, after Mr. Drummond states, assenting to his opinion that the Ministers should be consulted about the matter. It was not in consequence either of any understanding with Mr. Langton, for he distinctly states that he had no understanding with Mr. Langton about chequing out the money. What the action of the House will be when the Committee presents its report, it is impossible to forecast. The Government have not, so far, shown any desire to shirk their responsibility in the matter, and it is not probable that they will do so. It will be quite within the power of the Commons to order an investigation into the whole expenditure, either by a confidential committee or otherwise. Certainly some investigation seems to be called for. The dates of certain cheques in 1869 brought Mr. Goudge to his feet with enquiries as to whether any of these sums went to Nova Scotia. He naturally had a lively interest in knowing whether any of this money was used to defeat him in his contest with the late Mr. Howe in Hants in 1870. We know the opinions which Sir John Macdonald held in regard to Secret Service money three years after that time. He believed that the British practice was for a defeated ministry to carry the balance with them and use it for party purposes in Opposition. He never hesitated to follow British practices, when they suited him, and if a balance could be used for party purposes when in Opposition, why should not the principal sum be used for party purposes when in power? An investigation, confidential if necessary, but not the less searching, certainly is in order, and we hope that the House of Commons will direct it to be made.

WHERE ARE WE GOING?

Such is the question put in the electioneering manifesto attributed to Mr. Israel Tarte. The assumptions of that document tell us plainly enough our Lords the Bishops have spoken. The curia have quoted their language. The Supreme Court condemns this conduct of the curia, therefore the Supreme Court condemns the bishops, therefore it condemns our Holy Father the Pope, who gave his general approval to the *mandatum* in question. French-Canadians have no head but the clergy, and Bishops are the head of the clergy, and the Pope is the head of the bishops. Any interference with the clergy is, therefore, a wound inflicted on their race. What the clergy and what the bishops say, what the Pope says, must therefore, under all circumstances, be held to be right, and all who do not hold it so are wretched priests, even though they be judges of the Supreme Court and brothers of bishops. How much worse if they were wicked Liberals long since condemned! They are traitors, and they that vote for them are like unto them. This simply means that the Pope is to be expected to nominate a candidate in every constituency in Canada, and that any Catholic who does not vote for that candidate is an outcast. Protestants may still choose for themselves, but Catholics have no longer the suffrage, but must vote *en masse* for whatever the clergy prefer. Protestants are free, but Catholics are required to prefer bondage. Wherever they are in a majority or in an appreciable minority—that is to say in four-fifths of the constituencies, their candidates must go in until Protestants combine to keep them out, and politics become a question of Populism against people-rule. The clergy may not all like the precipitation of this question. The Archbishop, for instance, may not like to have his body like Mr. Tarte sent Liberals to him to learn whether he approves of his brother's judgment or not, even though they should send two good Langevinites along with them to put the question in the most non-committal way possible. But neither the clergy nor the Archbishop are powerful enough to hinder the authors of the Programme and such like theological students of the Syllabus. Our Holy Father the Pope might even take a liberal turn and wish to deliver the Archbishop from the too rigorous interpretation of his own encyclications; but these remain in black and white to contradict him. No backward step can be taken. It must needs be that Tarte comes into the world, and as long as there are Tartes the war of clerical absolutism will go steadily on, and often faster than the clergy would like. The time is coming fast when there will be no Catholic Liberals or Liberal Catholics. Liberals of all sorts must turn either into Pope-men or into priest-cats. The clergy hope, doubtless, in these days of ignorance to carry the mass with them, and, doubtless, they will win over many who have hitherto, for this or that selfish reason, considered themselves Liberal; but it must be remembered that the Liberals, although they do not return a large number of members, are almost a half of the French population, and it is quite possible that very many may prefer liberty to a religion of bondage, and so by this condition of things be irrevocably alienated from the Church. There is another aspect of all this which is perhaps worth a passing notice. It may be a question between lawyers as to whether the most offensive possible criticism of a judgment after it is rendered can or cannot be construed into contempt of Court; but there can be no question as to the seditious character of an agitation which attacks the very highest authority in the land, and holds it up to odium and enmity, confessedly because it is at issue with a foreign authority claiming a higher allegiance.

ELECTIONEERING THROUGH THE CONFESSORIAL.

The stand adopted by M. Langevin in regard to the decision in the Bonaventure election case, has naturally drawn much attention to that memorable contest. The grounds taken by the petitioner, Mr. Hamilton, were manly and straightforward—want of qualification and undue clerical influence. On both grounds he succeeded; but as his own conduct on the day of the polling was unquestionably irregular in not ceasing on that day his constant habit of whiskey-treating, he has been severely punished in having to bear the burden of his own costs. Questions of cost are always to a certain extent left to the discretion of the judges, and where a plaintiff, in an action of damages for instance, comes into Court without particularly clean hands, there is not unusually a disposition felt to punish him more or less, and for that purpose a judgment without costs is the means often resorted to. Still, as Mr. Hamilton's faults are punished by a temporary loss of franchise, the question at issue being not so much as the shortcomings of Mr. Beauchene, and the petitioner having so completely established his grounds of complaint, we cannot think that justice would have suffered had the judgment carried with it all expenses against the respondent.

To the evidence in this case, we wish particularly to draw attention, as showing the lengths to which the Ultramontane priesthood ruled over by an unscrupulous Programme bishop, are prepared to go in order to secure the exclusion from the pious precincts of the Quebec Legislature of any man calling himself a Liberal or a Protestant. Against Mr. Hamilton their zeal knew no bounds, as he happens to be both a Liberal and a Protestant. Of twenty-six witnesses, all most respectable men, who swear to having heard the Rev. Messrs. Gagné and Thibierge threatening spiritual pains and disabilities three and a half hours ago, and who have been able to assign no reason for the displeasure evinced by the priests, nine say it was because Mr. Hamilton was a Liberal, fourteen swear point blank it was because he was a Protestant. Of these twenty-six men, nine voted as they had intended to, fourteen who had made up their minds to vote for Mr. Hamilton abstained from voting at all, three were intimidated into voting against him. Not one witness was brought up to contradict this evidence; a few it is true, and very few, some four or five, say they did not hear the priests make these threats, but of these one man was deaf, another seems never to have understood or remembered anything, and the rest were irregular in their attendance at church, and may have been, and doubtless were, absent on the Sundays spoken of. This fact, as the judges stated in the judgment, is established beyond all doubt. These two reverend gentlemen threatened any of their parishioners who voted for a Protestant or a Liberal with the deprivation of the sacraments; some witnesses add even in *articulo mortis*, and the Rev. Mr. Gagné further assured them that he would ascertain how they had voted, because he would ask them at confession. These gentlemen, moreover, with the cleverness that marks the encroachments of the Church, united in declaring that they would consult the bishop on both heads, and carry out his orders. It was leaving open a convenient back-door in the event of the people proving refractory, and, at the same time, shifting the odium to a great extent from the shoulders of the curia, who were on the spot, to those of the bishop who was at a distance. With the success of the attempt we are all familiar, and if our information, obtained from a reliable source, is correct, the same means were resorted to somewhat less openly, perhaps, to obtain the return of the present member, Mr. Tarte, the long-sighed-for Moses of the Quebec Ultramontane party. Under the circumstances, it is to be hoped that some one will follow the courageous example of Mr. Hamilton, and once more teach M. Langevin that even the priests under his immediate control must learn obedience to the law. One fact has furthermore been established in the progress of this case, which is well worth noting and remembering. The threat to use the confessional as a means of counteracting the independence and liberty secured by the ballot, is not an idle one. Mr. William Cyr, the Mayor of New Richmond, an intelligent and educated young farmer, thirty years of age, in answer to cross-examination by Mr. Beauchene's counsel, declares that the priest had used the confessional to obtain information as to municipal elections, and that it is to his personal knowledge that he did so, *et c'est à moi qu'il en a parlé*. The public at large must feel very much obliged, whatever the priesthood think of the matter, to the sagacious young lawyer who, in defence of the church's cause, elicited for us this pleasant piece of information. Of course, if voting for a Protestant is a question to be discussed in the confessional it is a sin, and, as such, legitimately to be enquired after, confessed, repented for and absolved. If such be the case how do we, the Protestant portion of the community stand? Are we to be helots because we profess the same faith as our Queen? Is our only privilege to be the right, we so long have enjoyed, to pay four-fifths of the taxes of the Province? The subject is a serious one, worthy of much consideration, and to which we will revert again. In the meantime, we would be glad to have the authoritative views of archbishop and clergy concerning the doctrine of the Rev. Mr. Gagné, as enunciated from the pulpit, of his practice as illustrated in the confessional.

the battle, and men are mowed down as grass in cold blood, and the science of war has become the science of wholesale murder. But these appliances require to be always improved to keep pace with the times, so that the preparations for war, financially, are hardly less costly than war itself. To remedy this state of affairs a society has been formed with two divisions, whose objects are indicated by their names, "The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations," and "The Institute of International Law." Amongst their members are Lord Penzance and Lord Coleridge of England, M. Laboulaye, M. Chevalier, in France, Commander Maricini, Minister of Justice at Rome, and Count Frederic Sclopis (President of the Geneva Tribunal) in Italy, and other eminent men in Holland, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain and the United States.

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was arranged for in New York in May, 1873, and held in Brussels in October of that year. Little was done besides organizing the conference into a society, and declaring that an international codex was desirable and practicable, and that international disputes should be settled by arbitration. In the following year the society met at Geneva in the room memorable from being that in which the Geneva Tribunal had held its sittings. But although these meetings were mutually profitable and interesting, the society did not set fully to practical work till the meeting held at the Hague in September, 1875, when committees were appointed on the subjects of international criminal law, on extradition, collisions at sea, reduction of armaments, bills of exchange, foreign judgments, patent laws, maritime insurance, maritime tribunals, international coinage and mint regulations, the limits to arbitration in the settlement of international disputes, and on the subject of maritime capture. On the foundation thus broadly laid down the society has since been working, and it is probable that the committees will report progress or bring in completed reports at the meeting which has been called to meet at Antwerp on August next, at the same time as the centennial anniversary of the birth of the painter Rubens. That their deliberations will be anxiously watched by many, and that even if they are not able to arrive at any solution of the chief problem, they will lessen the inclination on the part of nations to go to war, is undoubted. It seems possible that certain specific laws might be framed whereby nations should be governed, and these might be based on the grand old principle of English freedom, that a man is at liberty to do as he pleases so long as he injures no one else. The treaty of the Powers in regard to the Russo-Turkish difficulties recognized this principle, and no harm could result from its still further extension, and it may have been the means of preventing much bloodshed.

MURRAY'S GEOLOGICAL MAP OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

With the exception of the slight sketch contained in the report of Mr. Jukes in 1843, and some notices in the reports of Mr. Richardson, of the Canadian Geological Survey, the work done by Mr. Murray within the last few years is all that we have had to depend on for information as to the geology and mineral resources of the great Island, as large as Ireland, which blocks up the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and up to this time maintains its "home rule" principles in face of the Dominion of Canada; and which in recent years has added to its fame for fish and seals that of supplying a large amount of copper and nickel to the markets of the world. We now have this information, previously scattered through reports of progress, condensed and presented to the eye in a beautiful map by Stanford, of London, on the same scale with that of Canada by Sir W. E. Logan. The amount of good geological work represented by this map is very great, and with the companion map representing the timber lands and arable lands, which Mr. Murray has also prepared, affords the best general idea hitherto presented of the resources of Newfoundland, which, both in regard to mineral and agricultural wealth, are undoubtedly much greater than had been supposed previous to Mr. Murray's researches. Newfoundland is indeed to be congratulated on having secured the services of a geologist so energetic and enthusiastic, and, at the same time, with so large experience, gained in the study, on the Canadian Survey, of formations very similar to those of his present field.

At the first glance the map shows to a geologist that the general structure of Newfoundland conforms to those great north-east and south-west lines which are characteristic of the eastern side of North America. A second glance takes in the fact that the nucleus of the Island is composed of the rocks of the old Laurentian series, an outlier of the great mass of those rocks to the north in some respects resembling the Adirondack outlier farther west. A little further examination discloses the additional fact that on the west side of this old Laurentian nucleus there is a belt of Silurian and other rocks resembling those farther up the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, while on the east side there is a similar but wider stretch of Huronian and Cambrian rocks resembling those of the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England.

The map is also suggestive of questions and conclusions respecting the structure of the lands to the south-west. The projecting corner of the Laurentian at Cape Ray points towards the rocks of northern Cape Breton, and the intervening gulches of the Island of St. Paul reminds us of the suggestion put forth by the late Mr. Hartley, of the Canadian Survey, and apparently strengthened by later investigations, that some of the old crystalline rocks of the northern end of Cape Breton are of Laurentian age. In any case, the coal field of St. George's Bay is a northern continuation of the eastern coal-fields of Cape Breton.

In like manner the Huronian and Cambrian rocks of the rugged country between Fortune Bay and Cape Race are probably northern continuations of the coast series of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and Mr. Murray has probably, in the resolution of these rocks into bands of Huronian and Cambrian, with projecting ridges of Laurentian, and dykes and masses of intrusive rocks, anticipated changes which must be made in the maps of those regions.

INTERNATIONAL LAW-MAKING.

Whether nations can be ruled in their relations with other nations as corporate societies or the individuals of a country, is a question which has been under discussion by many eminent men for several years past, and with results apparently much greater than could have been expected from the means put forth to accomplish their views. Recent events show that the more civilized nations of the world have a growing dread of the appeal to arms for the settlement of disputes, and they have much need to, for science has hardly made more progress in any matter than that of slaughter. In former days men had to rest from killing, and muscle and brute courage gained the day, but now the engineer rules

the battle, and men are mowed down as grass in cold blood, and the science of war has become the science of wholesale murder. But these appliances require to be always improved to keep pace with the times, so that the preparations for war, financially, are hardly less costly than war itself. To remedy this state of affairs a society has been formed with two divisions, whose objects are indicated by their names, "The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations," and "The Institute of International Law." Amongst their members are Lord Penzance and Lord Coleridge of England, M. Laboulaye, M. Chevalier, in France, Commander Maricini, Minister of Justice at Rome, and Count Frederic Sclopis (President of the Geneva Tribunal) in Italy, and other eminent men in Holland, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain and the United States.

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