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THE HERALD.

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HIS HOURS NUMBERED.

For over a week the attention of all Canada has been riveted with painful interest upon the dying statesman at Earncliffe. His powers of vitality have excited the wonder of his physicians. He has apparently suffered little, but all this time his life has been slowly ebbing away. The latest bulletin, as we go to press, is to the effect that the premier's hours on earth are numbered, and that his death may be expected at any moment.

THE NEXT PREMIER.

For a week the newspapers of Canada have been filled with predictions and discussions as to the successor of Sir John Macdonald. At the time that the fatal stroke descended upon Sir John and his death was regarded as a matter of hours only, popular opinion, at least in New Brunswick, pointed to Sir Charles Tupper as the man upon whom the mantle would surely fall. This opinion originated mainly from the fact that in political prestige Sir Charles stood second only to his great leader in the conservative ranks. The belief that when Sir Charles Tupper forsok the halls of parliament and accepted the commission he only did so awaiting the proper season for his being called to the leadership, was revived and added strength to the popular supposition. A week ago few men could be found in New Brunswick advancing any other view.

Within the past seven days, however, there has been a moving of the waters. The great journals of the west have spoken and the burden of their words is not favorable to Sir Charles Tupper. His soundness upon the question of the national policy is discredited by the red parlor men. His recent unseemly squabble with, and ill-tempered abuse of, the Grand Trunk have it said, shown him to be unfit for the dignified post of premier of Canada. Some of his personal attributes are obnoxious to ultra-moral elements in the party. He has never possessed the slightest hold among the conservatives of Quebec. On the whole, just now, the prospects of Sir Charles appear to be on the wane.

The Toronto Globe is responsible for the statement that the "boom" in the elevation of Sir John Thompson to the premiership gathers strength. There is no longer a doubt that he is the candidate of the majority of the conservative parliamentary party. But he has vigorous and resolute opponents. He has antagonized the strong Orange element in Ontario and he is keenly opposed by many of the representatives of that active and influential wing of the conservative organization. This condition will probably force the party to make a selection. About the nominal premier with Sir John Thompson as the leader of the commonsense and the real premier and leader of the party. Approaches have been made to the representatives of the equal rights movement by one of the Tory groups with a view to a unanimous selection of Sir John Thompson as the candidate for the premiership. The position of the equal rights party is that they cannot coalesce with Sir John Thompson or enter cabinet formed under his leadership. Except the platform of the equal rights party is a part of the Ministerial policy, this concession cannot be made, and hence the necessity for the compromise upon Mr. Abbott as the titular premier and leader of the government. Sir John Thompson's friends, however, have not yet abandoned the effort to secure the chief place for their candidate, name as well as in fact, and further canvass may show that he is strong enough to reject the Abbott compromise and take the premiership. Sir Charles Tupper according to the Globe seems to have been abandoned. His supporters have practically withdrawn from the contest.

There is some talk of a coalition in Ottawa political circles but it is couched by the liberal parliamentary party. It would seem that, on the whole, while Sir John Thompson is much the ablest and more statesmanlike man of the two, the chances appear to favor Hon. Senator Abbott as the successor of Sir John. Such a selection would add no strength to the conservative party throughout the Dominion. The bare mention of him as the party leader shows how great is the dilemma in which, by the anticipated death of one great man, the conservative party has fallen.

INDIGESTION.

If the great American republic should prove to be a failure, the malady which will have brought about its demise will be indigestion—the inability of a nation itself of healthy origin to assimilate the vile materials that may be poured into its system by immigration. It is hardly possible to conceive of a finer physical foundation for a great nation than had the United States. But within the short space of one hundred years Uncle Sam, from a hygienic point of view, has greatly degenerated. He is threatened with liver complaint, dyspepsia and all the kindred ailments that result from fast living and quick treatment.

Few of our readers are aware, perhaps, of the extent of the danger with which the United States is threatened. The country is increasing rapidly in population by becoming a dumping ground for the rubbish and refuse of all other countries. The English and German immigrant are desirable settlers but these form a small fraction of the tide that is now rolling in from Europe and Asia. There appears also reason to believe that the Asiatic wave will in time reach a still more threatening height.

A glance at what is taking place in New England affords small comfort to the American philosopher. The French-Canadians now comprise a majority of the population in five of the cities of New England. They will be able, says one writer, to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of St. John Baptist society in less than fifty years in Boston, which would then be French-Canadian and the centre of the French-Canadian nation. This, however, is only prophecy, a species of information which has never been particularly reliable in either modern or ancient times.

It is not the quantity of the immigration but the quality of it that is causing alarm. Ignorance, vice, superstition and disease are its inseparable companions

and they all die hard. The ship of state which for over a century has survived the fiercest storms of fate may at last founder by the sheer weight of its own burden.

Another cause for alarm in the patient's condition is the rapid concentration of the nations wealth in the hands of a comparatively few men. This would not be serious if wealthy men were human, but they seldom are. Your nineteenth century monopolist is greedy and despotic and cares little for aught save his fame and his dollars. One per cent of the people of the United States to-day own over half of all the wealth in the nation. And it may be said that they control the legislature. In Canada among our greatest evils are the wholesale purchase of votes at elections and the degrading of the national spirit by public expenditures for election purposes. We have not yet reached the stage where our legislatures can be purchased by the highest bidder. From this, the despotism of the dollar, we are as yet practically free.

ARISTOCRACY.

When Goldwin Smith delivered, a few weeks ago, his admirable address upon "aristocracy," there were many who thought the professor's remarks were not a propos. It was pointed out that Canada had no aristocracy and no prospect of ever enjoying such a luxury.

Within the strict meaning of the term an aristocracy in Canada is not possible. Our institutions are not adapted to a landed aristocracy, whose titles and privileges descend from father to son. Public opinion in Canada would not tolerate the least vestige of that feudalism which still obtains in most European states. Occasionally titles which suggest our objection to the aristocratic form of government conferred upon the water are conferred upon Canadians, but they in no way enhance the esteem and honor in which the recipient is held by our people. We have a few knights among us but they are not more knightly than they were before they obtained that distinction.

A recent event, however, has given some force to the otherwise somewhat irrelevant remarks of professor Smith. In the Queen's birthday honor list occurs the name of Sir George Stephen, the C. P. R. magnate, who is made a peer of the realm. The London Times remarks that the honor conferred upon Sir George "is the first instance of colonial service being recognized by a peerage" and claims that "it is an indication that the present (imperial) government exceeds its predecessors in the desire to draw closer the bonds of union with the colonies."

This is eminently in accordance with the Tory idea of things that the way to make the people happy is to bestow its titled gifts upon a favored few. The idea, however, that Canada can be drawn one foot closer to the mother land by such means appears supremely ridiculous to the Canadian mind. The less England parades her aristocracy before Canada the better her chances for retaining the union will be. Canadians are among the most thoroughly democratic people in the world. The one thing in the British system of government obnoxious above all others is that aristocracy which she now appears desirous of dangling as a bait before us.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

NOTHING can exceed the enterprise of the Italian press nowadays. One of the daily papers of Rome publishes in every issue the following editorial notice: For a report of a fight or fire in which one or more human lives were lost we pay 1 lire and 50 cents; for a report of a suicide, 50 cents; for a report of an attempt at suicide, 50 cents; for a report of an accident in which a person suffered bodily harm, 30 cents; for reports of a murder, highway robbery, burglary and other happenings of this kind, we pay according to the importance of the event, but in no case less than 5 lire.

This original contract time specified for the completion of the Canadian Pacific railway, has only just expired, but it is now being extended upwards a million and a half dollars per month, or a sum nearly equal to the entire revenue of the Dominion from taxation, and is paying out for working expenses over a million dollars per month.

The last German census, taken of December 1st, 1890, shows a great increase in population. According to the preliminary statistics, just issued, the population of Germany included on that day 49,422,928 souls.

THE STRICKEN LEADER.

(Toronto Empire)

Hearing that one of Sir John Macdonald's oldest and most distinguished colleagues in the person of Hon. Governor General Lord Dufferin, would arrive in the city on Thursday, en route for the capital, the Empire correspondent met the bare mention of him as the party leader shows how great is the dilemma in which, by the anticipated death of one great man, the conservative party has fallen.

"How long were you a colleague of Sir John's?" asked the Empire.  
"I was 14 years in his cabinet, but I had met Sir John frequently before confederation."  
At this point Sir Leonard Tilley could hardly suppress his great emotion, knowing that his valued friend was rapidly nearing that world from which no traveler returns.

"There is so much to say in the great man's behalf that I scarcely know where to begin. It was only the other day that I was speaking of Sir John Macdonald's tact and his very great kindness and consideration for each and every one of his colleagues in the ministry. We all admired his brilliant qualities as a statesman, his foresight and wisdom as a parliamentary leader, and his marvellous influence over his friends and fellow men; but it was the kind heart and the noble character of the man that endeared him to the people of Canada."  
Sir Leonard Tilley then went on to describe the intense interest that existed in Fredericton, St. John and the other cities of the lower provinces over the illness of the Canadian premier, and added that in no part of the Dominion would the great national loss be felt more keenly than in the province of New Brunswick.

THE DYING LEADER.

LIFE OF A GREAT STATESMAN

Sketch of Sir John Macdonald's Political Career.

Sir John Macdonald was born in Glasgow, Scotland, January 11th 1815. Five years later his father Hugh Macdonald and family removed to Canada and settled in Kingston, Ontario. At school he had a passion for mathematics and classics and was a diligent scholar, his memory being a remarkable one. He entered upon the study of the law and soon achieved great success.

Entering Politics.

In 1844, he entered upon his political career as member for the city of Kingston in the second parliament of United Canada. He was elected as a supporter of the administration of Mr. Draper which strongly supported the reactionary policy of Lord Metcalfe. In the heavy political fighting of the time, including the period after Lord Metcalfe's recall, the rule of Lord Cathcart and the coming of Lord Elgin in January, 1847, Mr. Macdonald was an active participant. In 1847 he was made Queen's council and on May 11th, 1857, became a member of the executive council of Canada as receiver-general. In a few weeks he became receiver-general of the lands, but his tenure of office was brief. A conference of parliament resulted in the defeat of the government and the choosing of a reform ministry, under the leadership of Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine. Mr. Draper accepted a seat on the bench, and thus Mr. Macdonald, who had been again returned to the house from Kingston, became a leading figure in the remnant of the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry and later, after the burning of the parliament house, of the Hincks-Morris ministry, was opposed most vigorously by the conservative ministry under the leadership of Sir Allan MacNab, but really under that of Mr. Macdonald, his first and ablest lieutenant.

During this period the most important details were those of the session of the legislature of Ontario which in 1854 a rebellion broke out. The rebellion was carried. The burning of the parliament house, the annexation manifesto signed by many liberal and conservative members of the day, and the removal of the seat of government to Toronto, are all mentioned in the history of Ontario. Through all this critical time, Mr. Macdonald occupied a front rank on the opposition side. During the debate which resulted in the overthrow of the Hincks ministry, in the course of an important speech, Mr. Macdonald declared that "the system of the present government was based on a most rampant corruption and appealing to the most sordid and basest motives of men. In every part of the country their money is for use, and offices are offered in return for money paid to their officials. A government should be free from suspicion and should feel a stain on their escutcheon like a wound on their person. There may be Walpoles among them, but there are no Pitts; they are all steeped to the lips in corruption, they have no bond of union but the bond of common plunder."

The Second Stage.

At the beginning of the session of 1854 the Hincks ministry was defeated on a motion of want of confidence. It then appealed to the House of Commons. Mr. Macdonald, still protesting that Upper Canada was receiving unfair treatment, was returned once again for Kingston as the leader of the nineteen pronounced Tory members from Upper Canada. The bulk of the Upper Canada members were reformers of the Hincks ministry, who strongly condemned the policy of the Hincks ministry. The ministry was defeated in the election of the speaker, and on undertaking what was in effect a defence of Mr. Brown, the member for Bagby, who in his own person had acted as returning officer and declared himself elected, was turned out by the independent reformers and the conservative opposition. It was supposed that the independent reformers under Mr. Brown, the member for Bagby, and the new cabinet was appointed attorney general. The new government remained in power for two years, during which Mr. Macdonald was one of the most active of its members. The question as to where the permanent seat of government should be placed became at this time one of the important issues of the day, and the government being left in the minority of the Upper Canadian members upon it, resigned upon the ground that "the affairs of the country could not be conducted in a satisfactory manner until the seat of government was removed to the west." A new government was immediately formed under the leadership of Col. Tache, with John A. Macdonald as attorney general, although it was considered by the Upper Canadian majority not of Sir John Macdonald. Until the coalition in 1860 Mr. Macdonald could never count on a majority from Upper Canada for any administration of which he was a member. He was fully conscious of this, and it was in view of this that he had been so active in the debate which took place on the advent of the new cabinet, he said that "no administration could hope successfully to govern the country by a majority of one section, and a minority of the other." But his ruling principle that the Queen's government must be carried somehow or other, outweighed all other considerations. In 1857 he had become prime minister at the head of the Macdonald-Carter administration. In the following year the vexed question of dropping the seat of government caused his defeat. The ministry resigned and the Brown-Dorion administration was formed. The refusal of the governor general, Sir Edmund Head, to grant a dissolution, forced Mr. Brown and his colleagues to resign. By that move, familiarly known as the "double shuffle," the old ministers came back without being compelled to seek re-election. As head of the administration Mr. Macdonald practically ruled old Canada from the time of the double shuffle until the defeat of the ministry on the militia bill in 1862. The government then resigned and a reform administration was formed under John Sandfield Macdonald, with Mr. Sicotte as Lower Canadian leader. After a very precarious existence the Macdonald-Dorion cabinet, was forced to resign in 1864. John Macdonald was once more premier of Canada, although his government only lasted a few weeks. The questions of representation by population and of the confederation of the provinces of British North America had not attained such proportions that no administration could attain power without accepting them as part of its general policy. Although he had strenuously resisted those political changes, his defeat by a hostile vote of the assembly, after a very short enjoyment of power, compelled him to recognize the situation. There was practically a deadlock in public affairs. Negotiations were

opened by Mr. Brown, leader of the reform party in Upper Canada, and, although with great reluctance, that gentleman consented to become a member of the coalition government. It was formed expressly to carry out a policy of confederation with representation by population as the basis, its nominal head being Sir Etienne Tache. The question just referred to received the immediate attention of the new cabinet. A conference was held at Charlottetown in 1864 for the purpose of effecting a union of the maritime provinces. This led to another conference in Quebec, where a scheme of confederation was agreed upon, and to a final conference in London in 1866-67, where the terms of the new constitution were settled. In these successive deliberations Mr. Macdonald actively participated, and at the last mentioned conference acted as chairman.

The Confederation Period.

The British North America act was passed in 1867, and on the 1st of July in that year the new Dominion came into existence. It consisted of the old province of Canada, known for the future as Ontario and Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In 1870 the province of Manitoba was added and the Northwest Territories became part of the Dominion. British Columbia was added in 1871. In 1872, and confederation was finally completed by the admission of Prince Edward Island in 1873. Honors of various degrees were bestowed on the ministers who had taken an active part in the negotiations which preceded the passing of the confederation act, and Mr. Macdonald and Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Etienne Tache had died in 1865, his place at the head of the coalition government being filled by Sir Narcisse Belleau, who held the office until his death in 1867. By that time Sir John Macdonald had virtually secured supreme control over the proceedings of the cabinet. Mr. Brown resigned in the early part of 1866. Mr. Mowat had previously accepted a vice-chancellorship, and there remained in the cabinet no one presented claims for any special influence in the country to interpose any effectual check on the conservative leader's policy. Announcing that the time had arrived for the demolition of old party lines and distinctions, Sir John secured the formation of a government in Ontario on similar principles under his old antagonist, John Sandfield Macdonald. This means the reform party was organized and the conservative leader obtained from both Ontario and Quebec an overwhelming majority. Nova Scotia also presented claims for any special influence in the country to interpose any effectual check on the conservative leader's policy. 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