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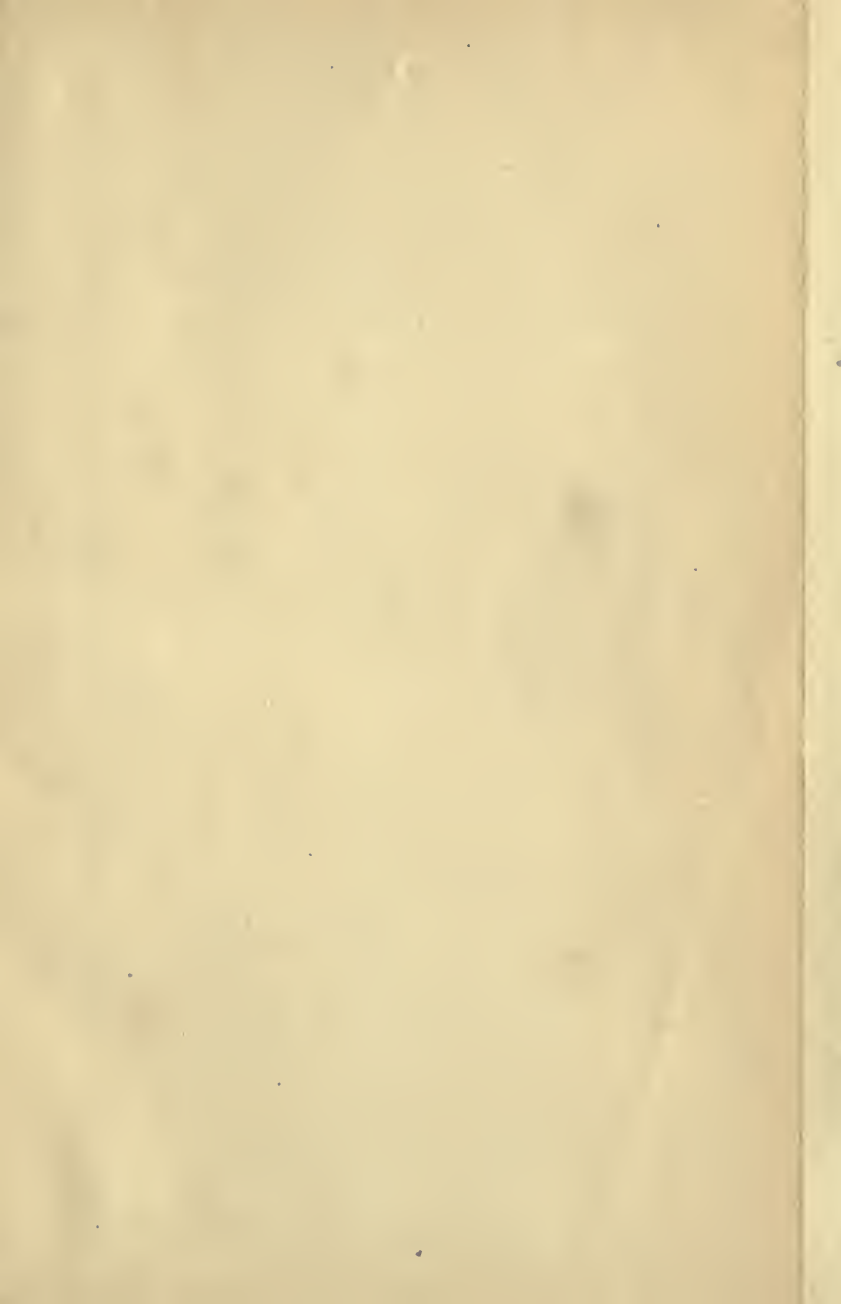
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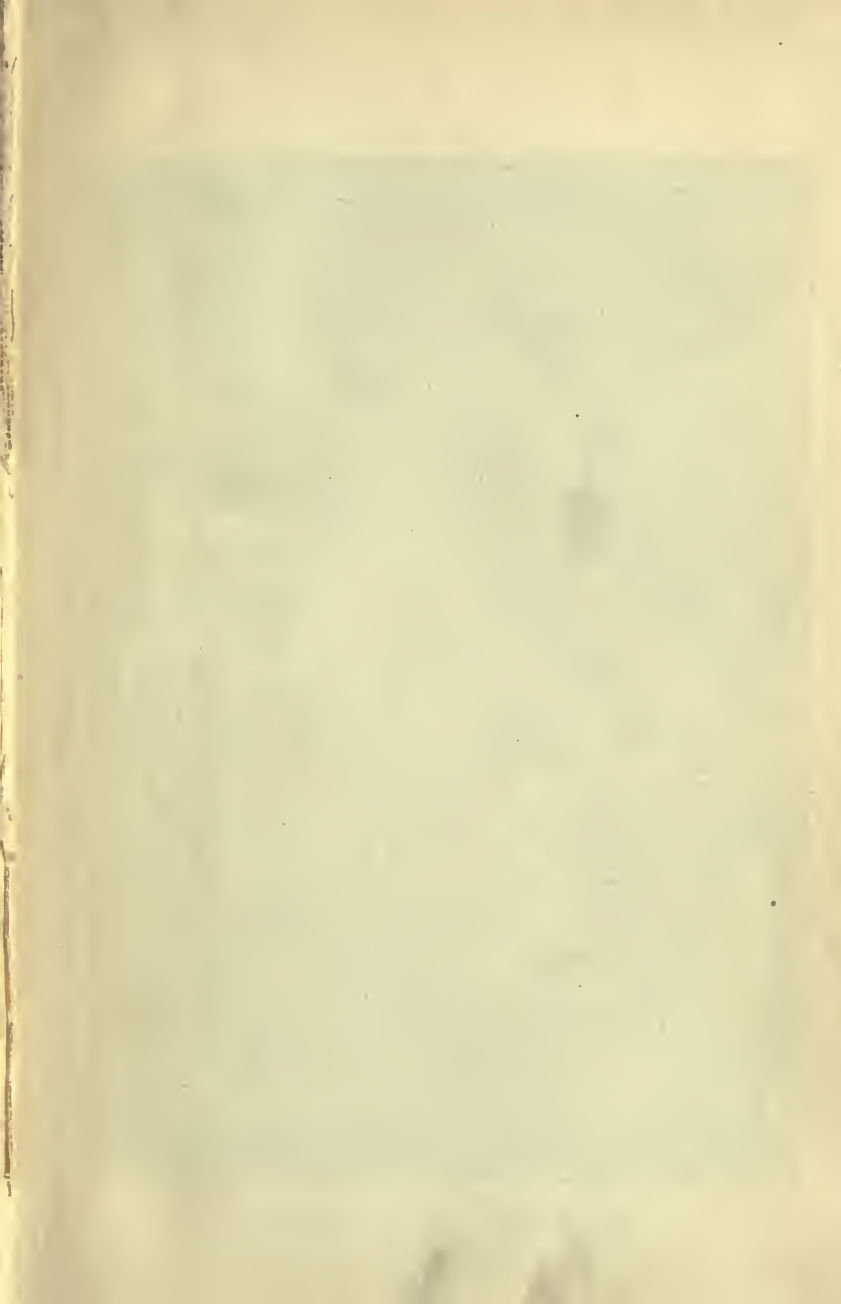
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HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

A TREATISE ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

BY

JOHN MILLAR, B.A.,

Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario.

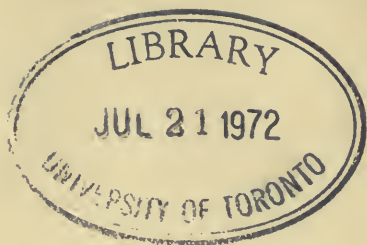
“ Be just and fear not ;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy Country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's.”—SHAKESPEARE.

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PREFACE.

The design of the author in the preparation of this work is to give young people a general outline of the Canadian system of government, and to urge the importance of that moral and intellectual training which forms the basis of good citizenship. To persons who live under democratic institutions, an intelligent acquaintance with the manner in which they are governed is obviously essential. Political development is impossible unless the principles of civil government are understood. In England the educational progress of the last thirty years, together with the liberal extension of the franchise, has led to the circulation of several books of a popular character, dealing with the rights and duties of citizens. In France, where national education has, perhaps, received more attention within the last fifteen years than in any other country of Europe, *l'instruction civique* is one of the most popular branches of study. It is also well known that "Civics," as the

subject is termed in the United States, is a department with which every young American is expected to be familiar, and, as a consequence, very many books dealing with the laws and institutions of the country have a wide circulation in all parts of the Union.

Within a few years Canada has gained much notice from the political world, and its value as an important part of "Greater Britain" is becoming more fully recognized. It is doubtful, however, if the youth of the Dominion yet fully appreciate the great natural resources of the country, its stable form of government, its free institutions, its good educational advantages, its excellent judicial system, and the many other valuable characteristics to which Canada may lay claim. The relations of the Dominion to the Empire will necessarily engage the thoughtful attention of the next generation. It is eminently desirable that those who are in a few years to be entrusted with the control of public affairs should realize the responsibilities they are to assume. It is important that young people should be taught the great value of Canadian institutions, and enabled to understand, from the study of history and political science, the magnificent heritage which is secured to the country by its connection with England.

It will be observed that the scope of the work is in some respects different from many of the English and American treatises on the subject. In particular, more attention is given to matters relating to the early training of citizens, and fewer details are taken up respecting the laws of the country. It has not been thought desirable to enlarge the size of the book by giving information that can readily be obtained from the statutes, from official blue books, or from directories. It will be acknowledged that *character* is more valuable to Canadian citizens than an extensive knowledge of the constitution of the country, and that if high moral principles influence the people, political, social and economic progress is assured. Accordingly, it is thought the chapters on "The Government of Self," "The Government of the Family," and "The Government of the School," will be regarded as forming a valuable prelude to the study of the various departments of civil government. The chapters on "Taxation," "Wealth," "Political Parties," and "Twentieth Century Problems," it is hoped will prove suggestive in view of the increasing attention given to the topics considered.

The author has drawn from a great many sources, including his own experience of many years, much of the information which will be found in these pages.

It would be difficult to have his indebtedness in all cases acknowledged. He desires, however, to mention especially the works of the following writers: Parrott, Forster, Dole, Forman, Willoughby, Fiske, Macy, Northam, Brooks, Shaw and Bourinot.

JOHN MILLAR.

TORONTO, *May*, 1899.

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CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SELF.

A good citizen.—The end of all government is the cultivation of good citizenship. The most important government is the government of self. A good citizen is one who lives a useful life, and no person can be useful who has not acquired the power of self-control. There is a sphere of activity for every member of society. Each person has constant duties to perform, and if he neglects these duties society suffers loss. Fame is not essential to good citizenship, and therefore people who have not become distinguished may have been fully as deserving of credit as those who have left their impress on the pages of history. Each one is to be commended in proportion to the use he has made of his talents and his opportunities. Places of distinction in the state are not numerous, and persons who aspire to have their names enrolled in the temple of fame are often sadly disappointed. The ambition to excel is nevertheless laudable, provided the possibilities of failure

are not ignored. The cost of each undertaking should be counted, and no struggle ought to be entered upon if defeat would unfit for other contests. No voluntary fight in the battle of life should be undertaken if the unsuccessful competitor becomes less valuable as a citizen.

A popular opinion prevails in many quarters that only a few persons succeed in life, and that the human race in its progress sustains the theory of "the survival of the fittest." There can be no theory more unsound, if the Christian view of life's purposes is to have acceptance. What is success in life? What is failure? No person need spend a wicked life. Every one has the privilege of being good. A person who does his duty in life cannot be said to fail. A good person is necessarily a benefit to society. No good man neglects to improve his opportunities for usefulness. The progress of society increases the facilities by which persons of ability may outstrip those not so well endowed. Indeed, "inequality and progress" are inseparably connected. It is time this fact became more fully understood. Its recognition would discredit many of the utopian theories for framing a society where the members possess all things in common. The government of self should receive more attention. The advantage of studying the constitution of the country should be admitted; but a man may be versed in all British laws enacted since the days of *Magna Charta*, he may be able to cite the provisions of the British North America Act, he may know all the powers of municipal councils, and yet be a very poor citizen. It

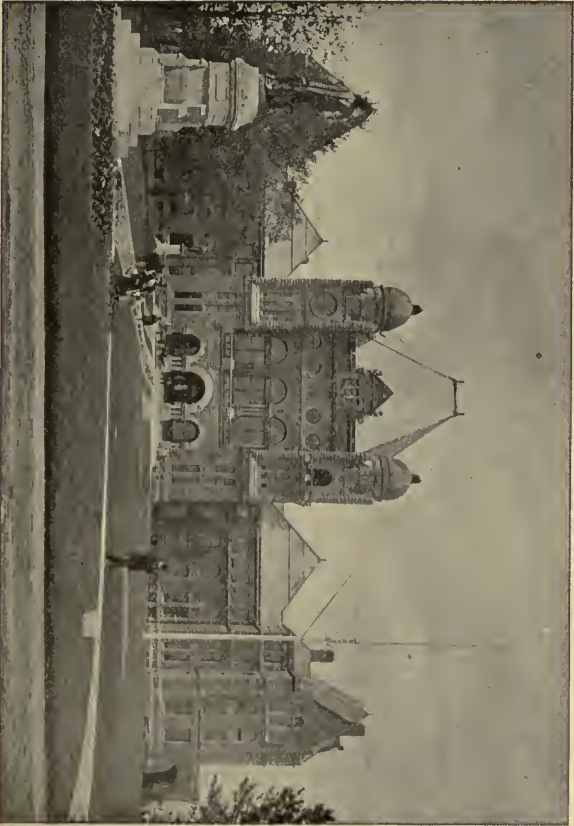
should therefore be understood from the start that what young Canadians need most is not an extensive knowledge of "Civics"—valuable though this is—but such a training in habits of self-control as will enable them to follow readily in the paths of duty, to strive to be useful members of the community, and to feel that the conscientious pursuit of what is good and noble brings certain reward.

The end of government.—The different forms of government will receive attention in a subsequent chapter. Any method of managing the affairs of the state is bad that does not help people to regulate their lives. The institutions of a country are good only when they promote true manhood and true womanhood. So long as a spirit of selfishness influences men it helps to defeat the purposes of good government. Many persons are strong in controlling the actions of others, but weak in properly directing their own conduct. "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." Good citizens are those who have mastered self, and the institutions of the state should aid in this object. If this mastery were complete the functions of government would be simple. At present the time of legislators and judges is largely taken up with questions that are due to unrestrained passions. The cost of administration would be greatly lessened if people were at all times anxious to do right. If all citizens were law-abiding the large sums now expended to pay policemen and to erect and maintain prisons would be saved. The problem of government would be simple if the family and the school were sufficiently

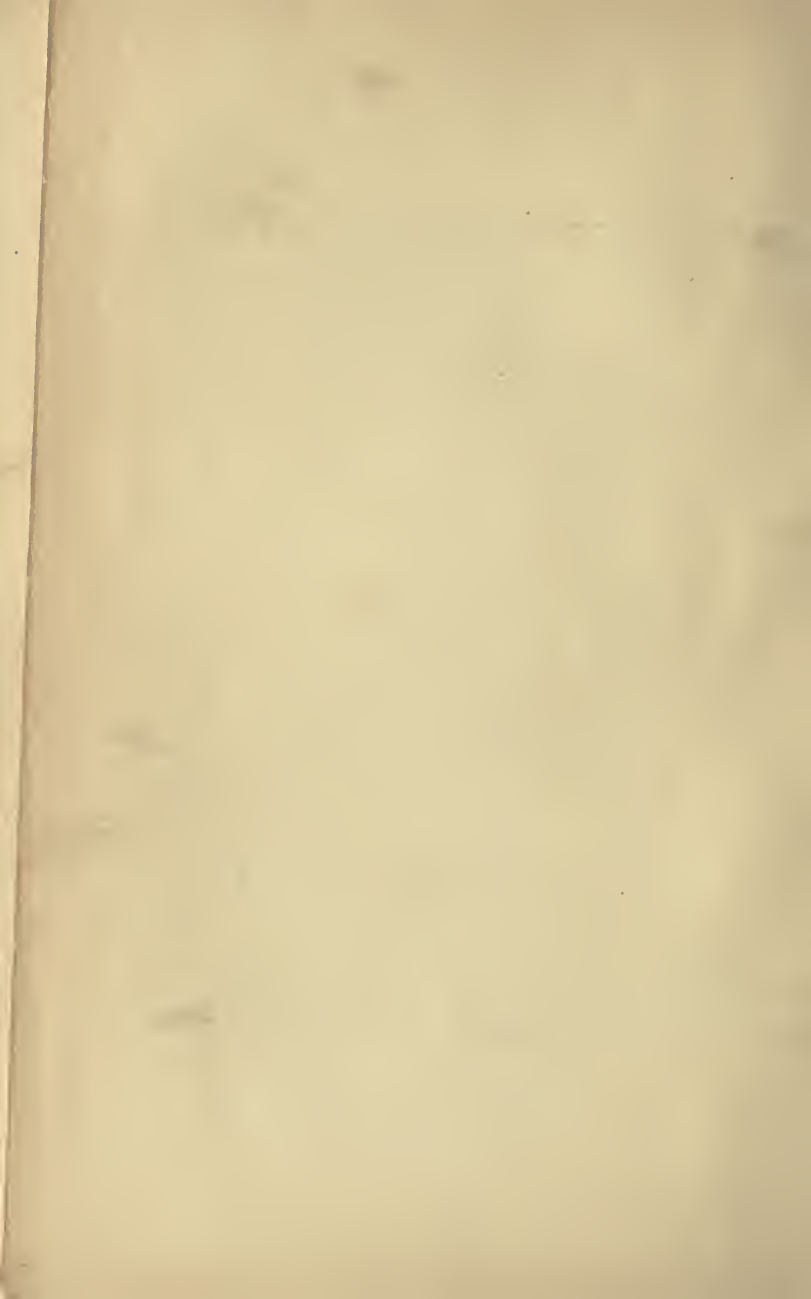
powerful to form character of a high order, before people enter upon the active duties of life. Unfortunately, children too often pass from the rule of parents and teachers without having acquired that most comprehensive of all virtues, the virtue of self-control.

Personal habits.—A person's character may be known generally by his habits. Indeed, it is said that character is made up of "a bundle of habits." The formation of all habits, whether of body or mind, comes from persistent effort. The aim of education is not, as many suppose, the acquisition of knowledge, but the making of character. A man may know a great deal, and yet be poorly educated. To do right is the only way to become good. Personal habits, which largely form the basis of right action, are most easily acquired in childhood. If the physical, intellectual and moral powers are properly directed in early life, the foundation is laid for good citizenship. The force of habit will overcome inherited tendencies and early formed inclinations. The character of no person need be bad. Every bad habit may be avoided if the proper effort is made in time.

Failure in life is often due to bad personal habits. Many men fail to get on in the world on account of a lack of regularity, system, punctuality and promptness. Idleness is the mother of many vices, and industry is essential to success. A want of cleanliness and order gives rise to disease and financial loss. The higher types of men find pleasure, comfort and health in being clean. Some persons never have their homes tidy. Their yards are always unsightly,



ONTARIO PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, TORONTO.



their fences always down, and their tools and appliances are in the wrong place. They always exhibit a slovenly manner, and a lack of neatness follows them through life. As the government of a country is like its people such persons make poor citizens. Thoroughness is important in the interests of the state, and every person who is thorough in his work will help to strengthen the nation. Every shiftless and slovenly person weakens society and the state.

Courtesy.—Rude or slovenly manners and gruffness of language, which might do less harm in the woods, where men rarely meet a stranger, become very uncomfortable as soon as people associate together. A person is not excusable if he reaches manhood without being able to control his tongue. The need of politeness is apparent to every one. Gentleness, refinement and courtesy are characteristics which mark persons who have profited by the influence of good examples and good precepts. Every one naturally likes to have respect shown him. A courteous greeting will attract, while a scowl will repel. It is no wonder that the bad manners of some men destroy their chances of favor. The golden rule, if followed, will give valuable lessons in politeness. The recognized advantages of courtesy have given rise to many rules which society regards as binding. It shows ignorance not to observe the customs of well-bred persons. It is foolish, unsocial, and even barbarous, to disregard or despise what men and women generally do. Respect for age and for those in authority is part of the discipline in

patience, gentleness and self-control, which goes to make up true manhood and womanhood.

Thrift.—Almost every one shows his character by the way he uses money. It is not a great misfortune to be born poor. The children of wealthy parents often show the great disadvantages under which they labor in the formation of character if they are liberally supplied with money. Only those who have to provide for themselves appreciate the value of wealth. The spendthrift is a poor citizen. Men who live from hand to mouth have not acquired the habit of self-control. A person who makes no provision for a rainy day becomes a burden to the state. One of the most important lessons young people should be taught is that of economy. In some households an allowance is given to the children to spend, or save, or give away. It is desirable to foster proper views of generosity and thrift. A young person should become accustomed to record each item of his expenditures, to contribute a proportion of his income to religious and charitable purposes, and to balance his accounts. He should train himself to be saving without being penurious, and to be sharp in business without being untruthful or dishonest. The outlook is dangerous for children who learn to cheat, or to spend more than they earn or receive as an allowance from their parents.

“The pure life.—There are many habits of life and speech which survive among men from barbarous or savage times. We easily and almost by instinct know them as low, base and degrading. There are young persons who, perhaps from some weak strain in their ancestry, are specially

liable to low habits and coarse speech. Others, from ignorant homes or through thoughtless companions and bad books, fall, if not into ruinous practices, menacing bodily health, at least into damaging habits of thought and conversation, spoiling the health of the mind; for there are things that soil and hurt the mind as pitch soils the hands, or dry-rot infects a tree. Whoever intelligently cares for happiness will therefore avoid the things that turn a man into a beast. Those unfortunate persons who lack self-control and moral vigor to outgrow the animal taint, become the most worthless and dangerous part of human society, and crowd the prisons and insane asylums in every State."

"**The narcotics and stimulants.**—Whoever wishes to be strong, whoever wishes to keep health and vigor, whoever wishes a sound heart, a clear eye, and a steady hand, whoever wishes to render the most useful and patriotic service as a good citizen, will need to beware of the use of the alcoholic drinks and all narcotic stimulants and drugs. Especially in the period of growth these things tend invariably to lower the health of the body and mind. Tobacco has been found to be specially perilous to the life of growing youth. Wine and beer are conceded never to be useful for the young, and particularly in our bracing American climate to involve physical as well as moral peril. The same, though in smaller measure, may be said of the frequently excessive use of candies and condiments, which undermine the health and threaten the vigor of the coming generation of citizens."—*Dole*.

The will.—The actions of the body and mind are subject to the will, which controls the thoughts and feelings. Inconstancy, stubbornness and irresolution are defects of the will. Evil tendencies may be overcome by counteracting motives. The foundation of all education is the culture of the will. Concentration of purpose may be fostered. Vacillation of conduct is a mark of a weak-minded person. Men

who have no fixity of purpose make poor citizens. The will to do right is a sign of a strong personality. The power to resist evil may be acquired. Many men become the slaves of bad habits, which they might have avoided had they used the necessary will power when temptation first presented itself. If high motives are allowed to control men's actions a taste for what is degrading will not be formed. Sometimes a bad habit becomes so powerful that it can with difficulty be resisted by knowledge, judgment, or reason. Men are known who have such little will power that they have never mastered the temptation to spend every dollar as soon as earned, to get drunk, or to give way to fits of passion.

At one time in his life every person might have avoided the formation of any bad habit. There is no boy who could not have refused to smoke cigars, to use profane language, or to gamble. Every habitual drunkard remembers, in his sober moments, the time when he might have made up his mind to be a total abstainer. Thieves and murderers are sad examples of what comes by neglecting to have the will under proper subjection. The lesson to be drawn is that self-control is the most valuable treasure any one can possess, and that its acquisition should be sought especially by the young. Bad men may have worldly prosperity, but they fail to secure self-respect. Only those persons whose will power enables them to do right have the blessings of a good conscience. They alone make good citizens.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FAMILY.

Obedience essential.—We come under government as soon as we are born. One of our earliest lessons is to obey the authority of our parents. We have to yield to this authority whether we understand the reasons for it or not. Children must obey father and mother even if the government is not wisely exercised. Since young boys and girls do not know what is good for them, there must be some authority to protect them from themselves. Although it is not always easy to say when a child is old enough to take care of himself, it has been found in the experience of many generations that during the years of physical growth it is best for all concerned that the authority of parents should continue. When the age of twenty-one is reached the responsibility of citizenship may by law begin. No doubt long before this period parental authority will be very much modified, if control has been wisely exercised. Indeed, if the government has been of the right kind, compulsion will have formed but a small factor in securing obedience. The law of love should be the dominant force in family government.

Family government renders obedience essential

for the sake of justice among the different members of the household. The difficulties that often arise among the children of the same family require to be settled by the parent, who takes the place of a judicious umpire. An affectionate father or mother can often allay with a little discretion a storm that threatens serious disturbance in the household. As parents have to bear the responsibility of the family, to provide a home and means of support, and to meet the blame and loss that might arise from an unruly household, there is an additional reason for requiring the obedience of the children. A still higher reason for expecting a willing obedience on the part of children is the great love which their parents have for them. If this love is absent the conditions are unnatural and there is no true family government.

True family government.—In a home where proper family government is found there is the exercise of authority. Without this authority there would be disorder and discomfort. There need be no lack of that freedom of action which is consistent with the good and comfort of all. If liberty becomes license and causes annoyance it should be curtailed. As children become older they should have greater freedom, on condition that they prove themselves worthy of trust. Gradually they should be taken into the parents' confidence and consulted upon matters affecting their own interests or the home life. On certain subjects the opinion of the different members of the family should be sought. It may be that a majority vote of the children should decide some questions. Such a method will cause young persons

to feel a growing responsibility in the affairs of the family, while it will not lessen the respect held for parental authority. A judicious parent will always hold a "veto power" on certain subjects. While father and mother will naturally have respective spheres of duty, they will work together for the common good of the family. It will also be advisable to assign the elder children certain duties for which they will regard themselves responsible, subject only to the oversight of the parents. In a family where good government exists there is no jarring between father and mother, and the children respect the authority and judgment of the parents without having their actions controlled by the dread of punishment. The family thus becomes a little state, in which every one has a voice as soon as he deserves, and as long as he is trustworthy. In this government the parents are naturally the supreme authority, though influenced frequently by the opinions of the children. The character of this little state depends upon the character of its members. If the children are intelligent and good there will seldom be need of coercion. If they are perverse or stupid much authority will have to be exercised.

Training in the home.—The duty of every citizen begins in the family. If children learn obedience to parents they readily become obedient to the authority of the state. As they advance in years, in discretion, and in education, they realize that all local authority has its centre in the constitution of the country. The more they are led to see the value of the government under which they live, the better

they become fitted to discharge their duties as citizens. Unselfishness is learned in the home as well as obedience and respect for authority. In the home are fostered habits of kindness and consideration for the younger and weaker members of the family. It appears, therefore, that whatever helps to make a good father or mother, a good husband or wife, a good son or daughter, a good brother or sister, also helps to make a good citizen. In the manifold duties of life many opportunities offer themselves for the expansion of those habits and feelings which are cultivated in a well-ordered family. The son or the daughter who is brought up in a well-disciplined home submits with more readiness and grace to order and obedience in the store, in the office, or in the workshop. Men and women who earn their livelihood serve in this way their fellow citizens and their country. The better they provide for themselves the more service they are to the state. Boys often fail in the calling to which they attach themselves, because they are unaccustomed to being governed, and they then descend into the ranks of the idle and the worthless. It is, therefore, the duty of children so to shape their conduct in the home as to become active, willing, effective and intelligent workers when they enter upon the responsibilities of citizenship.

Results of good family government. The family constitutes the smallest, the most intimate, and the most natural of the different societies into which people are formed. Even among the most uncivilized and cruel of tribes a certain community of interests and mutual sympathy exist between

parents and children. As civilization advances the bonds which unite members of the same family become deeper, stronger and broader. Without the family none of the larger groups, such as the tribe and nation, could be successfully organized or maintained.

“The family is the school of all the virtues. Within its circle is first awakened the spirit of obedience, love, self-sacrifice, and proper ambition. If a man be a good husband or son, it is safe to say that he will be a good citizen. Investigations of the home conditions of criminals give overwhelming proof of the enormous influence which the family life has upon the careers of its members. It is, therefore, or should be, the first effort of the Church, as well as of the state, jealously to guard against any influences which will tend to render family life less perfect. Hence we can see the importance of the question of divorce. It is not a matter wholly between husband and wife, but is one to be considered both in reference to the children, and to the society at large. In these days it is generally recognized that in certain cases at least a dissolution of the marriage tie should be permitted. But these cases should be so strictly defined and limited that the family tie shall not be loosened nor the marital bonds made so weak as to be easily severed at the whim or caprice of the parties united by them.”—*Willoughby*.

The marriage laws.—There are no laws more important than those relating to marriage. Much serious trouble comes from ignorance, recklessness, or abuse of marriage relations. The representations of marriage which young people get through novels are often false and misleading. Much of the conversation that is heard about it is trivial and beneath the dignity of sensible people. Young persons should seek knowledge and counsel on this matter from

some careful and experienced older friend or religious adviser, or, best of all, a wise parent.

The sacredness of the marriage laws every intelligent person must know. The laws require that the contracting parties should be of suitable age. The public interests demand that the intentions of marriage should be registered and the necessary license issued. It is required that a clergyman perform the ceremony except where the Church government of a denomination will not allow this to be done. It often seems a pity that the laws cannot require the husband to prove himself capable of giving a wife proper support. It would be desirable to call for some guarantee for the care and education of children. Assurance that each person has a constitution fairly healthy would also appear important. The laws cannot, however, cover matters of this kind any more than they can compel people to be thrifty, industrious, or honorable. The laws can only show public opinion. If the moral tone of the majority were higher, it is possible the law might be improved regarding marriage, as well as regarding other questions. The best people differ, however, in their views about the legal and religious nature of marriage. All agree, doubtless, that marriage is so important that it should never be entered upon without the most careful consideration, and the tie should either never be severed by human tribunals, or if separation is granted, it should be under circumstances very clearly defined. In Canada divorces are happily very rare. Those countries where separation is readily granted show evil consequences

which our Dominion will be wise in avoiding. All good authorities agree that a true marriage is in the love, devotion and constancy of both husband and wife. They also agree that there should be the same standard of purity for men and women, and that where this is not recognized there is moral degeneracy and national decay.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SCHOOL.

The nature of education.—The aim of the school is to make good citizens. Successful citizenship is the highest product of education. Those young persons are best trained who are best prepared for taking up the active work of life when the school days are over. True education promotes intelligence and strengthens the moral faculties. The higher and more complex the duties of life become, the more education is needed. The teacher leads his pupils to think. It is thinking that drives the world.

The reference to school at once brings up the question of education. People often have a wrong conception of education, and generally associate with it branches of learning, such as arithmetic, grammar, history, chemistry, etc. They take it for granted that knowledge and education are synonymous terms. They assume that children who acquire much information of the ordinary subjects of the curriculum are making educational progress, and they fail to recognize the true functions of the teacher. It should not be forgotten that the main purpose of the school is to train, and that the acquisition of knowledge is only a means to an end. No doubt it is true that the mental activity which is aroused in

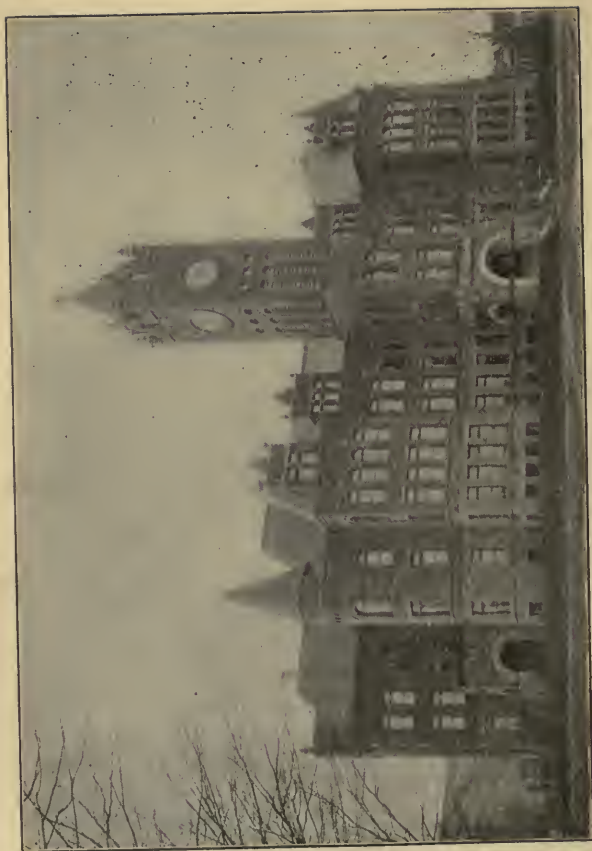
children, when they are instructed, generally promotes moral as well as intellectual growth, but experience has shown that the intelligence of a child may be increased while his moral principles are debased. Education is therefore the formation of character, and this has to do with the entire nature—physical, intellectual, moral and religious. There is perhaps no question which has more importance for the nation than education, and few questions which give rise to more varied opinions. Every one is ready to give advice to teachers, inspectors, trustees and others who have to do with the administration of school affairs. That the subject is so widely discussed is encouraging. It gives assurance that improvements may be expected in every department of education, and proves that public opinion will not allow any neglect of matters that so largely concern the proper training of citizens.

School discipline.—In some respects the government of the school is a continuation of the government of the home. The family, as has been noticed, is a little state. The school is also a little state, but larger than the family. The school, like the home, must have certain rules. These rules are such as many generations have found necessary. There must be regularity, punctuality, order and obedience. Without these conditions the teacher could not get on with his work, and the scholars would be robbed of the opportunity to learn. Strictness is required in order to prevent friction, discomfort and loss. Pupils who come from good homes readily submit to authority. The school confirms children in the good habits

already formed. The school comes also to the relief of children who have not been favored with good home training. It thus follows that a good teacher supplements the work of a good home, and helps to rescue from danger children who have suffered from bad parental control. The best teacher is, therefore, the best disciplinarian, and the best conducted school is the one in which training for citizenship is the main object kept in view. The qualifications needed by the teacher are good scholarship, professional attainments, magnetism, moral character and a strong personality.

Authority of the teacher.—So far as the pupils are concerned, the teacher is the head of the school. He is appointed by the trustees, and is required to have certain qualifications which are fixed by law. The trustees have power to require money to be raised by taxation for the support of the school. In matters of discipline the pupils receive their instructions from the teacher, whose authority is defined by certain general regulations. The duty of the teacher is to teach and to govern. In order that the work may be done effectively he has a set of unwritten rules for the guidance of the school. It is understood in all cases that the pupils must be punctual and regular in attendance, obedient to the wishes of the teacher, and prepared to follow the prescribed course of study. It is apparent there could be no progress and no formation of character were these rules not enforced. In addition to these general rules, there are a great many important duties for pupils to observe in the work of the school. Children





NORMAL COLLEGE, HAMILTON, ONT.

are required to be truthful, honest, and respectful to their teacher and to their fellow pupils. They must be clean in dress and person, loyal to the school, and must refrain from injuring the school property. There are constantly arising many duties which can be settled only by taking into consideration particular facts and circumstances. By following the path of duty pupils become obedient to the authority of the school, and thus receive a training which renders them obedient and loyal subjects of their country.

“The wise scholar will be jealous of losing any single advantage that the school affords. He will understand that, without intelligence, he can never become a capable and useful citizen. He will readily submit himself to restraint, and will by his example encourage others to do so, because he will recognize that without order and obedience there can be no progress. The early years of life are those in which good habits and right manners are formed. The school sets itself the task of forming character as well as of cultivating mind. A true educator will foster honor, truthfulness, justice, patience, earnestness, self-control, considerateness, punctuality and diligence in his scholars, knowing that ‘as the twig is bent, the tree’s inclined,’ and a wise scholar will lend himself gladly to influences tending to his ultimate happiness and usefulness in the world.”—*Parrott*.

Kinds of school government.—It is evident the discipline of a school, like the discipline of a home, should vary with the age of the pupils. When children are young more restraint and more rules are necessary. In the early stages the school is a little monarchy. The monarch should, however, rule with love and wisdom. The scholars can be trusted as they become more intelligent. In a High School some of the principles of a republican system of

government may be adopted. The pupils may have more liberty, and their opinions will often be considered by a judicious teacher. They should be taken into the confidence of the teacher and requested to assist in many ways in the government of the school. The scholars should be put on their honor, and a majority vote may often decide the course to be taken. The amount of liberty granted will doubtless depend upon the way liberty is exercised. The supreme authority will always rest with the teacher, whose judgment should guide in determining to what extent he must retain power in his own hands.

The discipline of the school will fail in its purpose if pupils are not made to assist in government. In a well managed school there is little need of rules or punishments. The scholars have learned to govern themselves. They regard the teacher, not an enemy to their happiness, but their friend. They help to make the school efficient. They desire to maintain the reputation of the institution, and thus the school becomes like a university of grown men and women. In a well-governed university there is no ungentlemanly conduct of the students—no hooting and yelling at public speakers, and no injury to the persons or property of fellow students or citizens. There is no valid excuse for allowing university students to exhibit such conduct as would not be tolerated in a properly disciplined High School.

The playground.—Boys and girls learn many habits of self-control when they are on the playground. They learn to recognize one another's rights, to act for mutual benefit, and to obey their

own leaders and officers. The playground becomes a little democracy in which a spirit of lawlessness and fighting is subdued. In a well-arranged school the pupils soon learn on the playground the advantages of governing self. The "bullies" who tease young children, or who attempt to rule, are taught the rights of their schoolmates. Children find it foolish to sulk or stand aloof from the general sports of the school. In the games in which pupils join they learn to abide by certain rules and by the decisions of the umpire whom they select. It now becomes apparent that a better time will be secured if law has its place in the sports of the playground. The pupils discover that rules and government even in games make the game better sport, and that law, instead of restricting liberty, protects it.

The games of the school promote independence and courage. They train pupils to undertake risks in the interest of others, and thereby foster a spirit of self-sacrifice. The risks of play or sport become wrong, however, when they involve trouble, anxiety, loss, or injury to others. When honor in playing the games is demanded, the sports of the school cultivate a spirit of honesty in the duties of life. To win a game by foul means and tricks is dishonorable. No betting in connection with the sports of the school should be allowed. Betting leads to gambling, and both practices have done much harm. Betting men and gamblers are apt to be a dangerous class of citizens.

Public opinion.—It is foolish for any one to ignore public opinion. Persons who pay no atten-

tion to the views of others are not good citizens. The discipline of the school checks self-conceit. It helps boys and girls not to think more highly of themselves than they ought to think. It is a bad sign when a person will pursue a wrong course regardless of the opinions of others. In a well-governed school, as well as in a civilized community, there is a healthy public opinion. As an incentive to right action the prevailing sentiment of a well-conducted school may do much to foster obedience to authority, industry, and self-control. Children will often apply themselves to their studies, show respect to their teachers, and maintain the reputation of the school, because any other course of conduct would render them unpopular. Occasionally some pupil may influence other members of the class to act cowardly or unjustly, but, as a rule, the majority will uphold what is right, and refuse to give countenance to what is mean.

The club or society.—While attending school or college, or after leaving these institutions, young people may derive much benefit by joining some club or debating society. The club will perhaps have a constitution and rules, and whoever joins the organization agrees to live by these rules. The study of the articles of the constitution and the rules of the society affords a good means of understanding the necessity of having laws by which the country is governed. The duties of the chairman, secretary, treasurer, etc., respectively, will show the importance of having, to manage the affairs of the state, certain officers with their duties defined by law. Movements

to amend the constitution or by-laws of the club will enable the members to understand the methods and advantages of amending the statutes of the country. The discussions that may arise regarding the manner in which the executive officers discharge their duties will afford an insight into the way laws are administered for the municipality or the nation. The rules of debate and the methods of transacting business give additional information for those who intend to take part in public affairs. The duties of committees, the importance of promptness and courtesy, and the necessity of courage are matters that will continually present themselves. The members of such clubs will be trained to know how subversive of good government are friction, prejudice, faction, hatred and intolerance.

Civil government.—Civil government should have its place when instruction is given in history and, to some extent, in geography. It is important that pupils should understand the nature of the institutions of their country. One of the most important areas of modern popular thought is that which concerns social questions. There is hardly a man or a woman in any community who is not deeply interested in the sociological problems of the day. These issues should not be ignored in the school-room. It is not necessary for the teacher to be prepared to solve such problems any more than to solve the political problems of the day. Questions pertaining to political parties and religious denominations are not omitted from history. It would show the teacher to be poorly qualified if he is unable

to explain with safety such topics as "municipal ownership," "industrial co-operation," "referendum," "plebiscite," "universal suffrage," etc. It is not conclusive to say that only such questions should be taken up as are settled. Indeed, it is because they are *not* settled that attention should be directed to them. The intelligent teacher, who is unshackled by a superstitious reverence for the absolute, may do a great deal towards leading pupils to think rationally about the unsettled matters of social and civic weal. It will not do to say that these problems should be left to the universities. This would be to adopt the arguments that blocked for a time some subjects from the place they now have in the school curriculum. Only one in a hundred of the pupils will go to college. To know what is meant by an equation in algebra is less valuable than to understand the nature of a by-law or the advantage of responsible government.

Morality.—Good citizenship must recognize the value of those virtues which make good men. There can be no liberty without truth, honor, industry, temperance, kindness, charity. "You may build your capital of granite," said Wendell Phillips, "and pile it high as the Rocky Mountains ; if it is founded on, or mixed up with, iniquity, the pulse of a girl will in time beat it down." To teach children grammar, chemistry, etc., without teaching them that passions uncontrolled, impulses unrestrained, and appetites unregulated are sure to bring irretrievable ruin, is to omit the best training for citizenship.

The youth of our schools should imbibe such principles as will enable them to live well in the household, well in the township, well in the province, and well in the Dominion. They should be taught to condemn dishonesty and corruption in private and public life. Political systems are worthless without character. "Governments, religion, property, books," said Humbolt, "are nothing but the scaffolding to build a man." In the words of Pericles, "men are a city, and not walls." It is the duty of the school to mould and form those who are to control the destiny of the nation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS.

Citizen defined.—Attention has already been directed to the government of the school and the family. It will now be of interest to consider the relationships which arise when entrance is made on the active duties of life. It is important to understand the rights and duties of citizens. A *citizen* is a person who has the privileges and duties of the inhabitants of the state or nation. A citizen of the country is one born in that country. For instance, a Canadian citizen is a person born on British soil and living in Canada. A Canadian is also a British subject or a British citizen, and therefore entitled to those important privileges which are free to all subjects of the Queen in every part of her vast empire. The rank of citizen is not confined to men, but belongs also to women and children. Those persons who were born in foreign countries are not citizens of Canada when they come to this country. They are called *aliens*, and have not the same rights and privileges as persons born under the British flag. They enjoy, no doubt, many privileges like other inhabitants, but they have no voice in making the laws, and they cannot hold offices of trust and

responsibility. If they desire to vote they must be naturalized. This process is called *naturalization*, by which they become British subjects.

Civil rights.—All inhabitants of our country, whether citizens or aliens, and whether old enough to vote or not, have what may be called civil rights. These rights are at the foundation of human society. If people decide to live in the same community, it is evident they must not hurt or defraud one another. They must act as friends and not as enemies. There must be authority and reverence. In a civilized state there must be loyalty to truth, justice, or right. There must be security from injury to body, health, and reputation. The government must defend people if they are attacked. A man has the right to the unmolested pursuit of the occupation he follows for a living. The law will not allow a man to be injured, even if the state should thereby be benefited. Police-men, sheriffs, and judges must be ready to uphold the law. Causes of danger to health must be removed. The slanderer who injures a person's reputation must be punished. In these and many other matters the government cares for the personal safety and happiness of the citizen. In order that these civil rights of the citizens may be upheld it is the duty of all persons to sustain those in authority who carry out the law.

Another important civil right which all citizens enjoy is the right of personal liberty. Persons have the privilege of going from one place to another, choosing their own place of residence, engaging as a rule in any occupation they desire, worshipping in

the church of their choice, and giving expression to their own views. The right of personal liberty is a very valuable one. A person cannot be kept in prison without cause, and the right to a writ of *habeas corpus* is an inalienable right of every British subject. This is the greatest safeguard of personal liberty, and every one should be familiar with its history. It provides that no person can be detained indefinitely in prison without a trial. The writ of *habeas corpus* gives quick relief to a person who has been unjustly imprisoned. In times of war it may be *suspended* by Parliament, and then a person may be kept in prison merely on suspicion.

Civil rights entitle a citizen to hold property in his own name and secure him government protection in the enjoyment of this property. He has the right also to acquire more property by labor, by trade, or by whatever talents he possesses. It is of course understood that the rights of others must be observed when property is acquired.

Political rights.—Political rights are such as adult citizens have in the government of the country. Of these the most important is the right of voting or what is termed the *suffrage*. Generally certain qualifications are required in order to have the right of voting. A person in most countries must be twenty-one (in France and Germany twenty-five) years of age. Residence is also necessary in most cases, though for some purposes one can vote if his name is on the assessment roll. A property qualification is no longer required in Canada to enable a person to vote for a member of parliament. Now

almost any man may have his name on the voter's list. The right of voting is not denied even to the ignorant, although if some educational test could be exacted it would be a benefit. In several countries a premium is placed on learning. Aliens are not given the suffrage, and of course the privilege is not extended to such classes as criminals, paupers, lunatics, etc. Members of parliament are not required, as formerly, to have a property qualification, and residence in the constituency they represent is not necessary. The object aimed at is to give as much freedom as possible to people in selecting the representatives who are to make the laws. In municipal and in school affairs some restrictions are needed in choosing those who are to administer the law. Property is not ignored, as it is held that the rights of property-holders are at stake. The arguments for a wide franchise in national or provincial elections will not in all cases apply in municipal elections. The business of the country demands the service of a very large number of people. The duties entrusted to officials are of immense importance, and it should be the object of every citizen to elect the best persons for parliament and for municipal councils and trustee boards.

Woman suffrage.—In New Zealand and South Australia, and in the States of Utah, Wyoming and Colorado, women share the right of suffrage with men. In this country the privilege has been given to women for the municipal and school elections, but not for the parliamentary elections. The question of female suffrage has been much discussed.

It is contended that a large part of the functions of government interest all intelligent women as much as they interest men. Women are as much concerned as men in education and in public morals. They have often great responsibility, on account of the death of a husband, in managing a family. It is held that intemperance would be lessened, and a better moral tone in public affairs secured, if women were given the right to vote.

On the other hand, it is said that woman's position has vastly improved as the result of laws made by man; that the interests of woman are identical with those of man; that woman's highest sphere is in the home; that the majority of women do not advocate or seek the right to vote, and that if the privilege were granted to those who wish to exercise it, those women who are opposed to the principle would be compelled from the changed conditions to take part in elections.

“As a matter of fact, very few women as yet desire the privilege of voting. Aside from this, the great objections which are made to giving the privilege are: *First*, The introduction of women into practical politics will necessarily bring her into contact with rough elements which will tend to destroy her feminine delicacy and charm. *Second*, In so far as politics distract her attention from her other duties, they will tend to lessen her attention and devotion to her family and home duties. *Third*, In the majority of cases, giving women the right to vote will be tantamount to giving extra votes to their husbands or fathers, in accordance with whose wills most of them will be inclined to exercise their right; or, when they are not guided by the wishes of their husbands or other male relatives, inevitable dissension will be introduced into the family life, where all

should be harmonious. *Fourth*, It is maintained that, because most women are not engaged actively in business and public life, they would not have that practical training and knowledge which would enable them to cast their votes intelligently. This last objection has least application in reference to voting upon such local affairs as education, local option, etc., and, in fact, in reference to these matters, it may be asked whether women have not often more knowledge and interest than men.”—*Willoughby*.

“Woman now makes man what he is. She controls him as a babe, boy, manly son, brother, lover, husband, father. Her influence is enormous. If she uses it wisely, she needs no additional power. If she abuse her opportunity, she deserves no additional responsibility. Women can, through the votes of men, have every right to which she is entitled. All she has, man has gladly given her. It is his glory to represent her. To rob him of this right is to weaken both.”—*Bishop Vincent*.

Duties.—If a citizen has certain civil and political rights, it follows that he has corresponding duties. Employers and laborers, for instance, have their respective obligations. If the state protects a man's person and property, there arises a corresponding responsibility. Questions of right and wrong are continually coming up for consideration. Many people are in need of help, and assistance has to be provided. The principles of justice and friendliness have to be applied to many conditions. The wealth and comfort of a people ought to be fairly (not equally) apportioned. Duties of this kind are very numerous, and may be called *economic*. They are just as important as the *political* duties already mentioned. The science of political economy with which they deal includes matters relating to the management and distribution of money. Again,

there are the *social* duties, which may be regarded as those duties that the wealthier, the better educated, and the virtuous people of a community owe towards the poor, the ignorant and the vicious classes. Crime, pauperism, ignorance and caste are evils of society which cannot be overlooked by good citizens. The duties of a people should not be limited to the inhabitants of the country. Christianity does not recognize a narrow patriotism, and therefore *international* duties must not be ignored.

In every civilized state a feeling of brotherhood is a marked feature of the inhabitants. A good citizen will do more than obey the law. He will aid in the enforcement of law. Many persons obey the law for fear of punishment. They are apparently satisfied if they avoid fines or imprisonment. It is the duty of every citizen to cultivate in the community a respect for what is right. Every one should be industrious, and should do his part in adding to the wealth of the state. No person is justified in simply living on the earning of others. Every citizen should be patriotic—not desiring war, but ready, if war should come, to assist in defending his country.

“ We have seen that laws are so made that no individual person’s freedom is impaired to a greater extent than is absolutely necessary to secure the greatest possible freedom and benefit to all. Disorderly behavior on the part of a single individual or crowds tends to disturb the rights of others and to foster a mischievous spirit of license that may ultimately lead to a serious encroachment of rights. It is not sufficient for the good citizen to merely obey the law personally, he must support and encourage its observance in others. He is legally and morally bound to respect the

persons, opinions, property and reputation of others, as they are bound to respect his. He is equally bound to discourage fraud in all relations of life and business."—*Parrott*.

Every good citizen should take an active part in public affairs. The exercise of the suffrage is a duty which should not be neglected through indifference or self-interest. It is morally obligatory when an election comes for each one to vote honestly and according to his own independent judgment. He should not only vote for good men and good principles, but he should try to get other men to vote for good men and good principles. In Canada the people govern themselves, and therefore if the affairs of the country are badly managed people have themselves to blame. Political questions should be carefully studied. People should read much. Attention should be given to history, political economy, commerce and other questions of national interest. People should read the history and platforms of political parties, the lives of distinguished statesmen, and standard works on government. Prejudice should not dominate. Honest convictions on public questions should be formed. Whatever is corrupt or mean in political life should be condemned. There should be much fair discussion of the principles of political parties and of the conduct of public men. The views of both parties in a contest should be compared. Uprightness should be rewarded. Politicians are not all bad men, as some seem to think. Their character for honesty is generally above the average. It is the duty of each citizen, so far as he can, to raise the moral standard of politics.

CHAPTER V.

THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Society.—Ever since civilization began people have, in every land, associated with one another. Even among barbarous tribes men have little desire to live solitary and independent lives. That each person is not free from certain responsibilities towards other members of the human family was taught as far back as the time of Cain. As communities improve in intelligence the relations of life become more complex, and the advantages of intercourse are more clearly felt. No man can live to himself; a country cannot live to itself. Nations, as well as individuals, find it beneficial to have dealings with one another, and those that keep to themselves make little progress. The feeling which impels people to associate is universal and natural. Controlled by this social instinct individuals form groups, communities and federations, and the members of such bodies feel themselves united by special kinds of friendliness. As the world advances greater sociability is exhibited. The closer individuals and nations are drawn together, the more interests they have in common, and it becomes the more necessary to have selfish desires suppressed. Indeed, the progress of Christian civili-

zation is marked by the victories gained over the selfish instincts by the higher social feelings. Cruelty, hate, violence and misery have been overcome by the power of friendliness, sympathy, natural good will and self-restraint.

Unrestrained selfishness would lead to common destruction. Society could not exist if each person had no regard for the rights of others. Universal suspicion would prevail and continual warfare would be the result. Such a condition of society is inconceivable even among savage tribes. As men become more accustomed to society their ideas of right and wrong become more developed. They feel more kindly towards one another, and realize more intelligently that the interests of each may be best promoted by the co-operation of all. It is evident that even in the early history of the race some general rules of conduct were binding with reference to hunting, grazing flocks, and cultivating the land. With the development of civilization the needs of mankind have increased, and the duties of society have multiplied, until the number of interests among advanced nations have become almost countless. It is, therefore, more imperative than ever to subordinate individual desires to the general good. Aside from the Christian duty which obliges each one to help his fellowmen, the common welfare must have full consideration if society is to be kept together. New problems are continually pressing for solution, and no good citizen can refrain from giving them intelligent consideration. The duty is all the more incumbent upon every person in view of the right of

suffrage having been so liberally granted. Even the acceptance of the principle that each person owes a duty to society has its dangers, if the doctrines of "Socialism" lead people to forget that in civilized communities the happiness and prosperity of each individual are dependent more on himself than on the government.

Authority.—The necessity of some authority to enforce law is evident whenever a society or government is formed. Obedience to parents and teachers is required of children. The rights of citizenship demand submission to additional authorities. A person may be a member of several organizations or institutions, and in each case he may be subject to a different management. He may, for instance, be a resident of a school section, a township, and a county, as well as of the province and the Dominion. Under such conditions his actions will be controlled by five different legislative and executive bodies. Each of these authorities or governments performs separate, special work for the good of the people, although they are more or less closely connected with one another.

Civil government is a most valuable study as well as a most extensive one. As the happiness of men depends largely upon the kind of government which guides and controls them, every one should give much attention to the subject. The study of government should begin in early life, when the child is subject to parental authority. As soon as he enters school he should be taught the rules of conduct which are to control his actions and form his charac-

ter. When he goes into the streets, the parks, or the fields, he finds himself restrained by another government and his conduct regulated by another authority. If he makes too much noise, runs upon the flower beds, breaks the window of a store, or takes fruit from the orchard of a stranger, he is promptly checked by a policeman, or perhaps punished for the offence. The boy should be taught to know that there is a government of the city or province which he must obey, as well as that of the school or home. As he gets older he becomes acquainted with the functions of the various authorities that have to do with the conduct of the people. He finds that wherever he goes as a citizen, or under whatever conditions of life he lives, government always follows him and regulates his actions. If the authorities which control people are wise and just, greater happiness is secured; but if they are foolish and tyrannical, misery is produced. In a free country like Canada, where the people make their own laws and elect their own rulers, each citizen has his share of responsibility. It is not to be expected that people will be unanimous in the selection of persons who are to have the management of public affairs. The minority must, however, abide by the decision of the majority. Any other course would destroy free institutions, and a state of barbarism or anarchy would follow. Submission to recognized authority is, therefore, a necessary condition of civilization. There are of course certain persons in some countries who term themselves *Anarchists*, who deny the rightfulness of the authority of the state. The ground upon which

they base the denial of the justice of the control exercised over them by the political authority is, that they have a natural right to freedom. They maintain that they have a right to do as they please. It is evident if the principles of this class of people were carried out there would be no security for person or property. Indeed, the state not only does not destroy freedom, but becomes indispensable for the existence of any freedom. All that nature gives to man is brute force, and where there is no state, all that man could enjoy would be whatever he might be able to obtain from others either by physical force or by persuasion.

Laws.—Governments make rules to guide people in their actions. These rules are called laws, and when made they must be obeyed even by those who regard them as unjust. If a person violates a law he is punished, and ignorance of its provisions will not excuse him from its penalties. How laws are made will be explained hereafter, but at present it is sufficient to know that no government worthy of the name can refuse to enforce the laws that are enacted. If a teacher allowed his orders to be disobeyed with impunity he would soon lose the respect of his pupils. In like manner a government which allows a statute to become a dead letter will fail to command public support.

Some laws are so old that no one knows when they were first made; others have been decreed by the Dominion, the province, or the municipality. Laws treat of all sorts of subjects, such as property, commerce, education, conduct, etc. Some laws, and

especially the oldest of all, appeal to every one's conscience, and were learned in childhood; as, for example, not to steal or to injure another. Such moral laws should be obeyed even if no magistrate threatened to enforce them. Other laws have been found by experience to be necessary; as, for example, the rule requiring parents to send their children to school.

Sometimes a law may seem to a person to be unnecessary, or may prove inconvenient. Personal preference or convenience must, however, give way to the public good. It might, for instance, appear trivial to forbid one from using firearms in a city, when a discreet person could fire a gun without injury. Again, it might seem an interference with liberty to prohibit the citizens generally from selling intoxicating liquor; but if the interests of the public demand certain restrictions, individual liberty must yield to the wishes of the community. As it would be unfair for a boy to throw stones upon the ball-ground when his fellows are playing, so it would be unjust for a person to be allowed to make money by any practice or business which either hurts or endangers the public good.

As already stated, some laws have had recognition for a very long time. In this country the early settlers brought with them the laws and systems of trial which had been used in England. The main features of law in Canada are the same as in Great Britain. What is called the *common law* is the accumulation of the decisions of the courts through many generations. The *common law* is like the rules

of the games among schoolboys. Custom guides the judges in their interpretation of the *common law* in the same way as it guides the umpire in his decisions of the games. *Statute laws* are made by the legislature or by parliament, when a majority of the representatives so decide. It may be that a law is unjust and its repeal will follow. In fact, a law like that allowing slavery may not be right and yet be tolerated for centuries. Even good laws may in some respects work an injustice. Justice for the sake of the whole is sought at the expense or loss of the individual. Not infrequently wrong is endured on account of the expensiveness of law courts. Instances might be cited of laws that were a species of tyranny. Some of the most notable are those relating to religious observances. Intolerance is now happily disappearing in civilized countries. The majority has no right to oppress the minority. In the Eastern States at one time the majority of the people made laws compelling every one to go to church. It is tyranny for one man to insist arbitrarily that others must do what he says. It may also be tyranny for many men to force others to do their will. Laws fail to be useful if any considerable number of citizens deem them unfair or oppressive. Unjust laws tempt to disorder, violence, and possibly rebellion. The majority is not invariably right, as the majority has often been mistaken about religion. The laws, therefore, ought not merely to express the opinions of one party, but to express the common agreement of the best citizens of the country. An enlightened public opinion should be found behind all important legislation.

It should not be thought from what has been stated that individual or civic freedom and regulation by law are necessarily opposed to each other. No legal code of conduct could exist if the state had no authority. It is only when the state enforces law that the individual is protected in the exercise of true liberty. Public laws are necessarily of a general character, and one of their objects is to guard the freedom of the individual. This fact will readily appear, if attention is given to the laws regulating the holding and transference of property, to the laws regulating contracts, and to the laws of a penal character, which protect the life and the property of the individual. The freedom enjoyed by British subjects has been the result of wise legislation and of wise governmental authority. No doubt it is a debatable point how far the state should go in its exercise of authority, and this question is continually coming up at municipal and political elections.

Freedom.—When we speak of the term liberty something more than freedom from prison is implied. There was a time, nevertheless, when innocent men and women were not sure of freedom from imprisonment without trial. History informs us that not a great many years ago people were not free, as now, to have their own opinions, or to express their own views on many questions. There is now much liberty in buying and selling; the liberty of the press has been secured; there is freedom of election, and people may do what is not contrary to law, and are free to do whatever will not injure their neighbors. The freedom which all British subjects enjoy has been the result of much agitation and discussion.

There are many ways in which the freedom of people is restricted. A man is free to vote for any person he chooses to be a member of parliament, but he is not free to compel other people to do so. Persons belonging to a trade society are free to unite and agree as to a minimum rate of wages. This is often a help to the workers, but when tradesmen try to force others to obey their rules they exercise tyranny. All the great trades unions now condemn any interference with the freedom of others. There are besides many occupations that can not be carried on without danger to others. Restrictions are then necessary, as in the case of the manufacture of vitriol. Such articles as gunpowder and poison are dangerous, and therefore their sale cannot be free like that of groceries or hardware. We have liberty of the press, but a newspaper is not allowed to accuse a merchant or mechanic of being dishonest in the discharge of his duties. In a country enjoying free institutions people may speak or write against the government. A despotic government, like that of Russia, would not permit freedom of discussion. Our laws only slightly restrict the freedom of the press. They forbid the publication of malicious or libellous matter designed to hurt one's business or character. Low and immoral publications are prohibited. It is, however, on the whole, safer to allow men to speak their minds on the actions of public men, since errors are most effectively answered when fairly brought to the light.

Manhood, or character, is the greatest of all objects to be gained by human society. The country

needs capable, faithful, patriotic and disinterested men and women. Large freedom stimulates character, as fresh air stimulates physical life. The rule for men is in some respects like the rule for children. They should be taught to act with fairness rather than restrained entirely from dealing with their fellows. Men should be trusted. Society is bound together by justice and confidence. Like students trusted by the college, only necessary rules should be enacted. This is the British idea of freedom. Men cannot be made just by compulsion. We cannot cure one kind of injustice by doing another kind. It would never do to deprive a man of his wealth because he acquired it dishonestly. Many persons have blessings they do not deserve, but in view of the imperfections of the human race such a condition is to be expected. The inclination to do right should be fostered, and the tendency to do wrong discouraged.

It is impossible to refer to the freedom of the individual without bringing up the question of the functions of government. There are many functions which must be regarded as non-essential. They are such as have to do with the regulation of the economic, industrial and moral interests of the people. They are assumed by the state, not because their exercise is absolutely necessary, but because it is supposed that their public regulation or control will be beneficial to the people as a whole. Certain duties, if left to private hands, would be neglected or imperfectly performed. There will arise, therefore, such questions as the following: How far shall the state

regulate trade or industry? Shall the state determine the kind of education given in the schools? Shall the government control railroads, telegraphs, etc? Shall children be prohibited from working in factories and mines? How far may the state insist upon sanitary regulations? Shall the state protect industries by a high tariff? How far should the sale of intoxicating liquors be restricted? Should a city own its own gas, water, telephones? These and a multitude of other questions arise as civilization advances and the limit of individual freedom comes up for discussion. Generally such questions provoke various arguments for and against state action. It may be felt that expediency should decide in each case, but expediency apart from the ultimate results of a policy is often a dangerous guide.

CHAPTER VI.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Origin of differences.—As tribes and nations have advanced in civilization changes have arisen in methods of government. As men have progressed from the savage state, and have followed pursuits demanding increased intelligence, their mutual duties and common interests have become more important and numerous, and government has assumed a more complex character. For thousands of years the form and functions of government have been subject to modifications, and the history of nations is largely a history of the development of government. New conditions have to be met, and the best governments have adapted themselves to the new needs that have arisen. When rulers are wise they recognize the changes which altered conditions require, and advancement is made without serious disturbance. With less foresight progress is secured only by revolution. England is the best example of the development of government by good statesmanship. France, Spain and Italy furnish instances where revolution and the evils of civil war have frequently been associated with modifications of methods of government.

Race distinctions and religious differences have had much to do with varieties in forms of government; geographical position and conditions of climate and soil have also had much influence. It is therefore evident that national development is subject to many circumstances, and that uniformity is not to be expected in view of the variety of characteristics presented by the human race. It will be found, however, that governments, though differing in their structures and administration, are in all cases referable to four well-defined types: Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy and republic.

Monarchy.—A monarchical government is one whose head is a personal ruler, called king, emperor, czar, etc. He controls, in theory at least, the affairs of state, and appoints the principal officers of his government. He generally holds his position for life, and usually acquires his throne by inheritance. England, Russia, Germany, Italy and Sweden are examples of hereditary monarchies. The old German Empire is an example where the monarch was elective, the emperor having been chosen by certain princes, called "electors." The power exercised by the sovereign varies widely in different countries, and as a consequence monarchical forms of government are classified under the two heads, absolute and limited.

Absolute monarchy.—An absolute monarchy is one in which the functions of government are all vested in one person. His power and authority are therefore supreme, and he controls without limitation all the affairs of state. His commands are absolute,

and the sanction of the people is not necessary in order to make his word law. If he pleases he can make war or enter into treaties with foreign nations. There is no appeal from his decisions. While these powers are theoretically possessed by an absolute monarch, he is practically constrained to follow established customs. If he transgresses the bounds of justice and good policy, his subjects may be goaded to rebellion and revolution. Despotism is a bad system of government. It is impossible for any one ruler, however wise and good, to decide the best policy for the nation. The inconsiderate exercise of power causes tyranny, and when the people have no voice in public affairs they become helpless, and progress is almost impossible. Russia, China and Turkey are examples of absolute monarchies.

Limited monarchy.—A limited monarchy is one in which the ruler's power is limited by the actions of the people, as expressed through their representatives. The rights and powers of the sovereign, as well as those of the legislative bodies, are determined by the law or the constitution. Whatever the government does must be in accordance with the constitution. On this account limited monarchies are called constitutional monarchies. The limitation of the ruler's authority is different in different countries. England is the most conspicuous example of a constitutional monarchy. The sovereign of the British Empire possesses very little actual authority. The power of the Queen is far less than that of the President of the United States. Step by step the people of the United Kingdom have taken under

their own control the powers of government. The sphere of legislation allowed the English parliament is virtually unlimited. The nation, though a monarchy, is ruled in accordance with democratic principles of government. Nominally, the Queen governs, but in reality the people rule.

Aristocracy.—An aristocracy is a government placed in the hands of a select few. In the sense in which the word was first used, an aristocracy is really a government by the *best*. It has, however, come to mean government by a privileged class. Aristocracy seldom exists alone. In many countries the rich, or the heads of certain families, have contrived to get power into their own hands, and the masses of the people have little influence. For centuries the countries of Europe were governed by the wealthy classes, and the people had no voice in controlling public affairs. At one time a ring of rich merchants managed to govern Venice. More frequently in many states the king and the nobles had things their own way. At present there is no aristocratic government proper, although many nations, like Austria and Germany, exhibit aristocratic tendencies. In most countries of Europe one branch of the legislature is composed of members holding their positions on account of noble birth. Somewhat resembling an aristocracy in a degenerate form is an *oligarchy*. This is a government in which the supreme power is vested in the hands of a few. The triumvirates of Rome furnish examples.

Democracy.—A democracy is that form of government in which the functions are administered

directly by the people, who appoint officers to attend to the clerical or ministerial duties which constitute the only work of the state. This political form is obviously impossible except in very small communities. The old German tribes and some of the states of ancient Greece furnish examples. Some of the present cantons of Switzerland, the early settlements of New England, the townships in Canada at one time, and the rural school sections at the present day, exhibit to some extent the principle of pure democracy. For local self-government the system has advantages, but it is evident it would be impossible to have the affairs of a nation managed by the direct actions of the people. Hence the necessity of having power delegated and hence the advantage of representative government.

Republic.—A republic may be defined as a representative democracy. Under this form of control the people rule themselves, not directly as in a pure democracy, but through elected representatives. It should be observed that the principle of representation of the people by elective officers is not to be found in republics exclusively. In all the limited monarchies of Europe at least a portion of the members of the law-making bodies are elected by the people. That which is the main distinguishing characteristic of a republic is that the chief executive and all the members of the legislature are elected. Republics are differently constituted. In the United States, where the institutions have been largely copied after those of England, many of the best features of the British system of government have been retained.

France is a republic, but the President is chosen by the General Assembly, and the central government undertakes much work which in Canada and the United States is left to municipalities. Most of the governments of South America are republics, but the citizens generally have not as much control of public affairs as those of Germany or Sweden. Mexico, though a republic with an elected President at its head, is generally governed by a ring of rich men who consult the people very little, the latter being too ignorant to concern themselves much about their government.

Popular government.—With a system of popular government the people as a whole have considerable influence in the direction of political affairs. Popular government is therefore like representative government, which may be found either in a monarchy or a republic. To use President Lincoln's famous phrase, a popular system of government is realized where there is found "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." In a free government the will of the people controls their rulers. In a despotic government the rulers govern with little reference to the wishes or welfare of their subjects.

Popular government has made great strides during the present century. Its progress is especially noticeable in communities of Anglo-Saxon origin. Indeed, it would seem that the ideals of government of the Anglo-Saxon race are essentially democratic. The will of the people determines the policy of the government, and settles upon the persons who are to

carry out this policy. The duties and responsibilities of the electorate under a system of popular government are therefore very important, and a nation which is controlled by democratic principles is not free from danger. The general diffusion of education is essential in a country in which the people govern themselves. Representative government will fail if the educational interests of the masses are ignored. The spread of honesty, as well as of enlightenment, is necessary. When the suffrage is widely extended there is room for the use of corrupt influences to gain votes. The practical problems to be met and solved by a popular government are complex, numerous and difficult. The existence of great inequalities of wealth and social standing often tends to unjust or class legislation. It is not the duty of the state to force an equal distribution of property, but it may properly abolish all artificial distinctions of rank and privilege, and especially help the poor to better their condition. Popular government is, in this connection, exposed to danger on account of the pressure used by incapable, unintelligent and dishonest persons to have legislation for their betterment. Ill-advised socialistic movements are dangers that beset many governments, but they are least to be dreaded where there is full discussion and where the benefits of higher education are put within the reach of the masses of the people. Free education is a great foe to socialism. Popular government is also exposed to the danger arising from too lax an enforcement of the law. The officials of the government are sometimes in danger of arousing unpopularity by rigidly putting

the law in force. This danger is not so noticeable under our system of government as it is under a republican system. To tolerate the violation of law has a very bad effect. If a law is unjust it should be repealed, but while it is on the statute books its enforcement should be required. The disadvantage of an elective judiciary is therefore apparent, and the superiority of our system of appointing judges and other administrative officers is almost self-evident.

In spite of its dangers popular government is superior to any other. It guarantees that the wishes of all classes will receive consideration. No other form of government has such an educating influence on the community. There can be no intelligent public opinion under the more absolute forms of government. The people have no encouragement to study political questions, unless they have a voice in the affairs of state. If an autocratic government, like that of Russia, is in any way tyrannical, it is to the interest of the authorities to suppress public opinion. If self-governing communities make mistakes, they learn by the experience, and improvement follows. Popular government promotes self-reliance, and since the majority must rule, people are trained to habits of self-control. It fosters the spirit of co-operation and leads people to recognize the advantages of mutual forbearance. Popular government no doubt presupposes a high degree of morality, an advanced state of education, much self-control, and a considerable amount of material and social equality. Its existence, therefore, encourages those

agencies which help to secure the best social and economic conditions.

Upper Houses.—Upper chambers are generally found in countries having representative government. Nearly all the European nations have two legislative bodies. Servia, Greece, Bulgaria and some of the minor German states have in each only one. Only two of the seven provinces of the Dominion have two chambers. Hungary furnishes an example of an ultra-aristocratic upper house. Usually the plan in the nations of continental Europe is to have a mixture of hereditary, life and elective peers. This system is illustrated in Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Spain and Portugal. The British and Canadian systems will be explained in other chapters. In the United States the Senate, or upper house, is made up of two members from each State, chosen for a term of six years by the legislatures. Each State has also two legislative bodies, both elective.

Generally speaking, the popular chamber is the more important body in countries having two houses. The Senate of the United States is perhaps the only instance of an upper house which is not inferior in legislative importance to the lower house. Indeed, the enormous power of the United States Senate, and the possibility it gives of having the authority of the President and that of the popular branch of the legislature thwarted, is a serious question. It has the power to approve or reject important appointments of the President, and its confirmation of treaties made with foreign nations is required. All elected or lower assemblies have control of money

matters. In the Netherlands, while the upper house may accept or reject bills of the lower house, it has no power to amend them. In England, as well as in her colonies, the upper house cannot initiate or amend a money bill. The Senate of the United States cannot originate, but it may amend, a revenue or money bill. In Prussia the upper house has no power to amend the budget. In some countries both houses meet together for certain purposes. Such is the case in France and in several of the states of the American Union. It would seem that the main idea of a second chamber is to check hasty legislation. There is besides the object of giving a voice to other interests than those represented by the popular chamber. The House of Lords in England, the Upper Chamber of Italy, and the Senate of the United States give perhaps the most valuable illustrations. The prevalence of second chambers does not prove that the people cannot be trusted, although it indicates the advantage of "sober second thought."

Central and local governments.—If the government draws to itself under one great system the administration of public affairs for all parts of the country it is said to be *centralized*. Wherever popular government is established questions of local management or local concern are now left to the authorities of the province, county, city, town, village, township, or school section. Centralization would require a reference continually to some office or bureau at the capital, and what is termed government by a bureaucracy would be the result. It is evident the better plan is to give the people a large

measure of local control. In this way many public questions will be managed more in accordance with the wishes of the people, who, recognizing their responsibility, will take more interest in what directly affects themselves.

The advantage of separating local from national questions in the administrative and legislative functions of government has given rise to the federal principle. This principle of federation is fully expanded in the United States, where its success has had the effect of developing the idea in Canada. Its success in the Dominion has had much influence in convincing the people of Australasia of its advantages. The federal idea of government has solved important problems of political government in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and in a few of the republics of South America. For Ireland the question of "Home Rule" springs from the same idea, and though not acceptable or workable in the way proposed, that country has gained a measure of local self-government through its county councils.

The initiative and referendum.—By the "referendum" is meant the method of enacting a law by a direct vote of the people. To some extent the principle is applied when a by-law passed by a municipal council has to be submitted to the electorate. The Canada Temperance Act, or "Scott Act," and other local option laws, require the statute to be submitted to a vote of the people. The proposing of a measure by the popular voice is termed the "initiative." Both of these methods are used in the Swiss Republic with considerable success. The advantages

claimed are the following: (1) The popular will is better known than can be known through representatives; (2) the people are better educated in political matters; and (3) a check is put to bribery, lobbying and corruption.

The objections are the following: (1) The people seldom have accurate knowledge of the question submitted; (2) people will not take sufficient interest to vote; and (3) representatives would not feel the same responsibility as at present. It is probable the system has its advantages if applied to a few purely local questions, such as schools, municipal expenditures, liquor traffic, etc. For national or provincial matters, it would seem that the British system of responsible government, which has worked so well, meets in a better way the conditions of the people. The tariff, banking, municipal law, etc., are too complicated to be acted upon intelligently by the people at large. It would be unwise to adopt any system that would lessen the responsibility of members of the government or of legislative bodies.

CHAPTER VII.

PATRIOTISM.

The instincts of loyalty.—One of the noblest characteristics of men and women is the love of *home*. The very mention of the word awakens in the breast of nearly every person affectionate memories, cherished associations and tender longings. To men of great sensibility, separation from the paternal home and native soil brings feelings of sorrow. An attachment of this kind springs up in childhood. It is accompanied with feelings of loyalty. Every good boy recognizes the duty of obedience to his parents, of consideration for the wishes of his brothers and sisters, and of respect to all placed over him. He will do nothing that might bring discredit upon the family, and will regard it his duty to advance the interests of the household. When he attends school, similar feelings of loyalty and obedience will actuate him. A sense of responsibility influences him to improve by his actions the character of the institutions in which he secures his education. His love for his *Alma Mater* becomes an abiding principle with him after he has left college. The honor of his native municipality or province is dear to him, and along with it springs a cherished regard for the flag

which suggests so much in the history and status of his country. In this way loyalty to one's own village or town leads to a larger patriotism. Every man properly trained soon learns that the state demands his interest. He realizes the debt he owes to those who have served the nation generously in the past. He feels that continued prosperity requires every one to do his duty. Self-interest and class-interest, it is felt, should be subordinate to general and national interests.

Loyalty to the state.—It is natural that every person should have a special feeling towards his own country. If the nation has had a memorable history, if the country is strong and prosperous, if the laws and institutions have helped to secure freedom, and if the policy of the government has made for righteousness, a sense of affection and loyalty may be expected to govern the citizens. This feeling is patriotism, and it leads people to wish to see their country powerful and honored among the nations of the earth. The patriot loves to see the flag of his country flying over public buildings, as it suggests the grandeur and glory of the nation of which he is proud. It is not patriotism to cry, "My country, right or wrong." No true patriot will uphold his government in doing injustice to another nation. True patriotism leads people to take pride in the distinction gained by the nation in commerce, in industry, in learning, in literature, in benevolence, rather than in war. Patriotic feelings should become stronger and nobler as the higher stages of a civilized life are reached. Sentiments of this kind

should make every one ready to spring to the defence of his country if it were threatened by an outside force, and willing to assist when its prosperity is in danger from evils or corruption from within. It is indeed a spurious patriotism that brags of our ability to conquer other nations in warfare, that claims our public acts as a nation to be infallible, or that denies the possibility of improving our condition. It is the duty of a patriot to preserve intact the "immediate jewel of the soul," for as Burke says, "What is the empire of the world if we lose our own liberties?"

Canadian patriotism.—The words of St. Paul, "I am a citizen of no mean city," may be repeated in substance by every Canadian. If the great Apostle of the Gentiles had reason to be proud of being a citizen of Tarsus, the people who live in Canada may also, with pride, regard themselves "citizens of no mean country." A look at the map will show the great extent of the Dominion. It forms thirty per cent. of the area of the British Empire, and one-fifteenth of the world's area. Its vastness can be realized only by those who have crossed the continent "from ocean to ocean." Its striking natural features, the grandeur of its mountain ranges, the beauty of its rivers and lakes, its magnificent forests, and its vast stretches of fertile land, are recognized by all travellers. Its great extent of timber lands (the most valuable on the continent), its almost boundless treasures of valuable minerals (nowhere excelled), its extensive and world-renowned fisheries, and its geographical facilities for commerce, give Canada superior advantages in view of the growing importance of

natural resources in the development of nations. It is impossible to consider the productiveness of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate, our unsurpassed advantages of water power in this age of electricity, and our commanding situation with respect to the other parts of the empire, without feeling convinced that few countries have before them a brighter future than Canada.

Its prospects do not, however, depend upon the extent of its territory or the abundance of its natural wealth. The country has been settled by an intelligent, an industrious, a sober and a law-abiding people. No crowds of half-civilized immigrants have interfered with the growth of our institutions. The duty of assimilating a variety of races has not taxed the Canadian people. The curse of slavery has left us no negro problem to be solved. Here are few anarchists, and neither communism nor socialism has perplexed our government. Anglo-Saxon ideals of liberty have guided our statesmen. The democracy which controls is one which has been the growth of centuries under constitutional government. Freedom is cherished. There are no privileged classes. Education is valued and widely supported. Self-government is the main feature of our political institutions. There is no state church, but the dominant forces are Christian. Toleration in religious matters has long had recognition in matters of legislation and administration. Here there is liberty without license. There is respect for law and order. Opportunities for advancement are freely offered. The industrious, the temperate, the thrifty, and the persevering have,

in every part of the Dominion, achieved success, and proved that Canadians may well be proud of their country. The moral atmosphere of our land is good. The people are not content to develop the resources of the country. They are developing themselves. Creditable systems of education are being built up. Literature and art have made progress. Canadians may well look forward to a future of greatness.

“I am a British subject.”—In the days when Rome was in the zenith of its glory, it was a proud boast to be able to say, “*Civis Romanus sum*—I am a Roman citizen.” Every Canadian may say, “I am a British subject,” and feel that he is a citizen of an empire larger, grander and nobler than the one which acknowledged the supremacy of the Cæsars. It is commonly asserted that “the sun never sets on the British Dominions,” and this assertion is literally true, as may easily be seen by a reference to the globe. The powers and interests of the empire extend to every part of the world. Important though we know Great Britain to be, it is small in area when compared with that “Greater Britain,” which occupies such an immense portion of the map of the world. The population of the empire is 345,000,000; and if protectorates are included, about 382,000,000. Not including the protectorates, the area is 9,144,735 square miles. Not to mention Canada, Australia and India, the possessions in Africa, Europe, South America and the islands of the sea, form a vast field for the display of British energy and genius. The policy of England in dealing

with her colonies and possessions has been always energetic, and upon the whole, humane and wise. Wherever the British flag floats order is established, education is fostered, religious toleration prevails, liberty is upheld, and progress ensues. England is not a warlike nation. Trade, commerce and industry combine to make the preservation of peace one of her chief objects. The British nation, with all the heroic valor of her soldiers and with the tremendous power of her navy, is doing more than any other nation to prevent war.

It is not the extent and power of England which have most to do in maintaining our loyalty to the empire. The achievements of British soldiers and sailors form a conspicuous part of the history of the nation. Victories like that gained over the Spanish Armada, that gained by Nelson at Trafalgar, that of Wellington at Waterloo, and that of Kitchener at Omdurman, were glorious because they were fought in the interests of humanity and civilization. We take most pride in the triumphs of peace that fill the pages of English history. Statesmen like Pitt, Burke, Peel, Beaconsfield and Gladstone are sources of inspiration to the youth of our country. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Scott, Browning and Tennyson show the heritage of poetry which we possess. Names like Bacon, Newton, Macaulay, Darwin, Hallam, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Green, Huxley and Spencer call to mind the marvelous distinction which the nation has achieved in every department of science, literature and philosophy. It is a pardonable pride to boast of belonging

to a nation which is the mother of free governments and free institutions all the world over. It is an inspiring and yet commendable thought to know we speak the tongue which bids fair to become ultimately the language of trade and commerce throughout the world. Though the British Empire comprises forty-two distinct and independent governments, scattered in various parts of the world, the dominant ideals of administration are the same in all. Every one feels the pulse of that freedom which has been manifested since our forefathers first asserted their rights in the mother land. Ours is to enjoy a share of those blessings which are the results of the march of science, the spread of democratic ideals of government, the solution of social problems, and the dominancy of Christian forces.

Patriotism in school.—"One other necessary part of the equipment of a man for an honorable life is patriotism ; and this is a sentiment which may be greatly encouraged before the youth leaves school to go out into the world. By this I do not mean that theatrical patriotism which finds expression in waving the Union Jack about, or singing "Rule Britannia" in schools. Fourth of July celebrations, saluting the flag, and chanting patriotic songs may easily assume a degenerate form and become unreal, boastful, stagy, and, to say the truth, a little vulgar. But a rational love and pride for our country, founded on some knowledge of the privileges we enjoy as Englishmen, and of the debt we owe those who won them for us, are necessary to every English citizen. In France and in Italy there is a stronger sense than in England of the value even in schools of what is called *l'instruction civique*. Paul Bert's well-known book, bearing that title, has a series of striking lessons on the different branches of the public service—the army, the civil administration,

parliament, courts of justice, the local magistracy, taxation, the conditions which determine wages, service on juries, the provision of public libraries, museums and schools. On all these subjects it is possible to give interesting and effective lessons to elder scholars. The correlative claims and duties which citizenship involves, the obligation which the possession of great privileges in a free State imposes on all its members to do something for the community in return, are matters which ought to be kept in view, in historical as well as in ethical and religious teaching. Ours is a democratic state, and is likely to become more democratic in the twentieth century than in the nineteenth. Many of the traditional objects of reverence which were set before our fathers are losing their hold upon the popular imagination. The claims of high birth, rank, wealth and official station to respect and deference impress the children of this generation less than heretofore. The relics of the feudal spirit which find expression in the injunction of the Church Catechism, "to order myself lowly and reverently before my betters," are felt by all of us to be more difficult to enforce, or even to explain satisfactorily to the boys and girls who now learn that formula by heart. It is of no use to bewail this. We must accept the facts, and try to make the best of them. Yet the faculty of reverence is not dead. There must be some object to call it into exercise, unless we are to shrink up into a poor, attenuated and selfish life. And it will be some compensation at least for democratic change if it brings with it a stronger love of freedom, a higher conception of civic duty, a loyalty and devotion to the public interests, a willingness to offer personal service in such manifold forms as are prescribed in our modern civilization, by municipal life, the administration of charity, and efforts for social improvement. There is a higher kind of patriotism yet possible to us, even though it is to be nurtured under new conditions, and it is to be found in a growing sense among our people of the responsibility of each one to contribute something to the greatness of the nation, in

fidelity to duty, in helpfulness to others, in toleration, in self-cultivation, in being proud of his country, and so ordering his life as to make the country proud of him. That is a true ideal of Christian democracy and of Christian manhood which is embodied in the divine saying, 'If any one would be greatest among you, let him be your servant.'"—*Sir Joshua G. Fitch.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

The British constitution.—By this term is meant the institutions, customs and laws by which the nation is governed. There is no written constitution like that of the United States, nor is there one law made by parliament like our British North America Act, which shows the powers of different legislative bodies. The constitution under Queen Victoria is the same constitution under which the Confessor ruled, and which the Conqueror swore to obey. From the very beginning of Anglo-Saxon sovereignty the monarch of England has been expected to govern in accordance with the wishes of the people. In the struggles of the English against the tyranny of John, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the illegal exactions of Charles, and the wrong-doings of James II., there was a persistent appeal to ancient laws and customs. The patriot Langton produced the forgotten Charter of Rights, which, in its turn, had been won by appeals to the “good laws of the Confessor.” Over and over again in the struggles with the Stuarts the *Magna Charta* was cited to show the inherited rights of the people. Even at the time of the Reform Bill a demand was

made for the ancient privileges of the citizens of the country. The English constitution is a part of the Common Law, "that ancient collection of unwritten maxims and customs" which forms part of our Canadian law. England is not hampered by a written constitution which it might be difficult to amend. Under the British system the people are supreme, and the laws may be amended when a change is in the interest of the nation. The laws and customs of England therefore form its constitution, which has several important characteristics. Among them may be mentioned the institution of a limited monarchy, the three branches of the Legislature ("Kings, Lords, and Commons"), the representative system of government, the independence of the judges, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, and the securities against tyrannical government and official corruption.

The Crown.—The Crown is hereditary, yet parliament may from time to time change or limit the right of inheritance. Queen Victoria holds her position by virtue of the Act of Settlement of 1700. If the heir to the throne is a minor, or should the king or queen become permanently incapable of discharging the duties of the position, a *regent* is nominated by act of parliament. Parliament fixes, at the beginning of every reign, the annual sum which the sovereign shall receive for personal and household expenses. A special provision is usually made by parliament on the marriage of the chief members of the royal family.

The sovereign is the depository of national power, which must be exercised, however, in certain ways

and under certain conditions. The law places no restriction on the extent of the power of "the Crown," but the royal will must be intimated through the appropriate channel. The will of the sovereign is the official will as formed under the advice, and carried into effect through the agency, of councillors and ministers responsible for their advice and their acts. The Queen gives laws after deliberation with parliament. She is the fountain of justice, but she acts under the direction of the law officers of the Crown. In the discharge of her executive duties she has the assistance of a Privy Council, but every official act must be performed as required by law. It is a maxim of the constitution that "the King can do no wrong." This applies only to the official acts of the sovereign. Every official act of the Queen done as prescribed by law is lawful. The maxim does not mean that there is no remedy for any personal shortcoming of the sovereign. It should be remembered that no *unlawful* act is an act of the Crown, and therefore a command of the king to do something not prescribed or allowed by law is unlawful. John Hampden was not disloyal when he refused to pay a tax which Charles I. had no legal right to impose.

The Crown cannot, without the assent of the two Houses of parliament, make, alter, or suspend laws, or impose taxes. The sovereign, with the advice of the ministry, may prorogue parliament, and, without the express command of the sovereign (except in the event of the sovereign's death), no parliament may be assembled, prorogued, or dissolved. If a sover-

eign should die in the interval between the dissolution of one parliament and the assembling of another, the last house meets and continues for six months, unless prorogued or dissolved before that time. Every session of parliament is opened by the sovereign's speech, which is a more or less definite statement of the ministers, who hint in this way at measures which they propose to introduce, the condition of foreign politics, and any domestic circumstances requiring the financial attention of parliament. No bill becomes law unless assented to by the sovereign. This assent is given in person or by commissioners in the House of Lords. No instance has occurred of such assent being refused since 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne.

The sovereign appoints all judges, on the advice of the responsible ministers, and holds the prerogative of pardon when any person is convicted of crime. This is now usually exercised only where fresh evidence altering the complexion of a case has cropped up after the trial, where there has been an evident miscarriage of justice, where the jury "recommend to mercy," or where persons have been sentenced for political offences not connected with violence.

All degrees of nobility are awarded by the Crown. All corporations are created directly by the Crown, or indirectly by act of parliament. The coinage is under the control of the sovereign. As there is an Established Church, all archbishops, bishops and deans of the Church of England are appointed by the sovereign on the advice of the ministry. The sovereign, acting on ministerial advice, also appoints

all ambassadors and diplomatic agents to other states, declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties with foreign nations. Subject to certain parliamentary restrictions, the supreme command of the army and navy is vested in the sovereign, who appoints the officers of these services as well as the Viceroy of Ireland and India, and all the colonial governors.

The House of Lords.—The House of Lords consists of 573 members, who are sometimes spoken of as “Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal.” It is made up at present of 2 archbishops, 24 bishops, 6 peers of the blood royal, 22 dukes, 22 marquises, 119 earls, 26 viscounts, 308 barons, 16 representative peers of Scotland, elected for each parliament, and 28 Irish representative peers, chosen for life. Peers possess individually titles of honor giving them rank and precedence; they are, individually, hereditary councillors of the Crown; collectively, they may advise the sovereign in the absence of parliament, and they also form the highest court of justice; and, with the House of Commons, they form the legislative authority by whose advice and consent, with the sanction of the Crown, all laws are made. The House of Lords represents, to a large extent, the wealth and landed interests of the country.

Peers may be created by “writ of summons” of the Sovereign, who is entitled to seek the advice of any British subject. When a peer is created, as is the custom, by “letters patent,” no formal act of taking the seat in parliament is required; and if the



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, LONDON, ENG.

peer dies before taking his seat, the peerage descends to his heir. There is no limit to the number of peers which may be made, and it is the rule for ministers to recommend to the sovereign their most active and distinguished supporters. Comparatively little business is done in the House of Lords. It is the highest Court of Appeal, and its most notable judicial function is its power to try peers for treason or felony, or peers and commoners for misdemeanors and felonies in case of an impeachment. In legislative matters the House of Lords has ultimately given way to the opinion of the House of Commons when there is no mistake as to the popular body representing the wishes of the people. The House of Lords has co-ordinate power with the House of Commons, except as respects taxation or money bills. Under exceptional conditions it may reject such bills, but it has no power to initiate or amend them. The Chairman, or Speaker, of the upper house is the Lord High Chancellor, who is a member of the cabinet, and who retires with a change of government.

The House of Commons.—This is the most important branch of the legislature, and consists of 670 members, of whom 465 are from England, 30 from Wales, 72 from Scotland, and 103 from Ireland. By the Reform Bill of 1832 and the Reform Act of 1867 the franchise was widely extended. The right to vote is extended to freeholders, copyholders, leaseholders, occupants of lands and tenements, and lodgers of a specified value. The Ballot Act came into force in 1872, and has largely suppressed bribery

and intimidation. By the last Redistribution Act old constituencies have been very much altered. A few towns return two members each, but most large towns or cities are divided into a varying number of one-member constituencies. The universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Dublin also elect a representative each. The suffrage is confined to those adult males whose names are on the "Register." Candidates do not require a property qualification. Members are not paid.

The House of Commons lasts for seven years, unless dissolved before that time by the sovereign, on the advice of the cabinet. English and Scotch peers, judges, clergymen of the Established Church, or of the Roman Catholic Church, holders of certain offices under the Crown, and government contractors, are not eligible to sit in the House of Commons. Of course a minor, an alien, a bankrupt, or a felon, cannot be elected. At a general election the "poll" is not fixed for all constituencies for the same day, but the constituencies return members during a brief interval. After a general election, if a member is appointed to an office of profit under the Crown, he has to vacate his seat, and a new election takes place. Elections to fill vacancies that occur before the next general election are termed "bye" elections. The Speaker (chairman) and the Deputy Speaker are elected as soon as the house meets after a general election.

The functions of the House of Commons are very extensive. It possesses the "power of the purse," and has the right of inquiry into every part of the

administration of affairs. It exercises a supervision over the proceedings of courts of justice, and in a measure even controls the judges. By an address to the Crown it may ask for the removal of an improper officer. It has the right to tender its advice to the Crown on the conduct of all officials, on the dissolution of parliament, on all matters relating to revenue and expenditure, on all questions of trade, and, in fact, on every other subject of public interest. As it has no authority to act itself in these matters it must proceed indirectly. It may remonstrate, recommend, or express an opinion, but it can not dictate or command the Crown directly. If the House of Commons is dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs it has the power to declare that it has lost confidence in the advisers of the sovereign, and a change of ministry must result.

The Cabinet.—The advisers of the sovereign constitute the cabinet, which at present consists of sixteen ministers. The First Lord of the Treasury is generally Premier. He is the choice of the Crown, and therefore becomes the head of the administration. He may be a member of either legislative body; he selects the members of the cabinet with the approval of the sovereign, and each member of the government thus selected is almost invariably chosen from the House of Commons or the House of Lords. In addition to the members forming the cabinet there are several other ministers holding subordinate positions in the government, who also retire if the cabinet resigns or is defeated.

The members of the government are held jointly

responsible for all administrative acts. If a member cannot concur in the policy of the government it is his duty to resign. Every act of the ministry is therefore, in theory, the act of the Crown. It is not necessary that a majority of the cabinet should favor a certain policy in order to have that policy adopted. If the prime minister wills that a particular course is to be taken the other members of the government must concur and defend, if necessary, his action, or resign their positions. In other words, the cabinet must be a unit, although it is well known discussions frequently and properly take place in council in order to settle upon the policy to be adopted on many questions. The strongest and ablest prime minister will always seek the advice of his colleagues.

Excellence of British institutions.—It is important for Canadians to understand the main features of the British system of government, after which our own system of government is fashioned. The unprecedented success of British institutions is perhaps the most conclusive evidence of their superiority. For hundreds of years the methods by which the affairs of state in England have been carried on have secured to the people a large measure of peace, happiness and prosperity. From small beginnings the energy and perseverance of the Anglo-Saxon race have developed in such a way as to secure the most powerful and extensive empire under the sway of one ruler which the world has ever seen. The unwritten constitution of England, with its powers of development and adaptation, has afforded never-failing remedies for the many perplexing questions that

have from time to time arisen. The government of England has so much flexibility that the difficult problems of religious differences and race distinctions have been fittingly solved in a manner to command the admiration of the ablest writers on the science of government. England is the only nation that has been able to adopt a successful colonial policy, and though some mistakes have been made in the past, yet the enlightened manner in which the British colonies are governed at the present day has become a study for other nations. The British system of government has been characterized by stability and progress. As the advisers of the Queen must have the confidence of the House of Commons, the government is not placed in the perilous attitude of having its policy at any time set aside by the legislative body. For instance, if a foreign government makes a treaty with the British government, the latter is not likely to fail in carrying out its bargain. Where the executive and legislative bodies are independent, it can never be certain that the government is supported by the representatives of the people. In short, the British government exhibits on the one hand great strength and power, and on the other hand the power and strength thus exhibited represent the action of a free people. The Queen of England in her official capacity is more powerful than any autocratic ruler, but her subjects have greater freedom than is possessed by the citizens of the most democratic republic.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION.

Relations to the Empire.—As a part of the British Empire, Canada enjoys those advantages which are secured to each country that is under the sovereignty of Queen Victoria. All subjects of her Majesty have had guaranteed to them freedom and protection. The great principles of liberty which have been so fully recognized for centuries as prominent features of English rule are inherent rights of Canadians. The humblest subject in the Dominion may feel that, if necessary, the power of the greatest nation of the earth will be exercised to preserve his rights, if those rights are assailed. The *Magna Charta*, that great statute of English liberty, is also a charter of Canadian freedom. Canadians enjoy the benefits of the Petition of Right, grudgingly assented to by Charles I., the Bill of Rights, passed soon after William III. came to the throne, and many other less noted guarantees of free institutions. Those fundamental principles of parliamentary government in England which were secured by the revolution of 1688, are recognized in the Dominion as well as in every other possession of the Crown. Here, as well as in the United Kingdom, parliament rules, and the laws and constitutional customs must be observed.



We have secured freedom of elections, freedom of speech, and the right to petition parliament. The representatives of the people have full control in matters of taxation and expenditure. That ministerial responsibility, so valued by Englishmen, is part of our system of government. The House of Commons not only claims the right, in an indirect way, of determining who are to constitute the advisers of the Crown, but also the right of controlling the policy of the cabinet. In a republic where the executive and legislative departments are independent of each other the government may pursue a course not approved by the representatives of the people. Here there must be harmony between these two departments of government; and as members of the administration must hold seats in parliament they are constantly called upon to indicate the policy of the cabinet.

The Federal System.—By the British North America Act of 1867, which was slightly amended in 1871, 1875 and 1886, the Dominion of Canada came into existence. This statute, which in a limited sense has become the constitution of the country, secured for Canada the federal system of government. The main principle of this system, which was to some extent based on the experience of the United States, is that of a division of authority between the Dominion and the provinces. It recognizes that there are some questions which should be dealt with by the central government, and that there are other matters which properly belong to each province concerned. This Act, which was passed by the British

parliament after much deliberation and assented to by the Queen, defines the powers of the central and local governments, respectively. The affairs of each government are administered in accordance with the British system of parliamentary institutions. All powers of government not expressly assigned to the local governments are declared to belong to the Dominion. In this respect the constitution of the United States affords a significant contrast, as it provides that all authority not assigned to the National government is held by the individual States. The trend of events in both countries has justified the wisdom displayed in this connection by the fathers of confederation.

The Governor-General.—As the head of the executive authority of the British Empire the Queen acts through a Governor-General who, being appointed by her Majesty in Council, is an Imperial officer. It has come to be the practice almost invariably that the Governor-General is guided in all questions of administration by the Canadian ministry. It is true, however, that in all matters affecting Imperial policy he may seek the advice of the Government of England. All colonial questions requiring the action of the Queen are under the special control of a member of the British Cabinet, the Colonial Secretary, to whom all necessary communications are sent by the Government of Canada through the Governor-General. In its relations with foreign governments Canada in itself has no independent authority, but the practice is to have Canadian representatives clothed with the necessary power by the Queen to

deal with questions affecting the Dominion. It is also required that each act passed by the parliament of Canada shall be submitted by the Governor-General to the Queen in Council. This provision is made to guard the unity and security of the empire. Any statute may be disallowed within two years after it is passed, but the policy of the Imperial Government has been to abstain from any course not approved by the Cabinet of Canada. The Dominion has been very fortunate in having at all times representatives of the Queen well versed in those principles of responsible government which are now so well recognized and so highly valued in every self-governing colony of the empire.

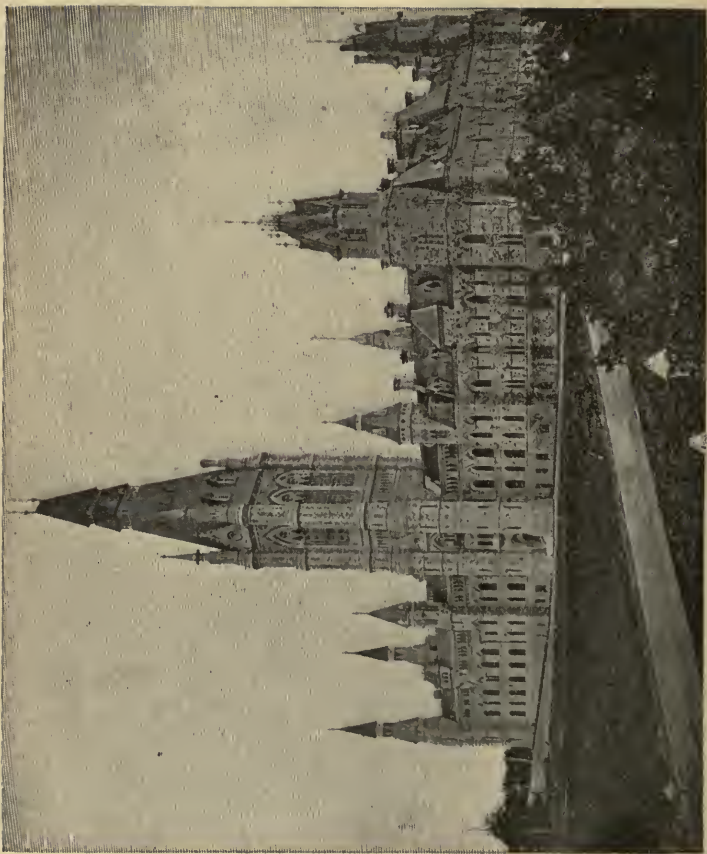
Dominion questions.—In the British North America Act the subjects of Dominion and provincial legislation are enumerated. In a general way it may be said that the central government deals with the public debt, trade and commerce, customs and excise, the postal service, the census, the militia, navigation, sea-coast fisheries, currency, banking, insolvency, patents, copyrights, Indians, naturalization, divorce and the criminal law. Railways, canals, telegraphs, ships, etc., if constituting undertakings extending beyond the limits of a province, are under the control of the Canadian parliament.

The subject of education is not one of Dominion jurisdiction, except that the Canadian parliament may take action to restore any right which has been taken away from a Roman Catholic or Protestant minority by a provincial legislature. Experience has not, however, shown that it is expedient for the

Dominion to interfere, and the prevailing practice is to trust each province to do what is best for the minority. Both the Canadian and the provincial governments have rights in common regarding some matters, such as agriculture and immigration. The Dominion government has the power of disallowing any act of a provincial legislature within one year. This power is not intended to be exercised unless when an act passed by a provincial legislature is deemed contrary to the constitution or injurious to the general interests of the Dominion.

The Cabinet.—As in England, the terms “cabinet,” “ministry,” “administration,” and “government” are applied in Canada to the responsible advisers of the Crown. The head of the government is known as the “Premier” or Prime Minister. He is the person called upon to form the cabinet, and he becomes the member of the administration to convey to the Governor-General all important communications relating to the policy of the government. The rules and usages of parliamentary government are not embodied in statutes. In Canada, as in England, they have, however, all the force of a written constitution. All orders in council, commissions, proclamations and decisions of the government, follow the English practice. Canada has adhered to the British plan of having a permanent, non-political civil service. This secures to the country an experienced body of officials, and therefore a more effective administration of public affairs.

The majority of the cabinet members have seats in the House of Commons. This is necessary in view of the important departments relating to revenue



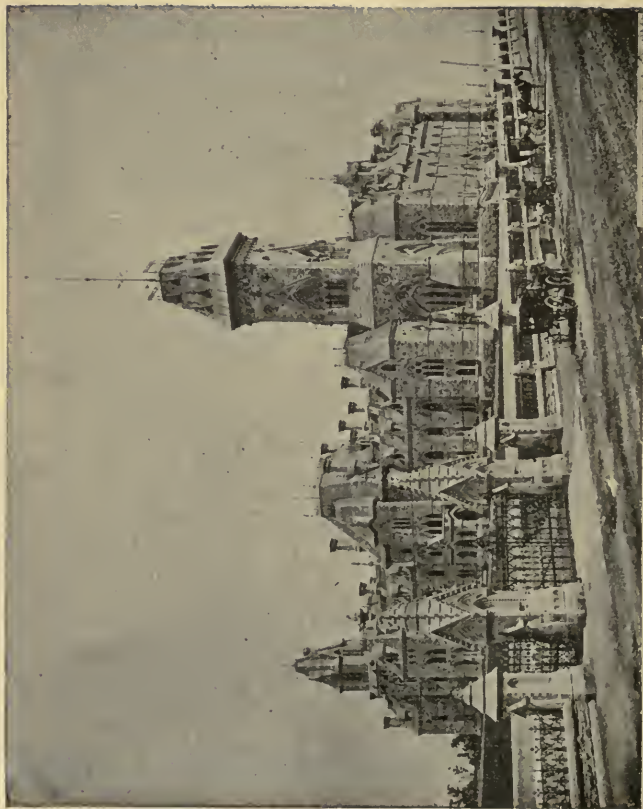
WESTERN DEPARTMENTAL BLOCK, PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

and expenditure which are controlled by the popular branch of the legislature. Usually three (at present) or four members of the government have seats in the upper house. At present the cabinet consists of sixteen members, of whom two are without portfolios, which means that, although they are advisers of the Governor-General, they have not charge of departments. In addition to the ordinary sessional allowance each member of the cabinet managing a department receives a salary of \$7,000 (the Premier \$8,000). Following the direction of the English practice, there have been since 1892 ministers (at present one, the Solicitor-General of Canada) without positions in the cabinet. The salary of such ministers is \$5,000. At present the departments of the government presided over by cabinet ministers are the following :

1. Prime Minister and President of the Queen's Privy Council.
2. Minister of Trade and Commerce.
3. Secretary of State.
4. Minister of Justice.
5. Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
6. Minister of Militia and Defence.
7. Postmaster-General.
8. Minister of Agriculture.
9. Minister of Public Works.
10. Minister of Finance.
11. Minister of Railways and Canals.
12. Minister of the Interior and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.
13. Minister of Customs.
14. Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Senate.—The upper house in Canada is called the Senate, and corresponds to the House of Lords in England. At present it consists of 80 members. The maximum number allowed is 84, Ontario and Quebec each having 24. The senators are appointed by the Governor-General, on the advice of his ministry. They must be of the full age of thirty years, and have property worth four thousand dollars. They hold their positions for life, and their president is appointed by the Governor-General in Council. With the exception of bills relating to taxation or expenditure, the Senate has the same powers as the House of Commons. Divorce bills are always presented first in the Senate. The senators of Quebec must reside in the divisions for which they are chosen, or have their property qualification therein; but other senators must simply reside in their province. The sessional allowance for each member is one thousand dollars and ten cents a mile each way for travelling expenses.

The House of Commons.—The popular branch of the legislature, like the same body in England, is called the House of Commons. At present it consists of 213 members, of whom the constituencies of Ontario elect 92, Quebec 65, New Brunswick 14, Nova Scotia 20, Prince Edward Island 5, Manitoba 7, British Columbia 6, and the North-West Territories 4. A readjustment must be made after each census, which is taken every ten years. The next census will be taken in 1901. By the British North America Act, the number from the Province of Quebec is fixed at 65. Each of the others is assigned



EASTERN DEPARTMENTAL BLOCK, PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

a number of members in proportion to its population compared with that of Quebec. By a special provision of the Act of Union, it was decided that British Columbia should not have less than six members in the House of Commons.

No property qualification is required of members of the House of Commons, and it is not necessary for members to reside in the constituencies they represent. They must be 21 years of age and British subjects. The sessional indemnity and the allowance for travelling expenses are the same as for senators. The presiding officer is called the "Speaker," and is elected by the members when a new parliament meets. He is assisted by a Deputy Speaker, who is also elected every new parliament, and who presides over the house when it goes into committee of the whole.

The length of a parliament cannot exceed five years, and there must be a session once at least every year. The house may be dissolved at any time during the five years by the Governor-General, if his ministry deems it expedient to appeal to the country. The laws for the preservation of the independence of parliament and those for preventing corrupt practices at elections are very strict. If a member of the house accepts an office of profit from the Crown his seat becomes vacant. A constituency therefore becomes vacant if its representative accepts a position in the ministry. He may, however, seek re-election. Controverted and disputed elections are settled by the courts. The expenses of candidates must be published by their agents after an election.

For a number of years the House of Commons was elected on a Dominion franchise. Hereafter the election of members will be on the provincial systems, with some unimportant limitations. After each census, when the redistribution of seats takes place, the constituencies are rearranged with such modifications as are deemed necessary or expedient. All elections have been by ballot since 1874. Except for some remote places, the elections are held on the same day throughout the Dominion.

The House of Commons is the most important deliberative body in the Dominion. It has power to make and unmake cabinets. No government can remain in power without its support and confidence. The rules and usages are substantially the same as those of the English House of Commons. All bills must be read three times. If a bill has been amended in the Senate it is sent back to the Commons. Any bill for imposing a tax or appropriating a part of the revenue must originate in this house. It must also come as a government measure. The most important questions of a financial character that are debated in the Commons are those relating to the "Budget" and the "Estimates." The expenses of government are met by a system of indirect taxation. This is provided mainly by "customs" and "excise" duties. Frequently important questions of policy come up in connection with government measures. If the cabinet should be defeated when a vote is taken on a matter of ministerial policy, it must resign, or, with the consent of the Governor-General, have a general election.

CHAPTER X.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

Local Self-government.—The advantages of the federal system of government are now well understood. As civilization advances, the needs of the human race become more numerous, and the problems which society has to solve become more complex. A division of labor has its merits in political, as well as in economic, questions. If all matters of legislation concerning the Canadian people had to be dealt with at Ottawa there would not be time to give the necessary consideration to numerous questions of great importance. It is also evident that subjects of only local interest would not be fully understood by representatives from other sections of the Dominion. For instance, if a town in Ontario wished to obtain the necessary authority to construct a system of water-works, a city in New Brunswick to secure a charter to build a street railway, or a town in British Columbia to become incorporated as a city, it would be a very cumbrous procedure to have the Canadian parliament legislate for all these purposes. In each province there may be many questions presenting difficulties with which the representatives from other parts of Canada have

little sympathy. It is not reasonable to suppose that residents of Nova Scotia know what is needed to meet the conditions of the French inhabitants of Quebec. On similar grounds the settlers of the prairie province are better judges of what institutions are suited to the circumstances of Manitoba than are the citizens of another province. The federal system also removes from the arena of Dominion politics many questions which are calculated to provoke jealousy and bad feeling. Before confederation Canada had much trouble of this kind, and the progress of the whole country was to some extent retarded. To allow people to settle their own little difficulties is shown by experience to be wise.

Provincial questions.—The subjects within the legislative authority of the provincial governments are very extensive. If the subjects which were referred to in the previous chapter, and which are under the jurisdiction of the Canadian parliament, are omitted, it will be found there is left a very wide field for the operations of the local authorities. Indeed, it will be seen that the remaining subjects affect the rights and duties of citizens in almost an endless variety of ways. Ordinarily these subjects are about the first to engage the attention of the electors, and if two of them—education and municipal matters—are mentioned their very great importance will be admitted. While indirect taxation is mainly a Dominion question, direct taxation for schools, for municipal purposes, etc., is controlled by provincial statutes. The establishment, maintenance and management of prisons, asylums, hospitals,

charities and such like institutions, rest with the provinces. While the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquor is under the control of the Canadian government, the licensing power belongs to the provinces. In most of the provinces the management of the crown lands, forests and mines, belongs to the provincial authorities. The administration of justice, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of provincial courts; the incorporation of companies with provincial objects; solemnization of marriage in the province; and the imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment, are matters relegated to the provincial governments. Each province has control of public works, local lines of railways, ships, telegraphs, and generally of all matters of a merely local or private nature, which do not affect the rights of residents of other parts of the Dominion. It is also provided by the British North America Act that each province may amend its constitution, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

The Lieutenant-Governor.—For each province there is appointed, by the Governor-General in Council, a Lieutenant-Governor, who holds office for five years. The Lieutenant-Governor is therefore an officer of the Dominion and the representative of the Sovereign. His relations to the government and legislature of the province are about the same as those of the Governor-General to the Dominion cabinet and parliament. The practice has been to appoint to these important positions persons whose experience in constitutional and parliamentary usages

gives assurance of fitness for the duties they have to discharge. In the selection of his prime minister and the other members of his administration, he is guided by the same usages as the Sovereign or the Governor-General.

The Ministry.—The Lieutenant-Governor has an executive, or advisory, council, consisting of leading members of the legislature, who have charge of important departments of the public service. The principle of ministerial responsibility is similar to that of the Dominion cabinet. Frequently the government includes one or more members who are members of the Advisory Council without having charge of departments. They are styled “ministers without portfolios.” The departments having ministers at their head vary in different provinces. Usually there are an attorney-general, a treasurer, a secretary, a commissioner of crown lands, and occasionally a minister of agriculture, a minister of mines, a minister of education and a commissioner of public works.

At present Nova Scotia has three cabinet ministers in charge of departments and six members without office. In Prince Edward Island the numbers are four and five, respectively. Manitoba has five cabinet ministers, each having charge of a department. In British Columbia the number is six. The North-West Territories, which enjoy a considerable measure of self-government, have five cabinet ministers, of whom three are without portfolios. New Brunswick has a government of seven members, two of whom have not charge of departments. In Quebec the

government consists of ten members, three having no portfolios. The government of Ontario consists of the following members: Attorney-General, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Commissioner of Public Works, Provincial Secretary, Provincial Treasurer, Minister of Education, Minister of Agriculture and Registrar, and one member of the cabinet without portfolio. The salary in Ontario of the Attorney-General is \$7,000, and of each other minister in charge of a department \$4,000. These salaries are independent of the sessional allowances allowed members of the legislature.

Legislative Council.—Quebec and Nova Scotia are the only provinces that have each a second chamber, or upper house. This body is called a Legislative Council, and its functions are similar to those of the Senate of Canada. The members are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and retain their positions for life. In Quebec the council consists of twenty-four members, and in Nova Scotia of about twenty. The experience of Ontario and the remaining provinces has not shown the necessity of an upper house to guard legislation in provincial matters. A movement to do away with the Legislative Council in Quebec has not, however, been successful.

Legislative Assembly.—Each province of the Dominion has a Legislative Assembly, which has chief control of public affairs. The legislative assemblies are elected on a franchise so liberal that it may be said manhood suffrage prevails in most of the provinces. A property basis has some status in Quebec

and Nova Scotia. No property qualification is required of members of the legislature, but they must be 21 years of age and British subjects. A sessional allowance, varying from \$160 in Prince Edward Island to \$800 in Quebec (in Ontario \$600) is paid each member. In all the provinces, except Prince Edward Island, there is vote by ballot. All the elections for each province are held on the same day. The provisions of the statutes regarding the elections, the constitutional usages and privileges of the legislative assembly are practically the same as those pertaining to the House of Commons.

The duration of each legislative assembly is four years (in Quebec five), unless dissolved before that time by the Lieutenant-Governor on the advice of his ministry. There must be a session of the assembly each year. The legislative assemblies of the provinces have the following number of members: Ontario 94, Quebec 73, New Brunswick 41, Manitoba 40, Nova Scotia 38, British Columbia 33 and Prince Edward Island 30. For the North-West Territories there is an assembly of 26 members.

The debates in the legislative assembly have reference almost entirely to the numerous questions of policy affecting the departments of government. Therefore, as may be inferred, such topics as the crown lands, agriculture, education, the care of asylums and prisons, municipal institutions, public works, protection of children, public health, the manner in which government officials discharge their duties, and the finances of the province, furnish frequent subjects of discussion. The public accounts,

the "Budget," and the "Estimates" generally give rise to debates covering the whole range of ministerial policy. The main sources of revenue are the Dominion subsidies, crown lands, licenses, succession duties, and fees from various sources. In none of the provinces has there been a general system of direct taxation by which each municipality is required to pay over to the government its share of a provincial tax. In this respect the method of raising a revenue is different from that which prevails in the neighboring republic, where there is no subsidy given by the national government to each State, and where, as a consequence, a State tax is levied on the different municipalities to assist in meeting the cost of government.

CHAPTER XI.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Local government.—From what has been stated, it appears the Canadian people owe allegiance to two governments. Both the Dominion and provincial authorities have their respective spheres of legislation and administration. A third system of government is now to be considered, namely, municipal government. Canada consists of several divisions, most of these divisions being provinces. Each of the provinces (Prince Edward Island excepted) is in turn divided into municipalities. The condition could be imagined where the provincial government looked after the wants of all the municipalities. In such a case there would be no local government and the system would be one of centralization. It is evident the better plan is to leave each locality to manage its own affairs. It is in keeping with the old proverb, "If you wish anything done well, see to it yourself." The system of local self-government has also a valuable educative influence. If everything were done for a community by some central authority, the people would not take so much interest in public affairs. With the control citizens now exercise in municipal matters, they become better

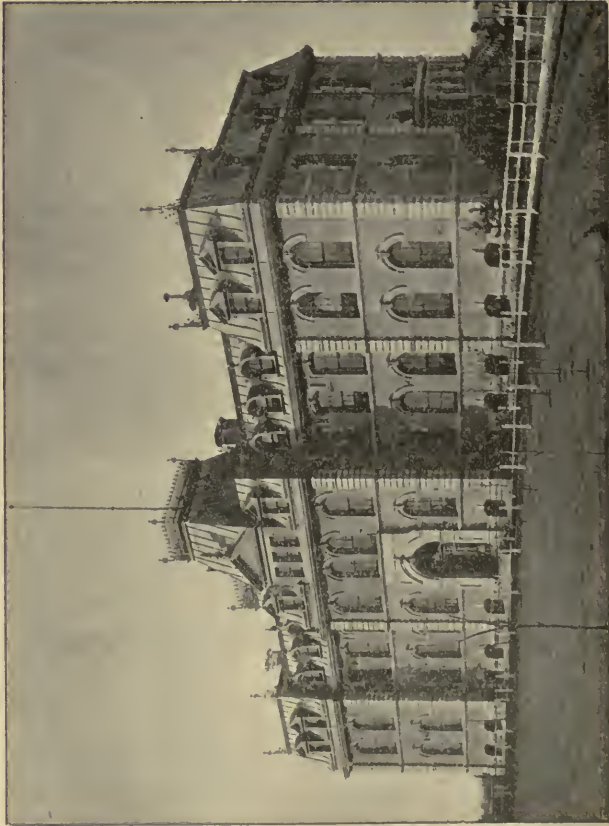
versed in the science of government than would be the case if all questions concerning the locality were under the direction of the provincial government.

Statutory provisions. — The British North America Act gives the legislature of each province full control over municipal institutions. It is not to be inferred, however, that the municipal system of government dates from the time of confederation. On the contrary, in nearly every one of the older provinces, municipal divisions and municipal statutes existed from the early years of provincial governments. At confederation no changes were made in the laws governing municipal institutions, but each province was given power to make laws regulating its municipal divisions and their methods of government. The legislature of a province can establish, amend, or abolish a municipal system within its territory. All municipal councils exercise their powers in accordance with statutory enactments. The mode of electing members of the councils, the duties of municipal officers, and the territorial limits of townships, counties, villages, towns and cities, are all subject to provincial control.

Municipal government had its place in Upper and Lower Canada at the time of confederation. Since that time it has been introduced into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The system adopted in Manitoba resembles that of Ontario. The provisions for municipal government in each province can be known only in detail by a study of the statutes. In all the provinces, except Quebec, the voting for members of councils is by ballot. In Ontario the elections are

held on the first Monday in January, nominations taking place the Monday before. The assessment roll is the guide as to who have the right to vote. Farmers' sons residing with their parents can vote. The right is also given to unmarried women and widows who are rated.

Powers of Councils.—The powers of municipal bodies are too extensive to be here enumerated. The power of taxation brings with it the authority to make contracts, pass by-laws and issue debentures. Councils have important powers and responsibilities with respect to the health, security, comfort and ornamentation of the municipality. In cities and towns public buildings, street improvements, lighting, fire protection, police, water-works, sewers, street railways, etc., are matters that demand much attention from municipal bodies. The large amount of business in cities requires a considerable staff of officers and clerks. The principal officers of each municipality are the clerk, the treasurer, assessors, collectors, auditors, etc. In both rural and urban municipalities, the taxes are raised and levied upon the real and personal taxable property as assessed. Powers are given to councils to borrow money, but in certain cases the law requires the assent of the ratepayers, or what is practically the application of the "referendum." A young man who wishes to become a useful citizen should study the system of municipal government which prevails in the province. He should make himself acquainted with the needs of the locality, should attend the meetings where public questions are discussed, and should, as soon as



MANITOBA PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, WINNIPEG.

he has a vote, take an active part in electing able and honest members of the council.

Municipal taxation.—To carry on the work entrusted to municipal bodies there is required much money, which is raised largely by means of taxes. From the legislature is received a portion of the funds for education, certain sums to aid in the enforcement of justice, and occasionally grants for special purposes. The money required is, however, derived principally from taxes imposed and collected annually by each local municipality. The taxes required by the county are imposed and collected by the municipalities composing the county. A farmer, for instance, pays a portion of his taxes for the cost of the school in his section, a portion for the township tax, and a third portion for the county tax.

Townships.—The first settlers of Ontario were made up mainly of emigrants from the United States. They brought with them the ideas of local self-government, with which they were familiar. It is therefore not to be wondered at that some of our institutions were partly modelled after those of our neighbors. The "township," which forms the basis of municipal organizations of Ontario, was a term introduced from New England. The older townships present great diversities in areas and boundaries as a consequence of the different circumstances under which they were settled. The newer townships have more uniformity, and of course have been settled since municipal government was introduced.

The "town meeting" was the regular system of local government in the early days. Though intro-

duced into Canada from New England, it is probably a survival of one of the most ancient forms. Our Saxon or Aryan ancestors doubtless often assembled to consult one another, to elect leaders, and to decide upon courses of action. This primitive method of looking after township affairs by "town meetings" was modified by legislation until the main features of our present municipal system were adopted in 1841, and greatly improved in 1849.

The township council consists of a reeve, who is the head of the corporate body, and four other councillors. If there are five hundred voters, one of the four is deputy reeve, and there will be an additional deputy reeve for every five hundred voters. A township may, therefore, have its council made up of a reeve and four deputy Reeves. Unless the township is divided into wards, the reeve and the other members of the council are elected by a general vote. The first meeting of the council of each township or urban municipality is by statute held on the second Monday of January. Subsequent meetings are held in accordance with the by-laws of the council.

Hamlets.—Very often there springs up in a township—perhaps at some cross-roads—a little village, or hamlet, with one or more stores, a tavern, a mill, a blacksmith shop, etc. On petition to the township council, this section is by by-law set apart as an unincorporated village. It is controlled by the township council, but it is granted certain privileges like those enjoyed by cities, towns, or incorporated villages. The advantages secured are mainly such as relate to roads, sidewalks, bridges, etc. The effect is

that the residents secure the privilege of having a portion of their taxes go to local improvements instead of all being used to meet general expenditures for the township.

The size of the village may render it desirable that the place be erected into a "police village." This step rests with the county council, and the residents of the village get authority to elect three trustees, whose business it is to improve the streets, and to enforce statutory regulations in regard to matters that have to do with the safety of persons and property. The residents of the village pay their share of the township tax, and in addition a special tax to furnish the police trustees with the money they are to expend.

Urban municipalities.—When a village has a population of 750 inhabitants, occupying not more than 500 acres of land, it may be incorporated. It thus becomes separated from the rest of the township, and has its own municipal council. When an incorporated village attains a population of 2,000 it may become a town, which in turn may become a city. The council of a village is constituted like that of a township, but a town has a mayor who is the head of the council, and three councillors for each ward if there are not more than four wards. When the town has more than four wards, only two councillors are elected for each ward. There may be in addition, unless the town is separated from the county, a reeve and one or more deputy reeves, as in the case of townships. In towns and in small cities there is power, if the ratepayers so decide, to have

the members of the council elected by a general vote, irrespective of ward divisions.

City government.—When a town attains a population of 15,000, it may become a city. Frequently towns become cities by special act of the legislature before having this population. The council of a city consists of a mayor and three aldermen for each ward. By special legislation, Toronto elects a council of mayor and twenty-four aldermen, and also has a Board of Control. The Board of Control consists of the mayor and three aldermen, elected by the council. It becomes the executive of the council, and its duties include the preparation of the estimates, the awarding of contracts, the nomination and dismissal of officers of the corporation, and other matters transferred to it by the vote of the council.

Difficulty of city government.—The government of large cities has become a serious problem. The needs of the people are very numerous. There is often a lack of definiteness in the policy pursued, and an absence of continuity in the systems adopted to carry out public improvements and to provide for future development. The question is one that perplexes legislators in other lands more than in Canada. In some countries the methods of the government of cities are far from successful. Corruption and grave abuses arise. The administrative duties of cities are mostly of a business character. The city in this respect resembles a large financial concern. In an ordinary commercial corporation the stockholders take far more interest in the selection of directors

than the ratepayers of a city in electing aldermen. In a stock company, the electors have votes in proportion to their paid-up capital. In a city, each ratepayer has but one vote, and the indifferent and the worthless often outvote the intelligent property holders and the public spirited. It is too often wrongly presumed that the same arguments, which give a low franchise for Dominion or provincial affairs, apply to municipal matters. It should be felt that the conditions and objects are very different in the one case from what they are in the other.

“When you are born the city council requires that your name be registered in the book of births ; when you are old enough to go to school, it provides for you schools and teachers, and sometimes books ; if your parents are too poor to support you, it will help you with food and clothing ; when you go out from your home, you walk upon streets paved and cleaned and lighted by the council ; if you should be attacked, its policemen will arrest your assailant ; if you wish to engage in some business, it will probably demand of you a license ; if you wish to build a home, you must first get from it permission to build ; if your house takes fire, its firemen come rushing to put the fire out. The council provides for the removal of garbage from your yard ; it employs men to inspect the quality of your food and drink ; it provides parks and open squares where you may get a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of nature ; it causes to be brought into your house a supply of fresh water, and it provides sewers to carry impure water away from your house ; if in your old age you shall be infirm and poor, the council will care for you in its asylums ; at last, when you shall die, it will grant a permit for your burial, and the fact of your death will have to be registered in its book of deaths.

“Thus from birth to death the acts of the city council affect your lives. How important then it is that that body should be composed of honest and intelligent men ! How

tireless should be the efforts of voters to secure the election of such men. Remember this, if you succeed in getting honorable, wide-awake men in your city council, you will have a well-governed city."—*Forman*.

County Councils.—For many years county councils have been important municipal bodies. Until lately they were made up of the reeves and deputy reeves of the townships, incorporated villages and towns not separated. As a consequence many of the county councils were large bodies, the number reaching in some instances 46, 47, and even 58. There are four unions of counties in Ontario, and with one provisional county there have been thirty-eight councils for the forty-three counties of the province. These do not include the seven judicial districts consisting of townships not formed into county organizations. County councils have important powers regarding education, the judicial system, jails, court-houses, registry offices, certain roads, etc.

While municipal government has been fairly successful in townships, incorporated villages, towns and small cities, it cannot be said to be satisfactory for large cities, on the grounds already mentioned. The municipal councils of counties also have not met expectations. These bodies have, in many cases, been too large and unwieldy, and not fully competent to deal with the few but important questions within their jurisdiction. More experience and a wider knowledge of municipal government would appear necessary on the part of county councils. The territory over which jurisdiction is exercised is large in many cases, and county councils have often not been competent to deal with the interests involved.

The expenditures incurred by county councils have often been excessive, and greater economy has been advocated.

In view of these considerations, by an amendment to the Municipal Act in 1896, the number of members of county councils was greatly reduced. The number can not exceed eighteen, and the minimum is eight. It has been urged that by a body of a dozen members, affairs will be managed better than formerly. Each county or union of counties is divided into a number of "county council divisions," and each division is represented by two members, who hold office for the term of two years. The first meeting of the council for each year is held on the fourth Tuesday of January. The presiding officer, who is then chosen, is called the warden. Subsequent meetings are held in accordance with by-laws of the council. The principal county officers are the clerk, the treasurer, the engineer, the inspector and auditors. Other county officials, such as the sheriff, the clerk of the peace, the county attorney, and the registrar are appointed by the provincial government. County judges are appointed by the Dominion Government. The election of county officials, which prevails in many States of the American Union, has not met with favor in Canada. The British system of permanent officials, appointed by the governments or by municipal bodies, is regarded as more in harmony with our system of responsible government.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Value of education.—The best citizens are good friends of education. Before a young man interests himself much in municipal or political questions he has usually gained some knowledge of school affairs. While receiving instruction from his teachers he has probably learned something of the benefits which education gives. Young persons are poorly trained if they have not formed a love for knowledge and a desire to see their school prosperous. Good citizenship demands intelligence. People who are unable to form an intelligent opinion on public questions are not fit to be entrusted with the franchise. Under a democratic system of government, such as exists in Canada, the safety of the state demands the general diffusion of education. Freedom and progress are not found among an ignorant people. The more educated men there are in the country the stronger and better the nation will become. The commonwealth of the nation, which consists in thoughts, ideas, inventions, discoveries, etc., and to which learning is the key, is worth more than goods, railroads, buildings and mines. The treasures of the mind are the most precious resources of the nation, and ought to be within the reach of the poor as well



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as the rich. The child who has education without money is more valuable to the state than the one who has money without education.

Control of education.—Every civilized nation not only values education, but enacts laws to secure its promotion. From the earliest history of Canada legislative efforts were made to assist the inhabitants in supporting schools and colleges. By the Act of Confederation education is one of the questions left to the jurisdiction of each province. In every province there is a general supervision of education by one of the departments of government. Statutory provisions have been made which determine the character of the schools, the regulations by which they are conducted, and the funds by which they are supported. Aid is given by the legislatures to assist in the payment of teachers, in the establishment of libraries, and in the general diffusion of various kinds of knowledge. Most aid has been given to elementary or Public Schools, as they more directly concern the masses of the people. Recognizing the truth that there can not be good elementary schools without good secondary schools, the Province of Ontario has, through its municipal institutions, established an efficient class of High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. Many years ago it was felt that no intelligent or progressive people could be indifferent to the advantages of higher education, and the provincial University of Toronto was wisely established. That institution, which is subject to legislative and governmental control, and six denominational universities, exercise an important

influence in securing a class of persons competent to discharge those duties which call for scholarship and skill. For the training of teachers professional schools are supported or aided by the government. There are also supported, partly or entirely, by the legislature, the Agricultural College, the School of Practical Science, art schools, public libraries, two schools of mining, and three schools of dairying. Upper Canada College—a provincial school for secondary education—has had a long and useful career. Government aid is also given to a number of other institutions. In each of the other provinces liberal provision has also been made for education.

Educational system of Ontario.—The system of education in Ontario may be said to combine the best features of the systems of several countries. To the Old World it is indebted for a large measure of its stability, uniformity and centralization; to the older settled parts of the New World for its popular nature, its flexibility and its democratic principles which have given, wherever desirable, local control and individual responsibility. From the State of New York we have borrowed the machinery of our schools; from Massachusetts the principle of local taxation; from Ireland our first series of text books; from Scotland the co-operation of parents with the teacher, in upholding his authority; from Germany the system of Normal Schools and the Kindergarten; and from the United States generally the non-denominational character of elementary, secondary and university education. Ontario may claim to have some features of her system that are largely

her own. Among them may be mentioned: a division of state and municipal authority on a judicious basis; clear lines separating the function of the University from that of the High Schools, and the function of the High Schools from that of the Public or elementary schools; a uniform course of study; all High and Public Schools in the hands of professionally-trained teachers; no person eligible to the position of Inspector who does not hold the highest grade of a teacher's certificate, and who has not had years of experience as a teacher; Inspectors removable if inefficient, but not subject to removal by popular vote; the examinations of teachers under provincial instead of local control; the acceptance of a common matriculation examination for admission to the universities and to the learned professions; a uniform series of text books for the whole province; the almost entire absence of party politics in the manner in which school boards, Inspectors and teachers discharge their duties; the system national instead of sectarian, but affording, under constitutional guarantees and limitations, protection to Roman Catholic and Protestant Separate Schools and denominational universities.

Rural schools.—When a young man has his name placed on the assessment roll, or when he is assessed as a "farmer's son," he has the right to take a part in the school affairs of the section. He should vote for trustees who are honest, intelligent and progressive. A penurious person does not deserve election. The trustees, who must be resident ratepayers, have extensive powers. They have

authority to have the ratepayers taxed to meet the school expenses of the year. The character of the accommodation, the equipment of the school and the employment of a teacher rest with them. The best trustees recognize that the wisest expenditure is that necessary to secure good teachers. A section that provides a fine school-house, keeps the building in good repair, furnishes a library for the pupils, looks after the school grounds, and employs an efficient teacher, will do more for the welfare of the people than can be done by either the Dominion or provincial government.

To meet the cost of maintaining the school the trustees receive the legislative grant, which is about \$1.00 per unit of average attendance, and \$150 (\$250 if there are two teachers) from the township council. The object of this municipal grant is to equalize, to some extent, the school taxes of the township. The additional amount required for the school is levied by the council at the request of the board on the taxable property of the section. If a new school site is proposed, or if a debt is to be incurred for erecting a building, the ratepayers must be consulted. The annual meeting of the ratepayers for the election of trustees and other business is held the last Wednesday in December. Women who are rated have the right to vote or to be elected members of school boards in either rural or urban municipalities. The school accounts must be audited every year and a report giving many statistics sent to the county Inspector.

Urban schools.—The schools of each urban

municipality are managed by a board consisting of six or more elective members, according to the number of wards into which the municipality is divided. The election of trustees which, in the case of rural schools, is determined by open voting, may be settled by ballot in cities, towns and incorporated villages, provided the board so prefers. Complaints regarding the validity of a trustee election, which in townships are brought before the county Inspector, are investigated by the county judge in urban municipalities. The expenditure necessary for the schools is estimated every year by the trustees, and the municipal council is required to provide the funds necessary on the requisition of the board. The graded system of classification is carried out under the direction of the principal or Inspector, who makes promotions usually twice a year. As in townships, the Public Schools are all free, and the trustees have also power to provide free text-books. Night schools, kindergartens and classes in domestic science may also be established by the trustees. The accounts of the board must be audited by the municipal auditors. Boards in towns and cities must make an annual report to the Education Department. It is evident the position of school trustee is a very important one, especially as the selection of teachers, which rests with the board, affects so much the character of the training given to the rising generation.

High Schools.—For secondary education, High Schools or Collegiate Institutes have been established in Ontario in the cities and in many of the towns and

incorporated villages. The establishment of a High School requires the necessary action of the municipality concerned and the concurrence of the county council, as well as the approval of the Education Department. Collegiate institutes take up the same course of study as High Schools, but they require better equipment, and must necessarily have teachers with higher attainments than the minimum for High schools. Each High School is managed by a board of trustees, whose duties are similar to those of Public Schools. Each board consists of at least six trustees and, except in the case of cities and towns, separated from the county, three of these are appointed by the county council and three by the council of the town or village where the High School is situated. Representatives may also be appointed to the board by the Public School trustees and the Separate School trustees. The cost of school site, building and equipment must be met entirely by the district or municipality. The cost of maintenance, which includes principally the salaries of teachers, repairs, fuel, stationery, etc., is met from four sources, namely, (1) government grants, (2) county grants, (3) municipal grants, and (4) fees of students. The government grant is mainly based on the efforts made by the locality. The county council is required to make a grant equal to the grant made by the government, with any additional sum necessary to meet the cost of the maintenance of county pupils. The balance required for the ordinary expenses, after deducting the fees received, must be made up by the council of the municipality. Resident pupils



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may be charged fees by the board, and the county council has power to impose a fee not exceeding \$1.00 a month for each county pupil. In a large number of the municipalities of the province, no fees are charged. In other places the fees range from about \$3.00 to \$25.00 a year. All pupils desiring to be admitted to High Schools must pass an entrance examination, which is conducted annually. The law makes provision for uniting High and Public School boards.

The young man who wishes to maintain efficient High Schools—and all good citizens should be friends of High Schools—will meet some persons desirous of largely limiting public expenditure for education to elementary schools. The arguments against public aid to secondary and higher education are well known. It should be known that free education is in the interests of the masses. The age of caste is past, and with it the exclusion of the children of poor parents from the positions demanding educational qualifications. The cry, "Let those who want a High School education for their children pay for it," is foreign to democratic institutions. The cry indicates the spirit of selfishness. It is repugnant to that unselfishness which is removed by the practical application of Christianity. The child not "born with a silver spoon in his mouth" is entitled to the same educational privileges as the son or daughter of the rich. The poet Horace might cherish the sentiment of his age, "*Odi profanum vulgus*," but the present age is Christian and higher ideals must be entertained.

“Among the educated classes, and more particularly among the scholars, there are many who decidedly oppose this view. Some say, the people are happier in a state of ignorance than with that enlightenment which often means half-education only; this they claim gives rise to desires which cannot be gratified, and in consequence engenders among the masses a discontent which tends to revolution and threatens the stability of the State. Those who take this position, and look upon themselves as the true champions of Christianity, do not even realize how unchristian, barbarous and egotistic is this point of view.

“Not less reprehensible is the opinion of those who believe that the torch of Truth is intended for an intellectual elite only, and that the smaller the circle it illuminates, the brighter its radiance. These persons live in constant dread that, if the light be carried into wider circles, it will begin to flicker. They contend that only the narrow circle of the initiated can understand the mysteries in their fulness.”—*Rein.*

Separate Schools.—Roman Catholics of Ontario have certain educational privileges guaranteed to them by the act of confederation. All rate-payers, no matter what may be their religious belief, are, however, liable to pay Public School rates, unless, in the manner provided, they become Separate School supporters. The term “Separate Schools” applies to Protestants and colored persons as well as to Roman Catholics. As a matter of fact, the exception to the general Public School system is confined chiefly to Roman Catholics who desire to establish Separate Schools in localities where their supporters are sufficiently numerous for the purpose. It is provided that any number of heads of family, not less than five, residents of the place and Roman Catholics, may unite and establish a Separate School.

Such ratepayers are required to give notice to the clerk of the municipality of their intention to become Separate School supporters, and they are then exempted from the payment of rates towards the Public School until they give a contrary notice to the same municipal officer. It is optional with a Roman Catholic whether he continues to be a Public School supporter, but in cities and towns where Separate Schools have been established most Roman Catholics have become supporters of these schools. In a few of the rural districts, and especially in Eastern Ontario where there is a considerable French element, a number of Separate Schools have been formed, but in most counties of the province the large majority of the people are Protestant, and very few Separate Schools have been established.

The Separate Schools are all under government inspection, and are generally conducted in accordance with the same regulations as the Public Schools. Like the latter, they are under the control of boards of trustees, who are elected by the Separate School supporters. The teachers, except those who are members of certain religious orders, are required to comply with the same regulations in order to receive certificates. The course of study pursued by the pupils is nearly the same as that for the Public Schools, and the text books, except those for religious instruction, are in many instances the same. Separate School pupils pass the same entrance examinations as Public School pupils for admission to the High Schools, and both classes of schools share in the legislative grant in proportion to the attendance.

Teachers.—The selection of teachers for High and Public Schools rests with the trustees, who must choose only those persons who have the required qualifications. For Public Schools there are three grades of certificates, first, second, and third; and for High Schools, assistants' and principals' certificates, which may be qualifications also for specialists in Collegiate Institutes. All teachers in Ontario must take a course of professional training after obtaining the necessary academic standing. Third-class certificates, which are valid for only three years, are awarded to successful students of County Model Schools; second-class certificates to successful students of the Normal Schools; and first-class certificates and High School assistants' certificates, which represent higher non-professional attainments, to those who have been successful at the Normal College. A second-class teacher must have had an experience of at least one year, and a first-class teacher an experience of at least two years in Public School work. To obtain a High School assistant's certificate as a specialist, a candidate must have taken an honor degree at a university. To be Principal of a High School it is necessary to be a graduate in arts and to have had three years' experience. The examinations for teachers, both professional and non-professional, are held annually (for the Normal Schools semi-annually). The standard of examination is uniform, and as the examinations are conducted by a central board, many of the objectionable features which arise where each locality conducts its own examinations are avoided.

Public School teachers obtain their non-professional training principally at the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, and High School assistants at the Universities. Certificates are also awarded by the Education Department to kindergartners, two years' training being required for a Director's certificate, and one year for that of an assistant. County Teachers' Associations are held annually for the improvement of teachers, and also reading courses have been established for the same object.

Inspectors.—The School Law of Ontario attaches great importance to the supervision of both High and Public Schools. No person can be appointed a Public School Inspector who does not hold the requisite certificate of qualification. The qualifications are of a three-fold character: (1) academic, (2) professional, (3) successful experience. The academic qualifications require the candidate to be an honor graduate in arts of a university, and thus high scholarship and broad views on education may be expected. A year's training at the Normal College is required, thus guaranteeing professional training in the various departments of elementary and secondary education. In addition, five years' successful experience is required, three years being necessary in Public School work. The most important part of an Inspector's duties is that relating to the supervision of the work of the teachers. He is required also to give lectures on education in each school section, to take charge of the examinations held for teachers' certificates, to encourage professional zeal among the teachers, and to look after in a

general way the various interests pertaining to the schools of his inspectorate. He is also required to make an annual report to the Education Department. Inspectors are appointed by county councils, except in the case of cities and towns separated from the county, where the appointment rests with the Public School board. The positions may be regarded as permanent so long as the duties are properly discharged. The efficiency of the High and Public schools of the province is largely due to the efforts made by Inspectors to advance the cause of education.

Function of the school.—The aim of the school is to promote good citizenship. As a consequence nothing should be taught that is not essential for this purpose. It would be wrong for the teacher to urge his own religious or political views. Good citizens are found among Protestants and Roman Catholics, and among Conservatives and Reformers. The principles of Christian morality should, however, have recognition in every well-conducted school, and the value of British institutions should be brought before his pupils by every Canadian teacher.

In the formation of character, which is the chief concern of the teacher, the acquisition of knowledge has a very important place. Without growth in knowledge there can be no intellectual or moral development. Much of the time of the school is, therefore, taken up with the object of having the pupils well informed and well trained. The course of study is divided so as to have attention given to those subjects that are best adapted to make pupils

become useful citizens. In the Public Schools much stress is laid on the "Three R's" and elementary work generally, in view of the fact that the great majority of pupils never attend High Schools. In the lower forms of High Schools the same policy is pursued of giving most time to such practical subjects as will enable students to become good farmers, mechanics, merchants, etc. Facilities are also offered to meet the aims of students who desire to attend a university, to enter a profession, or to become teachers. It will be seen that the scope of school work is so extensive as to furnish numerous topics for the consideration of persons who have secured the right to vote at the school, municipal, or provincial elections. Indeed, one of the most hopeful signs in the interest of education is the readiness with which people discuss the various features of school work. The young man who is determined to make a study of our school system has formed a sensible resolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

Necessity of justice.—Early in life children hear of policemen, magistrates and jails, and learn to know that the preservation of order and the punishment of crime are necessary objects of society. When they become older they gain information about statutes and courts of law; and they understand the principal duties of lawyers, bailiffs, sheriffs and judges. They find that the administration of justice is an important function of the state, and that the judicial, as well as the legislative and executive branches of government, has its place in a free country. The young man who has been properly trained will not only be a law-abiding citizen, but he will be ready to take his part in upholding the law. He will be slow to give offence, and also slow, unless the public interests demand, to “go to law.” He will learn the main provisions of the statutes, and will conclude that, as law is an expensive affair, it is wise to avoid so far as possible the habit, apparently enjoyed by some, of bringing little grievances before the courts. Unfortunately, people are to be met who have little regard for the rights of others, who do not hesitate, through malice or for gain, to deprive another person of his property, or even of his life,

and who, for the welfare of the community, should be brought to trial and punished for their crimes. It would be a mistake for a person who lives a peaceful life to assume that he is not benefited by the law courts. Indeed, it may be doubted if any class enjoy greater advantages from our judicial system than do those, who are never called upon to give evidence, who never enter an action against any one, and who never have to stand their trial, or to be sued.

Law and morality.—Law and morality, though closely related, are not identical. Law has reference to outward acts, while morality has to do with motives. A man might be a bad husband, a bad father and a bad neighbor, and yet in no danger of being punished by the courts. Morality is the outcome of personal self-respect and the consciousness of the obligation which arises from a sense of duty. Law must necessarily appeal to the self-interest of individuals, and has to allot its punishments to men's outward acts. Except where some discretion is allowed to judges, who may weigh motives, all acts of a given class are punished with equal severity. It is evident the true citizen will find the field of right and duty far wider than that of law. A good man will act justly, charitably and honestly in a multitude of ways where, if he acted otherwise, he would be rendered liable to no civil or criminal penalties under the law. In a free state, much is left to individual morality. Where there is freedom from coercion, there is a greater feeling of responsibility. With the good citizen the question is not, "Is it lawful?" but "Is it right?"

Judges.—In Canada, judges are appointed by the Dominion government. In some countries judges are elected by popular vote, but this plan does not work well. If the people are careless or ignorant, inferior persons are chosen. When a judge is elected by the people, he is liable to be turned out of office if he renders unpopular decisions. Weak men, if elected judges, are tempted to use the office to strengthen their positions. The British system of appointment by the government is preferable. It is necessary that judges should be learned in the law, and that they should discharge their duties without fear or favor, and with perfect fairness. For this reason they are appointed for life, and can be dismissed only for bad conduct. A good judge is always respected, except, perhaps, by the lawless classes. Very few of our judges fail to command the esteem and confidence of the community. It is not the duty of the judge to make the law, but to interpret it, and to decide the punishment to be given to those who break the law. In this connection his power is also restricted, as the law provides the nature of the penalty for different crimes. He is, however, allowed considerable latitude in many cases, and it is just here that a wise and good judge may be of great service to society. Disobedience to the order of a judge in the discharge of his duties, shouting in court, or flagrant disrespect, may be punished.

Magistrates.—In the various municipalities there are magistrates or justices of the peace appointed by the provincial government to hold the lowest grade of courts. In cities and large towns in



UPPER CANADA COLLEGE, TORONTO.



OSGOODE HALL, TORONTO.

Ontario, they are called "police magistrates," and in some other parts of the province they are called "stipendiary magistrates." They try offenders and punish them summarily for drunkenness, disturbances of the peace, and other minor offences. For criminal offences offenders are sent by the magistrate for trial at higher courts. It is evident considerable responsibility rests with a magistrate, and therefore, policemen or constables are provided and furnished with authority to have persons arrested if charged with serious offences, such as murder, forgery, robbery, arson, etc. The justice or magistrate may, if the evidence warrants, have a person who is charged with crime committed to jail and there await his trial. Of course, evidence offered in his defence is also considered before the magistrate gives his decision. The prisoner having been "committed" or sent to jail, awaits the action of the grand jury and probably secures some lawyer to take up his case. In the meantime he may be released on bail, unless the case is a serious one, if security in money can be given that he will present himself in court for trial at the proper time. Failure to appear is termed "jumping bail," and then the money is forfeited to the government.

Officers of courts.—The most important officer in the execution of legal processes is the sheriff, who is appointed for the county by the provincial government. The orders, sentences and judgments of the higher courts are carried out under his direction, even to the execution of a criminal. He summons juries, has charge of the jail, and appoints his own

deputies and officers. The sheriff seems, in early times, to have been closely associated with the king, who appointed him, and whose government he represented.

Connected with the courts there is also a number of other officers, known as county attorneys, clerks of the peace, registrars of high or surrogate courts, etc. They have important duties regarding the administration of justice, and, like the sheriff, are appointed by the provincial government. During the time a court is held the constables have special duties to perform. They serve the summonses and warrants issued by the magistrate, the sheriff, or the court. The constables of the superior courts are generally termed bailiffs. In cities they are known as policemen. They have power without a warrant to arrest any one who breaks the law in their presence. In times of threatened riot or disturbance, magistrates or municipal councils appoint "special constables."

Coroners.—The office of coroner is a very ancient one. The office seems to have been created by the kings previous to the granting of *Magna Charta*, for the purpose of limiting the judicial power of the sheriff. The coroner appeared in the shires and some of the boroughs as the special crown officer. He had special charge of the king's business, and held pleas in the name of the crown. As the power of the crown declined under the English constitution, it has become eventually the duty of the coroner simply to enquire into the cause of the death of a person who is killed, or dies suddenly, or in prison. If the circumstances warrant, it is his duty to

summon a jury, to call witnesses, and to hold an "inquest" on view of the body at the place where it is found. As deaths may be due to carelessness or culpable negligence in railroad accidents, fires, etc., a coroner's investigation may be followed by the arrest of persons, who have to stand their trial on a charge of arson, murder, or manslaughter. When it is clear crime has been committed, but the evidence does not point to the criminal, an "open verdict" is returned by the coroner's jury. In such a case, the police, constables and detectives may subsequently arrest persons on suspicion.

Juries.—The jury is an important agency in the administration of justice. Only in England, and in governments founded by Englishmen, has the jury system been fully developed and preserved. It is not certain when the system originated. It is often ascribed to Alfred the Great, but it is more than probable our Anglo-Saxon ancestors used the principle before settling in England. It will be known to students of history, that after the Norman conquest the jury system was modified and improved by combining with it certain French institutions and customs. The system of trial by jury is said to be "The glory of English law," "The cherished bulwark of constitutional liberty." It is generally held that no man can be deprived of his liberty in a criminal process, or of his lands in a civil process, without the unanimous verdict of twelve "good men and true." The statement is not absolutely true at the present day, as the summary jurisdiction of magistrates and much of the work of county and other courts in civil

cases proceeds independently of the jury system. The statement is true, however, regarding grave criminal proceedings, since there can be no trial unless one set of jurymen so decide, and no verdict of guilt unless another set of jurymen have so agreed. There are doubtless objections to the system, but the objections arise from the possibility of an offender going free, rather than from the danger of an innocent person being punished. The advantages are, therefore, in favor of the offender. The possible bias of a single judge and the narrow judgment of purely professional persons are corrected by a system of trial by jury. It is clear there is less opportunity for injustice and partiality when twelve upright and sensible men co-operate in the investigation of truth, than when the duty rests with an individual. There are three kinds of juries: (1) Grand Juries, (2) Petty Juries, and (3) Special Juries. The last consists of men of special education and experience, who are sometimes summoned in civil cases. The other two have long established functions.

The Grand Jury.—This body is made up of a number of persons, residents of the county, chosen by ballot by certain county officials. These jurymen, who constitute the "panel," as it is called, are sworn "to diligently enquire and true presentment make of all offences committed within the county." At the opening of the court the judge delivers a "charge," containing a summary of the offences which will come before them. Then they retire to their room and consult in secret, hearing evidence for the prosecution only. This is due to the fact that the main

question they have to settle is whether the accused person ought to be put upon trial. If, after hearing evidence upon oath, the accusation is found to be true, the words "A true bill" are written on the "indictment," as the accusation is termed. In the case of a "true bill," the party indicted is put upon his trial; in the case of "no bill," the accused party is entitled to go free. When the grand jury has disposed of this part of its duty the jail is visited, and a "presentment" is made to the judge, in which the character of the accommodation is referred to, and occasionally recommendations and suggestions are made. The views of the grand jury often reflect public opinion on various questions.

The Petty Jury.—The petty jury consists of twelve persons and no more, for the trial of criminal offences and civil cases. As there may be several cases before the court, a sufficient number of jurymen are summoned to allow for an additional case to be taken up before the previous one is disposed of. The selection is made in a manner about the same as that for grand juries. Both in civil and criminal trials, the jury may be "challenged" by either party. If objection is taken to certain members of the jury, others must take their place. The jury are sworn to "well and truly try the issue between the parties (or between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar), and a true verdict to give according to the evidence."

Wherever the law of England is carried out, there are certain rules which are observed in courts of justice. They are as follows: (1) Every one is equal

before the law ; (2) Every man is held to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty ; (3) No man can be tried twice for the same offence ; (4) All courts of justice are open to the public. There are two other rules which are also recognized in law : (5) No one is a judge in his own case, and (6) No one has the right to take the law into his own hands.

The trial in criminal cases, after the prisoner is placed in the "dock" and after the "gentlemen of the jury" have been sworn, is opened by the counsel for the crown. This means that the lawyer for the prosecution states the case and examines the witnesses, who are presumed to be able to give evidence to establish the guilt of the prisoner "at the bar." The counsel for the defence cross-questions these witnesses in order, if possible, to break down their evidence. Witnesses for the prisoner are next called, who are examined by his counsel and in turn cross-questioned by the crown counsel. Then the address of the prisoner's counsel is given, which is followed by that of the crown counsel. The judge "sums up" in an impartial manner the evidence in his charge to the jury, who retire to weigh the facts. On their return the "foreman" is asked if they have agreed upon their "verdict"—agreement being necessary under our system. If the prisoner is found "not guilty" he is set at liberty, unless he has to be tried on some other charge. If the verdict is "guilty" the judge may then pass sentence. There is often an appeal in serious cases to a higher court. If the appeal is not granted, or if the decision of the judge is sustained, the "judgment of the court" is carried out.

In the administration of justice there is much regard for dignity and decorum. Any attempt at disorder is promptly checked. Witnesses are put under oath to "tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." It is not allowable for any one but a barrister to plead the case of a person in court. It would not do to have persons who are ignorant of legal matters to conduct a trial. A man is permitted, however, to plead in his own behalf, but it is very seldom any person thinks it of advantage to do so. The expenses of courts are high, but in criminal cases the public interests demand that trials should go on, even if the country is put to much expense.

Civil suits.—Cases that involve crime, like those just considered, are called "criminal." A civil suit is one arising between citizens, to determine some real or supposed right. The party bringing the action is called the "plaintiff," and the party against whom the action is brought is called the "defendant." In a civil suit there is no use for a grand jury, and in some cases a petty jury is not called. A petty jury may, however, be called to decide questions of fact. In a criminal case the plaintiff is the crown, while in a civil case the plaintiff is a private person or a corporation. Criminal cases have reference to persons who commit crimes against the law, such as murder, robbery, perjury, theft, etc. Civil suits are the more numerous kind brought into court. If the amount of property at stake is small, the case may be tried by a magistrate or in a division court or a county court. It may also be brought to

the assizes where, like important criminal cases, a judge of one of the higher courts presides. Many civil suits could be avoided if parties were inclined to settle their disputes without going to law. As many persons are not disposed to settle matters quietly, or are unable to recognize the claims of the opposite party, courts of law become virtually courts of arbitration.

Courts of law.—The courts of law having jurisdiction in criminal and civil suits are several in number. Reference has been made to questions that may be decided by magistrates, who have authority to dispose of minor cases. Division courts have jurisdiction in actions for small debts. The county courts have larger powers in civil actions than those just named. The county judge presides at these courts. Above the inferior courts here named are the high courts of justice, which have unlimited jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases. One of the divisions of the Supreme Court of Judicature, called the High Court of Justice, is composed of three divisions—Queen's Bench, Chancery, and Common Pleas. Surrogate courts in this province are presided over by one judge, and have power to deal with all matters relating to wills and the administration of the effects of persons who leave no will or testament. The word "probate" is generally applied to these courts, and the term shows the character of the duties concerned. In addition, there are in Ontario the heir and devisee court, courts for trial of controverted elections, and courts of revision of assessment rolls and voters lists. An

appeal can be made from the judgment of a court to what is called the Court of Appeal, composed of a chief justice and three justices. The mode of procedure, in many cases coming before different courts, can be satisfactorily understood only by a study of the statutes. It will be seen that under the British system of government, justice is deemed so important that provision is made so that the rights of individuals and the community may be safely guarded. Important cases may be taken from the Court of Appeal—the highest court in the province—to the Supreme Court of the Dominion at Ottawa, and even carried to England to be settled by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which constitutes the highest court of justice in the empire.

CHAPTER XIV.

TAXATION.

Need of revenue.—A large amount of money is needed to meet the cost of government. With the exception of such sums as are derived from the sale of public lands, from mines, and from other natural resources held by government, the money required must be collected from the people. The government engages in no productive industry, and it is not expected to make money. The work of education, the building of roads, provision for unfortunate classes, the administration of justice, the support of the militia, the erection of public buildings, and many other things that the authorities have to attend to, make a constant demand for funds which the people must meet. It therefore follows that a considerable business of the machinery of government is to collect the necessary revenue, and to use it for the purposes intended. If all the money raised is wisely expended, it comes back to the people in various kinds of service, and the people are benefited. The amount needed for public expenses is collected in the form of taxes, which may be *direct* or *indirect*. The Dominion Government has no power to impose a direct tax, and therefore the

necessary revenue is raised by means of indirect taxation exclusively. The provincial government has power to raise a revenue by certain indirect methods of taxation. Accordingly, each province makes use of its authority and obtains a considerable sum in this way. The province secures no revenue by the ordinary system of direct taxation. The municipal councils alone raise money by direct taxation. They also—especially in cities and towns—raise a considerable sum by indirect methods.

Equality of taxation.—The aim of government in framing laws respecting taxation is to distribute its burdens fairly and equitably among the citizens. Equality of taxation means equality of sacrifice. Each person should contribute towards the support of the country, or the municipality, in proportion to his means and the benefits enjoyed. Every good citizen uses his influence to have a just system of taxation adopted, pays his own share of the burden imposed, and sees that the other members of the community contribute their share. The history of the past shows that the question of raising a revenue has occupied no inconsiderable place in the development of free institutions. The discussions in legislative bodies and in municipal councils, at the present day, have very much to do with the matter of taxation. The study of history will show that the question of revenue has had much to do with the platforms of political parties. The power to tax is legislative, and under the British system of government can be exercised only by representatives directly elected by the people. The power to tax

without the power to make laws is not in harmony with popular government.

Direct taxes.—When a tax bill is brought by the collector to each person, or to each business firm or company, it is called a direct tax. It is generally levied upon the value of the actual property one possesses, but sometimes upon the amount of one's income or salary. In every municipality there are a treasurer, and at least one collector, and generally one or more assessors. The assessors determine the value of each person's property, as well as the value of the entire property of the city, town, village or township. Generally the assessed value is less than the actual value, but this will not matter for the municipality itself—provided all are rated equitably. Corrections, if necessary, are made by a court of revision, which is constituted of a committee of the council. There is also the right of appeal to the county judge. To provide county taxes or taxes for union school sections, an equalization of assessments is required, as property may be valued differently in different municipalities.

The municipal council settles the amount of taxes needed to meet the various demands of the year. These will include the sums required by the school trustees, and what is needed for street improvements, fire protection, police, interest on debts, etc. Each person's tax is paid to the collector and the amount is in proportion to his assessment. Property is of two kinds, *real* property and *personal* property. The former consists of lands and buildings. The latter is property that may readily be removed from place to

place, such as horses, furniture, money, etc. If the entire property of a town is assessed at \$2,500,000, and the property of John Smith is assessed at \$1,675, he will know what his taxes will be as soon as the estimates of the council are determined. If the amount required to be raised by taxation is \$50,000, it follows that the rate is two cents on the dollar and his taxes will be \$33.50. This sum therefore represents John Smith's share of the cost of government for the town, and if the municipal affairs have been carefully managed, it is probable no similar expenditure has given better value.

Objections.—Methods of direct taxation often work unfairly. The income tax would be a very good way to raise a revenue if every one could be trusted to report his income to the assessors. Except those who are paid a stated salary, the income of most persons is known only to themselves. If a man holds shares in property, which is taxed in the ordinary way, it would seem, if he pays taxes on such shares, the property is taxed twofold. Some persons have held that all kinds of invisible property ought to be exempt from taxation, because only a portion is taxed. Again, property may be unproductive, as, for instance, houses that cannot be rented, and then it seems unfair for the owner to be obliged to pay the taxes. Crops may be a failure, and yet the farmer is not freed from taxation. The merchant finds no sale for his goods, and yet he has to meet the tax collector. There are those who hold that the present methods of direct taxation are entirely wrong. They advocate a tax on land and nothing else, just as

though the nation owned and rented the land. No person would then care to own land which he did not use, or to buy large tracts of lands, or house lots, for purposes of speculation. This plan is known as "single tax," and is strongly advocated by the followers of the late Henry George. The reasoning of those who take this view has a great deal of force, but it would involve a change in the whole theory of government to have this method put in operation. Much centralization would ensue, and it would practically involve the confiscation of land. The burden of taxation would be shifted, but the injustice that would arise in the readjustment might bring ruin to society. The "single tax" movement will do good, however, in directing attention to the injustice of some of the present methods of distributing public burdens. The principle it embodies may be applied in securing public ownership in many ways, and thus giving the people at large the benefits of monopolies.

Exemptions.—Certain kinds of property are by law freed from taxation. Household furniture, the tools of a mechanic, small salaries and a portion of larger incomes are not taxed. It is considered that property which is not held for private gain should not be taxed. This applies to schools, colleges, churches, hospitals, etc. Such kinds of property, somewhat like parks or public libraries, are for the benefit of the whole people, and really add to the wealth of the community. If such institutions were taxed, they would cost more, and people might be discouraged from providing for them. If, however, any property

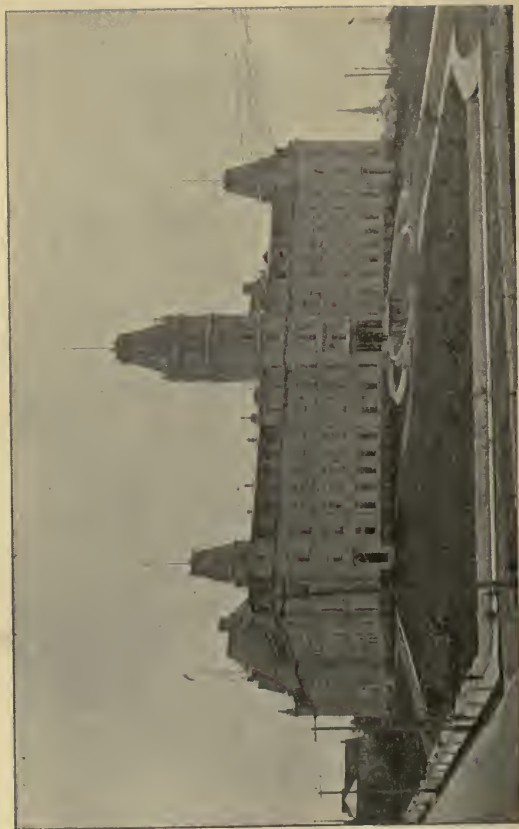
ceased to be for the public interest, and was managed merely for private gain or pleasure, it ought to be taxed. Some persons favor the abolition of all exemptions, and even advocate the taxation of churches. The advantages of churches are, however, so well recognized, that it would be an unjustifiable concession to persons not friendly to religion to meet such demands. At the same time, it would seem that a denomination should not be free from paying taxes on church property which is held for financial gain.

Frequently railway corporations and certain manufacturing industries are by by-laws of the municipalities exempted from taxation. The object is to encourage business, and therefore to draw population to the place. It is held that the system is unjust to other residents, and, like "bonus hunters," persons who seek the favor of exemption from taxation are not now favorably received.

Indirect taxes.—Under the British North America Act, the Dominion has no power to raise a revenue by direct taxation. The large sum required by the government is met by taxes which are raised indirectly. The principal sources are customs and excise, but certain amounts are obtained in addition from tolls on canals and other public works, from postage stamps and other sources. These taxes are called "indirect," because they are not paid in reality by the persons or firms concerned, but by the various individuals benefited who recoup the maker, importer, seller, etc., for his outlay in paying the government. It is held that under a system of indirect taxation burdens are equalized, since rates and

prices are so adjusted as to make each pay his just share. It is also contended that in no way can a revenue be raised more easily ; that people are taxed without feeling the burden ; and that the large sums needed for the legitimate purposes of government could not be raised in any other way. On the other hand, it is held that if the sums required were raised by direct taxation, people would know better what they are paying, and that the cost of keeping up a large staff of revenue officers would be saved. It is further contended that the man who has to provide for a large family bears a disproportionate burden on account of the many imported articles needed for the use of his children. It will be recollected, however, that the natural resources of the country, our trade relations with other nations, and our system of local self-government, present aspects of the matter which cannot be overlooked. The system to be adopted depends upon a variety of circumstances.

Customs.—The most important source of revenue to the Dominion government is that of customs, or duties on imported goods. The commodities upon which duties are imposed are numerous, but the greater part of the revenue is derived from a few. From some articles there is no revenue, either because the tax is so high that people will not be at the expense of importing them, or because the articles are on the "free list." The tax on imported goods is paid by the wholesale merchant who buys them. The duties are paid to the custom-house officers, but the merchant does not bear the burden of the tax. The retail dealer is charged the duty in



QUEBEC PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEBEC.

addition to the cost of the goods, and he in turn makes the consumer pay the duty. For instance, if the wholesale merchant pays a duty of sixty cents a yard upon silk, the woman who wears a dress of this material has to pay so much the more for the article. If the duty on sugar were one cent a pound, a family that used one hundred pounds in the year would pay one dollar on this article of consumption. Occasionally persons bring goods into the country without paying the duty. This is "smuggling," and the guilty parties may be punished severely. The crime is as bad as stealing.

In determining the tariff, one object aimed at is to have the necessaries of life taxed as little as possible. Luxuries are therefore highly taxed, and especially wines and other intoxicating liquors, cigars, etc. Another object that has had weight in settling the tariff is that of encouraging home production. A tax for this purpose is called a "protective tariff." A tax on imports simply to raise a revenue is called a "revenue tariff." Customs duties may be either *ad valorem* or *specific*. The former means the levying of a certain percentage of duty on the marketable value of the goods at the original place of shipment; the latter means a definite or fixed duty of so much per yard, per pound, etc. As the duty on imported goods affects nearly all classes of the community, and as the commerce of the country has so much to do with its prosperity, it is not to be wondered at that the "tariff" is always a prominent question in political discussions. Since the days of Robert Peel, the fate of many a cabinet has been determined by its trade policy.

Excises.—Excises are taxes paid by manufacturers upon goods made in the country. The money raised in this way is called the *internal revenue*. The articles upon which the greater part of the internal revenue is now paid are tobacco, beer and distilled liquors. An excise tax, like a duty, is paid by one person, but the burden is usually shifted to another. The brewer who pays several thousand dollars to the government recoups himself for this tax when he sells his barrels of beer. As a matter of fact the beer drinkers pay the tax and not the brewers. It will be seen that although the wealthy distiller may nominally contribute more to the revenue than any other person, he does not actually pay the excise tax. The frequenters of saloons and bar-rooms are the parties who are the great "taxpayers." The excise duties are collected by government officers stationed in various parts of Canada, who visit the distilleries, breweries and cigar factories, collect the taxes, and see that the law is enforced. It is evident any violation of the excise laws is dishonest. It is to be regretted that some people, who would not wrong an individual, regard it no crime to cheat the government. No honest person will defraud the country. The ethical principle is the same as in dealing with private individuals.

Liquor licenses.—As the liquor traffic is considered injurious to society, it is usually regarded as a proper subject of taxation. The Dominion government imposes heavy duties on all intoxicating liquor brought into, or manufactured in, the country. The provincial government compels brewers and distillers

to pay an additional tax in the shape of licenses, and imposes a high license upon all saloons, hotels and liquor stores. The tax on the traffic does not stop even here, for the municipalities require each license holder to pay an additional tax. The liquor dealer, of course, pays all these taxes as he pays rent, but he expects to get his money back from the people who buy of him. It should be recollected that no licenses can be granted without the consent of the people or their representatives. The people get a share of the revenue, and if the business does harm, they then become responsible for it. If no liquor were drunk, no licenses would be taken out. A revenue would not be derived from this source, but the sums saved by the people, apart from the moral question, would make up for the loss of license fees many times over. The liquor problem is a serious one, and on account of the moral issue involved, the question must continue to press itself upon all thoughtful people.

Other government taxes.—Among the other sources of revenue to the provincial government is that of “succession duties.” It is held that when a person is left by inheritance, or by will, a large sum of money, he may fairly be called upon to pay a small percentage, to be used by the government to meet part of the cost of charitable institutions. The law recognizes the claims of near relatives, and provides a graduated scale by which a very wealthy estate pays proportionately much more in succession duties than one not so wealthy. In addition to this source of revenue, the government secures consider-

able sums from law stamps, fees from insurance, loan and other companies, etc. The aim in these methods of indirect taxation is to make wealthy individuals or wealthy corporations pay an additional portion of the cost of government. Of course, as in other cases, those who pay the fees thus imposed recoup themselves by making the persons with whom they do business pay these taxes. For instance, if a fire insurance company pays a thousand dollars in fees to the government, the persons who have their property insured eventually have to meet the additional cost of insurance. It is contended, on the one hand, that fees of this kind interfere with business; but, on the other hand, it is held that the rich, and not the poor, are really affected. To tax the rich in preference to the poor seems fair in view of the prevailing economic developments. To give the poor every chance is right.

Other municipal taxes.—Municipal councils supplement the amounts raised through direct taxation by methods of various kinds.* In addition to liquor licenses, fees are exacted of pedlers, pawnbrokers, proprietors of shows, the owners of dogs, etc. A small uniform tax is levied in some places on all men over twenty-one years of age. This is called a "poll" tax, or a voter's tax. Cities are beginning to raise considerable revenue from the sale, taxation, or operation of such public franchises and rights as street-car lines, gas and water works, telephones, etc. If a street railway company enjoys the use of the public highways, it is only fair that it should pay for its franchise. If a gas company has a monopoly,

why should not the city have a due share of the profits? If telephones enrich a company, why should not the citizens have part of the proceeds? Any mention of this method of raising a revenue at once brings up the question of municipal ownership. The view is gaining ground that cities should own, or at least control, public franchises. The question of operating them is one upon which public opinion is yet much divided. The whole system of municipal taxation is one that may be materially changed in future years. Many economists favor a graduated scale. They contend that if the owner of property worth \$10,000 pays \$100 in taxes, the person who is worth ten times as much can well afford to pay *more* than ten times that amount to the municipal revenue.

CHAPTER XV.

WEALTH.

Meaning of wealth.—In its highest sense the wealth of a man is that which makes him “well off.” The one who enjoys life most amply is, therefore, the most wealthy. In a narrower sense, wealth is everything which has a market value. There is much natural wealth which may not be bought or sold, and consequently its possession would not add to one’s riches. In the strict sense of the word, man always creates wealth by properly directed exertion. Wealth may be represented by lands, buildings, goods, money, etc. The best wealth of a country is represented by its intelligent, industrious and law-abiding population. All other kinds of wealth are produced by this class of people.

A man may have much wealth which is not seen. His riches may be represented by notes, bank shares, railroad stock, mortgages, etc. This paper wealth may be bought and sold, but it has no value in itself. A thousand dollars in bank bills might be destroyed by fire, and although the owner would suffer the loss, the country would be no poorer. Articles that do harm, though they may have a value in the market, constitute false wealth. If distilleries and

saloons do not help to produce wealth, their value should not be included in determining the real wealth of the community. Although the wealth of the country is constantly destroyed or worn out, it is also recreated. Work of a proper kind makes wealth, but the state is not enriched by providing employment for laborers unless what is produced is valuable.

Conditions of wealth.—In an uncivilized condition of society wealth does not increase. War, piracy, slavery, the institution of caste and jealousy of foreigners are detriments to the production of wealth. On the other hand, a stable and progressive government, a temperate climate, natural resources, and the spur of necessity, have great influence in adding to the riches of the people. It will be found also that people who belong to an energetic race, who add to their intelligence, who cultivate good tastes and habits, and who have high moral ideals, become wealthier from year to year. When men have confidence in one another, trade becomes more vigorous, greater enterprise is manifested, and the wealth of individuals, as well as that of the nation, is increased.

Distribution of wealth.—It is often said that the wealth of the world is very unequally divided. Some persons go so far as to condemn our civilization for the poverty and destitution that prevail. It should be understood, however, that progress necessarily increases the opportunities of gifted people for making further advancement. In the nature of things, the existence of some wealthy persons is

inseparable from an advanced state of civilization. The proportion of poor people in England and other civilized countries is less than a hundred years ago. An equal division of wealth would give much to the idle, to the wasteful and to the injurious classes. Civilization has increased the productive powers of the working classes; it has opened up markets for surplus products; it has given great transportation privileges; it has secured greater protection against injustice; it has encouraged economy; it has extended educational advantages; and it has added to the comforts of the poorer classes. There is no doubt many dangers beset a luxurious people. When Rome was in the height of its glory, it was on the way to ruin. The rich rioted in luxury, while the poor starved. Fortunately, the poor under our system of civilization are receiving more and more attention. Poor people should be treated wisely, not simply by giving them bread, but by giving them every fair chance to rise in the social scale.

Division of labor.—In a savage state every one carries on various kinds of work. The farmer is his own carpenter, blacksmith, etc. As nations advance, labor is more and more divided. Specialization becomes a feature of a high state of civilization. Work demanding brain power is paid better than that which does not require intelligence. The skilled laborer is consequently given higher wages than the one who can only dig ditches. The division of labor, or, in other words, the specialization of effort, has, by producing greater skill, added to the national wealth. It would be unfair, however, to remunerate all per-

sons alike. This would be to say that the man who idled away his time when a boy should be rewarded as much as the one who used the "midnight oil" in getting a cultivated mind. It would be difficult to determine the relative value to the community of different persons. No tribunal is wise enough to divide the income or wealth of the nation. The law of supply and demand governs in respect to wages. No doubt there are hardships, but no law of the state could settle this question on an equitable basis. Consideration and friendliness should, however, have weight.

Competition.—The necessity of work is a blessing. Indolence is bad for the nation and the individual. That a man is rich gives him no right to consume or lessen the wealth of the nation. With the advance of civilization, men's wants increase, but the power to produce increases in a greater ratio. The greater the number of workers in a country the greater the amount of accumulated capital, and therefore the better off the workers become. It is a common fallacy to suppose that workers would be improved in circumstances if their numbers were reduced. There are exceptional cases where this may seem true for a while, but it is obvious the fewer the laborers the less will be produced. If only half as many make shoes, there will be fewer shoes for all. If only half as many build houses, there will be fewer houses for all. If in every department of life only half as many were employed, one half the present workers would have to be supported by others. Doubtless, occupations are frequently crowded (what

occupation is not?) and it is often difficult for people to change their trade or to go where work may be obtained. As a matter of fact, there is never a time when workmen may not have plenty to do, provided they are able to adjust themselves to the changed economic conditions which advancing civilization is always creating. Progress is unfortunately cruel to those unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to changed conditions. Inventions like the steam engine, the electric car, and the type-setting machine have temporarily injured many persons. The establishment of departmental stores, as well as the growth of factories, has thrown people out of employment. It would be a shortsighted view, however, to suppose that mankind is not, upon the whole, benefited by these developments.

It is also sometimes imagined that workmen would be better off if they worked fewer hours a day. To some extent this might be true. There is a limit beyond which men do not work efficiently. The strain is not the same for all kinds of labor. People cannot work to advantage if wearied, oppressed or discontented. Men will do more work in eight hours by putting good-will or interest into their labor than they could do in ten hours if the work exhausts them. The best employers of labor find more is accomplished if workmen have sufficient time for rest, self-improvement and recreation. Mental work is more enervating than physical work. No teacher could stand the nervous tension if he had to spend ten hours a day in the school-room. The superintendent of a mill, the architect of a building, the president of a

bank, and the judge on the bench, may perform duties far more taxing than those of a clerk in a store or a mechanic in a shop. Men are remunerated, not in proportion to the hardness of their work, but in proportion to the skill required. The humbler positions of life do not require much skill, and therefore the competition is so great that low pay is the result. In positions of responsibility, where great attainments are needed, high remuneration is obtained. The young man who wishes to get good wages should improve his mental powers, so that to whatever occupation he may turn his attention, his intellectual and moral worth will command high remuneration. "There is plenty of room upstairs," said Daniel Webster. The inefficient mechanic, the poor clerk, and the indifferent teacher, will always find competition keen. The best positions in every calling have few competent to fill them, or, in other words, there is "room upstairs." Many young men remain downstairs because they will not climb the steps necessary to get room.

Capital.—In a rude state of society, people save little. Their pursuits do not require much in the shape of tools, buildings, machinery, etc. As progress is made, appliances to carry on business are needed. The farmer requires stock and provisions. The mechanic makes use of tools, and the merchant gets a supply of goods. If men are poor, they can provide only necessities. Whoever produces more than he consumes accumulates *capital*. If men labor, their industry adds to the wealth of the country. The use of machinery enables a few men to do

the work of armies of men. The greater the skill displayed the more hard labor is saved, and additional capital is added to that already invested in business.

Many individuals, each with small earnings or savings, combine and invest their little capital in some corporation. The managers, directors or trustees of the concern are known to be trustworthy. In this way large masses of capital may be employed to better advantage than small capital. Railroads, mills, savings banks, insurance companies and many other corporations are operated by this kind of union among many individuals. If the question is examined, it will be found that large numbers of mechanics and others have a direct interest in many of the corporations doing business in the country. It shows the folly of supposing that "labor" and "capital" are in any true sense antagonistic to each other. The interests of people are so closely associated that the organization of banks, railroad companies, mining syndicates, etc., is beneficial to the working classes. Wealthy men are often unjust and even cruel, but only fools cry "Down with capitalists."

Abuse of wealth.—The possession of property gives responsibility. Wealth, when it reaches a certain limit, increases rapidly, if wisely invested. The man of genius, of special ability or skill, has the means of accumulating wealth. Ability, like money, may be inherited. Every one should use, for the benefit of others, whatever he has inherited or acquired. Neither the wealthy man nor the able

man is valuable to the community if he does not use his powers to good purpose.

The millionaire is abusing his power if he buys up all the wheat or the coal oil, in order to fix his own price on what he sells. If he uses his wealth to build houses, he benefits the community; but if he buys up all the houses in a town and fixes his own rate of rent, he becomes a monopolist. A monopoly may be fair if honestly acquired, like the vocal powers of Jenny Lind. A monopoly is wrong when it shuts out fair competition, as when men get control of land, timber, mines, or water-power. Sometimes wealthy capitalists strive to injure the property of rivals and even force them into bankruptcy. There is also an abuse of wealth when men spend fortunes for their own indulgence, lavish large sums on costly banquets, or lock up thousands in private pleasure grounds.

Employers and employed.—The relations between employers and employed should be marked by consideration and fidelity. Courtesy and respect should have their place in service as well as in business. Labor is subject to the law of supply and demand, and it is thus of advantage to both employers and employed to buy labor in the cheapest market and to sell it in the dearest. At the same time, there are serious difficulties that beset the laborer. He cannot be easily transported, like wheat or commodities, wherever the demand and the pay are the greater. The workman and his family must live. Although the law of supply and demand adjusts matters eventually, yet there is

often great hardship to the laboring classes. If employers accumulate a little capital they may often weather the storms which sometimes occur in the financial and industrial world. A *strike* is generally bad in its consequences. Like war, it brings great loss, and, like war, it might often be prevented by mutual forbearance. A *lockout* is productive of much ill-feeling, and does much harm to both capital and labor. The formation of trades unions is a common thing among mechanics. Sometimes the union attempts to limit the number of workmen, to forbid the employment of non-union men, and to demand the same pay for unskilled as for skilled workmen. Strifes between capital and labor may often be prevented by arbitration. It is evident existing economic conditions present important problems for solution.

Money.—In a rude state of society, people gave commodities which they did not need for other articles which other people produced. The method of exchange was cumbrous, and it doubtless led to the use of money. Money is thus a “medium of exchange,” but it serves also another and almost as important a function. It acts as a “standard of value” for deferred payments. In Canada, in England, in the United States, and in some other countries, gold is the standard, although silver, copper, paper, etc., may also be used as a medium of exchange. Gold is adopted as the standard because it fluctuates in value less than any other metal. It is found, however, that even gold is not perfectly stable, and hence the agitation in the United States



SIR OLIVER MOWAT, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO.

for having silver also made a standard of values. It is held by "silver men" that those who contracted debts in former years, when each dollar was less valuable, suffer an injustice in having their debts proportionately increased by the increase in the value in dollars in which such debts are measured. On the other hand, it is held that the fall in prices is almost wholly due to improved methods of production, and that the free coinage of silver would bring financial disaster. The question would not affect Canada, only in so far as international commercial disturbances might arise. The subject is, however, a very complicated one. It is to be remembered that there is also a moral question involved. When a government stamps a coin, and makes it "legal tender," a guarantee is given that the coin has as much value in it as it says on its face. If silver dollars are coined with less value put into them than is put into gold dollars, there is dishonesty. The silver dollar does not tell the truth, unless it has in it as much value as the gold dollar contains. History proves that financial losses are sure to follow if the currency is not kept on a sound basis. The commerce of the world fixes the value of gold and silver, and no one nation could by any enactment safely attempt to alter the market value of either of these metals.

Paper money.—Most of the money in use consists of paper bills. There is much risk and inconvenience in carrying coin, and therefore civilized nations use paper money instead. Bank bills are really written promises or orders for so much coin.

The use of these promises depends upon the confidence which men have in the integrity and honor of the bankers. In order that people may be protected from loss, the banks can issue bills only under stringent statutory provisions. A charter must first be obtained from the Dominion parliament before the authorities of the bank can transact business. The directors are subject to severe penalties if the provisions of the act of incorporation are violated. Shareholders also become liable should the assets of the bank be insufficient at any time to pay its debts. Regular returns must be made to the government, and the published reports give the public a fair idea of the financial condition of each bank. Under the Canadian system, banks seldom fail, and if failure should arise, the notes in circulation are made a prior lien on all assets.

Frequently a nation, when in urgent need of funds, has issued paper money which it stamps as legal tender, although it has not the power to redeem such money with coin. The issuance is virtually a forced loan, and it is called "fiat money," since it rests on the mere fiat of the government, and not upon any substantial value. If there is a return of prosperity such paper money is redeemed and the holders do not suffer loss. When a nation is unable to pay its obligations, or is overthrown, as in the case of the Southern Confederacy, the "fiat money" becomes worthless. During the civil war the United States issued a large amount of paper money which depreciated in value until the rebellion was crushed. Then "green-backs" rose in value and eventually were payable at par in gold coin.

Cheques and drafts.—In addition to bank bills, much money is circulated in private paper orders. If a merchant in Toronto has a payment to make in Montreal, it would be troublesome to send a large roll of bills. He deposits the bills and writes a cheque or order upon the bank for the payment of the debt. In like manner if he has to pay for goods to a merchant in Paris, he will get a draft or order for so much money from a banker in his own city upon a banker in London, England. This draft, as it may be assumed to be on a well-known and honorable bank, will be as good as money in any other great commercial centre. Orders may be sent even by telegraph or cable, and thus prove very convenient in cases where business must receive prompt attention. It is also the custom of persons doing much business to make nearly all payments by cheque, even for transactions with persons in the same city. It would be very cumbrous if coin, or bank bills, had to be used in all instances by merchants and by various monetary institutions. All persons having much to do with buying and selling keep deposits at some bank, and in making payments are thus able, instead of handing over the money, to issue orders to the banks at which they have their money deposited to pay the specified amounts to the specified persons. In large cities, the institution of a "clearing-house" still further facilitates business by receiving these cheques.

CHAPTER XVI.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The study of politics.—A boy is young when he receives his first lesson in politics. In the home he hears his father express opinions about the public questions that form the issues between politicians. As soon as he learns to read the newspapers, he finds that party questions are constant subjects of discussion. He attends political gatherings and listens to speeches for and against the policy of the government. He soon becomes anxious about election contests, and possibly, if the opinions he hears are one-sided, feels that unless the party supported by his father wins disaster will come to the country. He studies English and Canadian history, and endeavors to find the connection between the present political parties and those that figured in former periods. He reads editorials on the other side of politics, and he hears arguments advanced by men whose views differ from those of his father. His interest is increased, and probably, before he is twenty-one years of age, he has made up his mind for which party he will give his first vote.

Every young man should give intelligent consideration to public affairs. Now and then persons

are found who, on account of some false notion of party government, decry politics and politicians. They seem to think that the good people of the community should keep aloof from politics and should have no clearly defined opinions on party questions. It is well for the country that the character of public men and the principles of parties are regarded as matters deserving the consideration of the best citizens. "One party is as good as the other," is a common way some people wish to show their indifference to politics. The statement referred to, while it may be accepted as an abstract truth, has two sides to it. No student would presume to say that history proves that either of the two great political parties is better than the other. If the question of superiority were disposed of, there would be an end of party government. At the same time, the man who studies the affairs of the state must have preferences and convictions. The person who votes, as he says, "not for the party, but for the candidate," confesses his ignorance of what is essential to good government and free institutions. An intelligent (not a slavish) support of party is to be expected of every good Canadian citizen. A bad man should never be elected, and no party whose policy is inimical to the welfare of the country should be supported. Each voter should be guided in his decisions by intelligence and honesty.

Necessity of parties.—In any popular government, political parties are a necessity. Parties, as we understand them, are not found in Russia or Turkey. They did not exist in England before the

question of free institutions engaged public attention. If the people rule, responsible government becomes essential. Those who are prepared to do away with party government should be prepared to have the affairs of the country managed by a government not responsible to the people. People sometimes say, "Why cannot the affairs of the state be managed independent of party like the affairs of a municipality or a school section?" The conditions are very different. In a township or city, it is easy for voters to divide upon particular issues, and to decide questions irrespective of previous contests. In a municipality parties are continually shifting, and can form and disband with little trouble. This would be impossible in national affairs. It would not be easy to call into existence a new party every time a new issue arose. When national parties are organized, it is not necessary to disband them. It would be impossible to settle every question by a direct vote of the people. The majority of voters are naturally, and properly, influenced by those who have made a study of public affairs. Even regarding the business of a city or town, the opinions of the more active guide others in deciding municipal issues. In provincial as well as in Dominion affairs, it is best to give the voters a choice between two groups of men who promise to do certain things. The people put into office the party which they believe will do the things desired. If the party fails to accomplish what is promised, or governs the country badly, the utmost that can be done is to wait till the next election and turn it out of office. Each party is so

anxious to have power that it tries to have "clean men as leaders," and a policy that will commend itself to the electorate. The character of the leaders, as well as the platform of the party, is subject to public scrutiny. It therefore follows that the party system of government, as Justin McCarthy points out, brings the ablest men to the front, and forces the adoption of a policy which it is presumed, if carried out, will benefit the country. Unfortunately, bad men sometimes get into prominence, but were it not for the party system, which generally checks the nomination of unpopular candidates, the evil would occur more frequently.

Essential principles.—Unless governments can be influenced by public opinion, political parties can not exist. Where public opinion is recognized and encouraged, they grow up spontaneously as a consequence of the characteristics of human nature. Not only will there be various opinions formed on political questions, but such opinions, where freedom exists, will almost invariably range themselves ultimately into the platforms of two opposing parties. Unless authority, or considerations of personal gain or loss, should have influence, party alliances are determined, as Macaulay shows, by certain fundamental conceptions or principles. It does not follow, as some writers contend, that the settlement of questions which formerly divided people renders it desirable to abandon party government. Now, as well as in former days, great principles will determine party lines. On one side will be ranged those who attach chief importance to stability and order ;

on the other side will be ranged those who give emphasis to the importance of action and progress. The one party will therefore be conservative in its tendencies and the other will be liberal. The extremists of the former will be Absolutists, and of the latter Radicals. The doctrines in relation to which political parties take their positions, are determined by the dominant political issues of the day. Some questions involve no principle necessarily associated with the historic creed of either political party. It is therefore not to be wondered at that views on certain matters may be held either by Radicals or Conservatives which were formerly advocated by the other party. Indeed, the charge of inconsistency is often made as a result of this condition. Not infrequently, also, the desire to win has induced politicians to add a plank to their platform which would more appropriately belong to the other party. As a rule, however, the main principles of the two parties, in a free country, must be those here mentioned. Occasionally a "Third Party" arises and influences the politics of the country. Its success depends upon its power through the justness of its principles to force either of the regular parties to adopt its platform in whole or in part.

Why parties are formed.—"In any popular government political parties are a necessity. Upon many of the great questions of public policy which arise, it is impossible that all persons should think alike. Not only are their interests widely different, but their education and their dispositions are not the same. Certain individuals, by their natures and habits of mind, are opposed to change or to radical or extreme action of any sort. They are, in short, naturally

conservative. Others are equally inclined to favor new experiments and to rejoice in change, and to be optimistic of the results to be obtained from any new condition of affairs. Again, some believe in using the power of government to its fullest extent, in the exercise of what we have termed its non-essential functions, while others are opposed on principle to any extension of the State's activities beyond what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of national independence and domestic order. When to these influences we add that of self-interest, it becomes evident that where the right of participating in public affairs is widely extended, opposing political parties will be formed. Self-interest ought not, of course, to cause a man to advocate a public policy contrary to that which his judgment tells him will be best for the common welfare; but as men are imperfect, this influence is, as a matter of fact, a most powerful one."—*Willoughby*.

"A political party is a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. Party divisions, whether in the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government."—*Edmund Burke*.

The Opposition.—"The parliamentary members of the political party not in power must not be looked upon merely as the collective body whose business it is to demonstrate the injustice, impracticability, or insufficiency of the measures and proceedings of the government, and as the party ready to come into power on its displacement. They are 'Her Majesty's Opposition,' sent to parliament for the express purpose of promoting all possible good to the State. Therefore, it behoves them, while criticising searchingly all acts of the government, and holding themselves in readiness to move a vote of want of confidence whenever due occasion offers, to be fair and temperate in acting as a salutary check, and not by factious and obstructive behavior to impede the despatch of public business. There is a corresponding duty on the part of the government to afford them all possible

information, to courteously study their convenience as far as possible, and to give all reasonable opportunities for full and complete debate."—*Parrott*.

Benefits of parties.—"The benefits to be derived from the existence of political parties are the following:

"In the first place, their existence tends to keep the policies and administration of the government under a constant surveillance. On the one hand, the party out of power is naturally anxious to discover and make public any errors or instances of corruption which it can discover in the operations of its opponents. On the other hand, the party in power is equally eager to maintain the confidence which the people have in it by avoiding errors and evidences of corruption. This is, and should be, the normal working of party government—one in which there is a healthy emulation between parties to merit and secure the confidence and support of the public by the wisdom of its proposal and the probity and honesty of its administration. And this is what its working always would be, were all citizens, or a majority of them, alert in their own interests and intelligent to discover whether a party's promises are wise and honestly fulfilled. In the absence, however, of this intelligent and widespread interest, the contest between parties degenerates into a mere struggle for the possession of public offices for the sake of the salaries which they yield, or the opportunities which they give for exploiting the public treasury. Thus arises a class of so-called professional politicians, who make the direction and control of political matters a business, and who are actuated solely by selfish interests."—*Willoughby*.

Functions of parties.—"The three functions which political parties perform, whether for good or for bad, are the formulation or crystallization of public opinion, and its reduction to definite statement in party platforms, the selection of candidates for elective positions, and the management of political campaigns.

"In the formation and crystallization of public opinion numerous means are used, such as publication of arguments

in the newspapers, the distribution of political pamphlets, the formation of political clubs, public speaking and the like. The final statement of a party's principles is given in its platform as adopted in convention.

“The selection and nomination of persons for election to public offices is made through a series of meetings and organizations which we shall describe under the title of ‘party machinery.’

“The third function of political parties, that of organizing and conducting political campaigns, consists in arousing enthusiasm at election time, and seeing that all members go to the polls. In order to arouse enthusiasm, political literature is distributed broadcast, stump speeches are given in every place of importance, and bonfires, torchlight processions, pole-raising and other celebrations are provided. Previous to the election, every member of the party is seen and induced, if possible, to cast his vote in the way desired, and to influence others to do the same. Upon the day of election, care is taken that sufficient ballots are provided and distributed at convenient points, that intimidation or bribery by the other party is prevented, and that those unable to walk to the polls are provided with conveyance thither.”—*Willoughby.*

Party machinery.—“The success of a political party at the polls is largely dependent upon its being able to achieve the following results. First, to secure a substantial agreement between its members as to the main line of public policies to be advocated; second, to obtain the concentration of its votes upon some one candidate for each office to be filled; third, to provide agencies through which systematic efforts can be made to retain the allegiance of its members, and to obtain new recruits either from the opposing party or from among those young men who are just reaching the voting age; fourth, to afford some instrumentality through which political campaigns may be conducted.

“For the performance of the above-mentioned functions, organization is necessary; and thus it is that throughout the country, in all the states, counties, cities, and even in the

smaller subdivisions of wards and voting precincts, we find parties thoroughly organized under acknowledged leaders, and yielding obedience to definite systems of rules. This party government, or 'machine,' as it is popularly called, rests upon no law or constitution, but is a result of the voluntary action of the voters themselves. Each party has its own machine, in the control of which no one outside of its own ranks can participate. Though entirely distinct from each other, these party machines are all substantially alike, both as to form of organization and methods of control, and hence a description of one is a description of them all."—*Willoughby.*

The choice of a party.—"Every young man upon coming of age is called upon to vote for one of the great parties. Of course he will wish to vote for the best party. How shall he decide which is the best? He should not vote for a party merely because his father votes for it, or because he hopes to secure an office at its hands, but should vote for the one that he thinks will act for the best interest of the country. He should make a careful study of the history and principles of all the great political parties, and learn what each has already done for the country, and what each proposes to do, and then decide for himself which one he will vote for. The principles of party may be found in its platform. A very good way for a young man to choose his party would be for him to decide (without having the party name before him) which of the platforms of the great political parties contains the best principles, and choose the party that declares for these principles, no matter what may be its name."—*Forman.*

The politicians.—"The great number of the people have little time to spend in politics, that is, in the management of government. Beyond voting and occasionally attending a caucus or mass meeting to hear speeches, they are very apt to leave public business in the hands of a few persons. There comes, therefore, to be a class of men in every community who mostly manage the politics. They attend all the caucuses; they are put upon the party committees; they are chosen to go to the great State or national conventions

which nominate candidates for office; they are ready and willing to take office themselves. They bring out their neighbors and friends to vote at elections, and work for their party. They are apt to think that they have earned the right to its honors and places if their party gets into power. Such men, who make politics their business, are called *politicians*. The name is given specially to those who make use of politics to serve or advance their own private interests. It is not usually given to those whose interest in public business is for the sake of the public welfare, and who do not seek place or office for themselves. The name, therefore, while it has not a positively bad meaning, is not one by which the most public-spirited men would choose to be called. The word *statesman* better describes the higher class of wise and faithful public servants.”—*Dole*.

Independents.—“Among men, as in the school-room, there are always some who ask questions and want to know the reason of things. As on the playground, some do not care always to go with the crowd, or even prefer to be by themselves. Such as these, who think for themselves, and dare to stand alone, make the independents in politics. Sometimes they are wrong-headed, or unsympathetic, or unsocial. They may make mistakes, as the wisest men sometimes do; but it is important to have independent men in every community. They are likely to prefer the good of their country to the success of their party. They will not act with their party, or will leave it, if it is wrong. If the other party changes, as parties sometimes change, and advocates measures that they believe in; if they change their own minds as sensible men sometimes must, or if the other party puts forward better candidates, or if a new party arises, the independent voters are willing to act wherever they believe that they can best secure the public welfare. They therefore help to keep the great parties right.

“It will be observed, however, that in a great country, with millions of voters, no individual can effect much with his vote unless he joins somewhere with others who think

with him. And although a few patriotic men, if banded together, like the old Greek phalanx, may form a new party, or change the direction of the old party, or hold the balance of power between parties, and accomplish a reform, yet the man who stands by himself, and only finds fault or votes alone, is in danger of throwing his vote away."—*Dole*.

Loyalty to party.—"After a man has voted for and worked with the same political party for some years, he becomes attached to it, and it is difficult, sometimes, for him to vote for any other party. He becomes a party man—a partisan. If he leaves his party he is pretty sure to offend his party associates, who call him traitor, or mugwump, or some other harsh name. Yet there are times when it is the duty of a good citizen to vote against his party. When he believes the principles of his party are no longer good for his country, or when he is asked by it to vote for dishonest, or dangerous, or incompetent men, it is his plain duty to refuse to do so. In such a case he is called upon to decide, not between one party and another, but between a party and his country. It is a question of patriotism, or love of country. In times of war a man's love for his country is tested by his willingness to fight and die for it, but in times of peace his patriotism is tested by his willingness to vote right, whatever may be his interests, or prejudices, or party ties."—*Forman*.

Political duty.—"In closing this account of our party organizations and their operation, emphasis should again be laid on the absolute duty of every citizen to consider his citizenship a public office, and the benefits which he derives from his life in the State as creating an obligation on his part to lend honest assistance towards rendering the political life of his community as high and as pure as possible. This means his active, intelligent and disinterested participation in the political affairs of his country. As far as possible, he is to co-operate with that party which he honestly considers to represent the best public policies, for in such co-operation his efforts will yield the greatest fruit. But where there is no party to which he can conscientiously give his allegiance, independence in politics is his duty."—*Willoughby*.

CHAPTER XVII.

TWENTIETH CENTURY PROBLEMS.

New conditions.—The young reader who has pursued the preceding pages will not fail to recognize the questions, numerous and complex, that pertain to Canadian citizenship. Unless he prefers to live the life of a drone, he must give thought to a variety of human activities. If he has resolved to take his part in promoting the welfare of the Dominion, and in advancing civilization, he must read, think, and act. Unless he is contented to drift, to be led, and to do little good, a life of earnestness should be decided upon. There is no chance to get on in the world for the man who is not alive to the new conditions of the age. Times have changed since the schoolmaster first went abroad. The education which served the parents will not suffice for the children. Social conditions are not what they were when Adam Smith wrote his "Wealth of Nations," and the theories of John Stuart Mill have had, in many instances, to be modified to meet clearer conceptions of democracy. The industrial world has left behind the modes of work followed a generation ago by the farmer and the mechanic. The factory has called into existence a new state of things. The

trust and the combine have appeared. If steam-power has marked the present century, the approaching century bids fair to show the more marvellous development of the power of electricity. The extraordinary value of machinery is apparent in every department of life. Discoveries come with such rapidity that the most careful student of science is unable to predict the industrial aspects of the next ten years. About to enter before long the twentieth century, it is the duty of every young person to realize the importance of making a study of economic, social, and political questions. Only a few of the pressing problems can be here mentioned.

Non-essential functions of government.—The theory is no longer held that only the essential functions of government should be assumed by the State. The belief is general, that much which was formerly left to private effort must now be undertaken by the government. Our social conditions render it necessary for the state, in the interests of the whole people, to assist or supersede individual action. The government can accomplish much which individuals, if acting in their private capacity and with the ordinary human motives, would seldom undertake. There are sure to be differences of opinion respecting the wisdom of entrusting many new duties to the state. Governmental authority will in some cases be beneficial to the community, and in other instances incompatible with the capacity of the people for the exercise of freedom. A wide field is thus presented for investigation and discussion. An examination of principles will always be

in order, but the statesman must continually look at problems from the aspects of expedience. Under a democratic system of government expedience, though not always a safe guide, can never be ignored. More and more will it appear that the welfare of our Dominion demands the most careful attention on the part of those who are to determine what non-essential functions of government are to be undertaken by the public authorities.

Trusts.—The growth of trusts and combines has not yet affected Canada like some other countries. Trusts are enormous corporations which absolutely control the production of certain commodities. They prevent healthy competition, and excessive prices are the result. When such a condition arises, the manufacture of these articles has ceased to be a matter of purely private concern. It becomes the duty of the state to take such action as will regulate prices and prevent monopolists from defrauding the consumers. This is especially desirable when the articles controlled in price constitute, like sugar, coal, and coal oil, some of the necessaries of life. The multimillionaire has had power to create a "corner" even in wheat. Bread riots and a fearful loss of life resulted in some countries. How may such evils be stopped? The imposition of a heavy tax, the fixing of a maximum price and other methods have been suggested. The danger becomes especially great when the controllers of trusts use their gigantic financial powers to influence legislation. The growth of the combine has become a menace to liberty in some countries. Its influence on politics is demoralizing and the safety

of the state necessitates watchfulness on the part of the electorate.

Transportation.—When transportation was by means of wagons and stage coaches, there did not appear to be any need of public regulation. Railroads have, by their wonderful development, become a necessity to our modern industrial and social life. Corporations have no souls, and unfairness has too often marked the cost of railway conveyance. Competition between companies has led to improper discrimination. A “war of rates” has proved how unjustly the public are often treated. The convenience of people is considered only when it pays, and railroad companies too often appear to act as if they owned the country. In some quarters the demand has become urgent that the actual ownership and operation of railroads should be placed in the hands of the state. The construction of electric railways has brought up additional aspects of the same subject. It is becoming a problem how far the state should regulate the whole question. If privileges are granted to wealthy corporations, the state has a right to see that the interests of the general public are not ignored.

Large cities.—The growth of large cities has presented a number of difficult and perplexing matters of study. The questions of education, sanitation, lighting, water supply, rapid transit, telephones, street paving and cleaning, etc., have an importance in cities of immense population which they have not in small corporations. Fire departments, public parks, maintenance of hospitals, and the control of

public meetings, present matters requiring the attention of thoughtful citizens. Public control and regulation render it necessary for the people to be intelligent and vigilant. If ratepayers are not on the alert, money will be squandered, and the service rendered will be inadequate and perhaps harmful. The creation of "Greater New York" by a union of cities already large, and the decentralization just put in operation in London, England, show that the problem may be capable of more than one solution. The conditions of life in large cities present some of the most intricate questions for consideration.

Municipalization.—Healthy competition is beneficial. It saves the people from paying excessive prices for commodities produced. Monopolies arise when the producers are so few that they can by combination fix an arbitrary price. Competition is impossible in many instances, and so-called "natural monopolies" are the result. Examples are seen in the distribution in cities of water, gas and electricity. Street car lines, telephone systems, markets, wharves, etc., furnish further examples. In such cases two or more systems would be absolutely unnecessary and inconvenient. A monopoly would therefore seem not only necessary but desirable, and hence there would appear to be the strongest reason why the city itself should be the owner or producer. It is felt that the people are entitled to get the benefit of an efficient or cheap service, or to have returned to them the profits to be derived from such enterprises. The arguments in favor of "municipalization" are having their effect, and the ownership or control of

franchises of the kind mentioned is one of the pressing problems of the day.

Factories.—When manufacturing was carried on by hand at the home of the workman, there was little need of intervention by the State. The use of steam power and the production of commodities on a large scale in enormous factories, have given rise to serious problems. When men, women and children are grouped together for the operation of intricate machines, it becomes an absolute necessity that the state should intervene to see that the operatives are not overworked, that they are surrounded by proper sanitary conditions, and that devices to prevent accidents are employed. The risks to which the workers are subjected will call for proper safeguards, and compensation for injury should, in many instances, be a legitimate claim. The question is obviously surrounded with difficulties, but the time has come when the instincts of humanity call for further legislation.

The labor question.—The laboring classes are subject to many hardships, which are owing to modern economic developments. The workman does not obtain his due share of that national prosperity which is largely the result of his industry. Wealth has increased fabulously within the last two generations, but, although the laboring classes are in a better position than formerly, they have not obtained their fair proportion of the improved advantages. The workman does not now, as he did a century ago, deal at all times with individual employers of labor. He makes his bargain with a corporation which pur-

chases labor at its lowest price. It may be unreasonable to blame the capitalist, who, competing with other employers of labor, is forced to diminish as much as possible the cost of production. The serious complexity of the question presents obstacles whenever a fair distribution of profits is attempted. To fix the rate of wages would be no advantage to the skilful workman. Unfortunately, labor gets only the part of the profits which is left after capital has appropriated its share. If labor had its fair share, the "sweating system" would be unknown, and there would be no millionaires. The sentiment of the community approaches more and more to the view that there is something wrong in the present industrial system. The whole question is one of the serious problems to be passed on to the twentieth century.

Strikes.—Any attempt by workmen to force employers to pay higher wages or to make concessions introduces a species of war. In war the weaker party is the one to suffer. Although the workmen may often have justice on their side, the employers have great advantages in the contest. It is questionable if much good is ever gained by strikes. Those belonging to trades unions are often, from a spirit of loyalty to these organizations, compelled to do what they feel will prove a financial loss. The great strike which had its origin in Chicago some time ago, brought loss to thousands. The capitalists, though unjust, were not ruined. The disaster of Pittsburg, which occurred a few years before, should give warning. If legislation can remedy matters, the working

classes have the power in their own hands. In this age there is not a wrong which may not be rectified if removable by constitutional methods. The fact that strikes are resorted to is evidence of the unsatisfactory relations often found between employers and employees. Workmen are entitled to their just rights regarding wages and hours of service. If employers have greater wealth, employees have, on the other hand, the advantage in the number of votes. Whatever evils can not be removed by legislation can not be removed by industrial war. The strikes of the nineteenth century have wrought untold injuries. How may such occurrences be avoided in future?

Crime.—In former periods much thought was given to modes of punishment. How to prevent crime is a question now receiving much attention. The ancient idea of punishment was revenge or retaliation. The modern idea is to prevent more harm from being done. The subject of prison reform is much discussed. It is a grave question whether the present use of jails is not seriously objectionable. In the case of young offenders, more reformatory methods are urged. There should be a better classification of criminals. There is too much uniformity in the way punishment is assigned. Prison labor has its difficulties. It is probable the "indeterminate sentence" may be found serviceable in future. This plan would allow criminals to be released as soon as reformation was ensured. Methods of discipline should furnish incentives to good behavior. In a few countries the indeter

minate sentence is used, and "tickets-of-leave" are given on good conduct, entitling the men to release from prison as long as they use their freedom honorably.

Poverty.—"Blessed is he that considereth the poor." The psalmist evidently felt that the duty of people towards the poor included more than mere giving. To feed, clothe and house the poor will not meet the obligation of a Christian community. The difficulty of the problem arises from the various causes of poverty presented when the question is examined. Among the poor are to be found the inefficient, the ignorant, the idle, the unfortunate and the vicious. The deserving should have help, but so far as possible the aid given should promote effort on the part of those assisted. The destitution in large cities is something appalling, and yet thousands of faithful, patriotic and disinterested men and women are giving their time and means to relieve distress. The motives which are exhibited by those who aid are praiseworthy, but the methods employed are not always the best. It is felt that more good would result if better information were obtained regarding the needy, and more systematic plans were devised for distributing relief. What the poor need especially is to be put in the way of doing something for themselves. A more important matter still is to prevent people—especially the young—from joining the helpless classes. The problem is closely allied with that of education, that of labor, and that of temperance. The nineteenth century has produced enormous wealth and multiplied millionaires. For the poor, the twentieth century should do much.

Intemperance.—The early part of the nineteenth century saw the overthrow of slavery in the British Empire. It required a terrible war later on to free the United States from the curse. A greater evil now confronts us than that which called forth the efforts of Wilberforce or Garrison. The question will have to be dealt with in the twentieth century. Civilization has been grappling for years with the monster of intemperance. It is unnecessary to quote statistics to show the disastrous results of the liquor traffic. No one doubts the fearful havoc it makes every year. No political economist regards the liquor trade as an industry, and no intelligent person believes the revenue derived from the business an evidence of its financial advantages. The argument of "individual liberty" no longer has weight when its restriction or destruction is urged. The state (which means the people) has a right to protect itself from loss or ruin. The only question seriously discussed is how best to lessen its evils or to get rid of it entirely. The methods employed to promote temperance are well known. The use of moral suasion and the teaching of temperance have had their effect. The pioneer days in behalf of reform are over. License, local option and entire prohibition have been discussed by speakers as intelligent, as able and as honest as civilization has produced. Prohibition is the logical outcome of every law on the statute book dealing with restrictive measures. Canada has declared for prohibition. We live, however, under a system of responsible government, and just as in the case of every other great reform, legis-

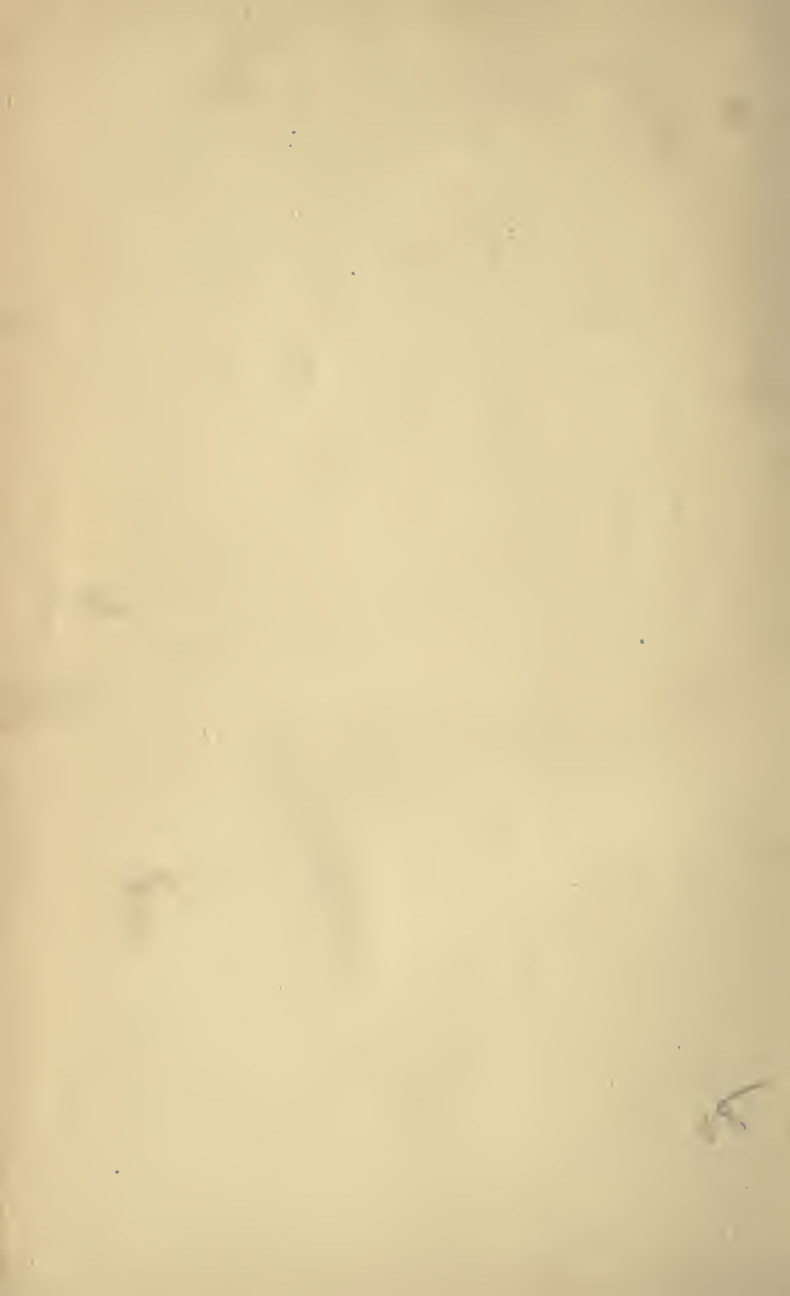
lation will not go beyond party platforms. Politicians are too wise to ignore public opinion. That the country is not ready for entire prohibition is evinced, some maintain, by the fact that neither political party has declared in favor of such a measure. It rests with those who hold this view to state what steps securing further restriction should now be taken. Righteousness, if guided by prudence, will eventually triumph.

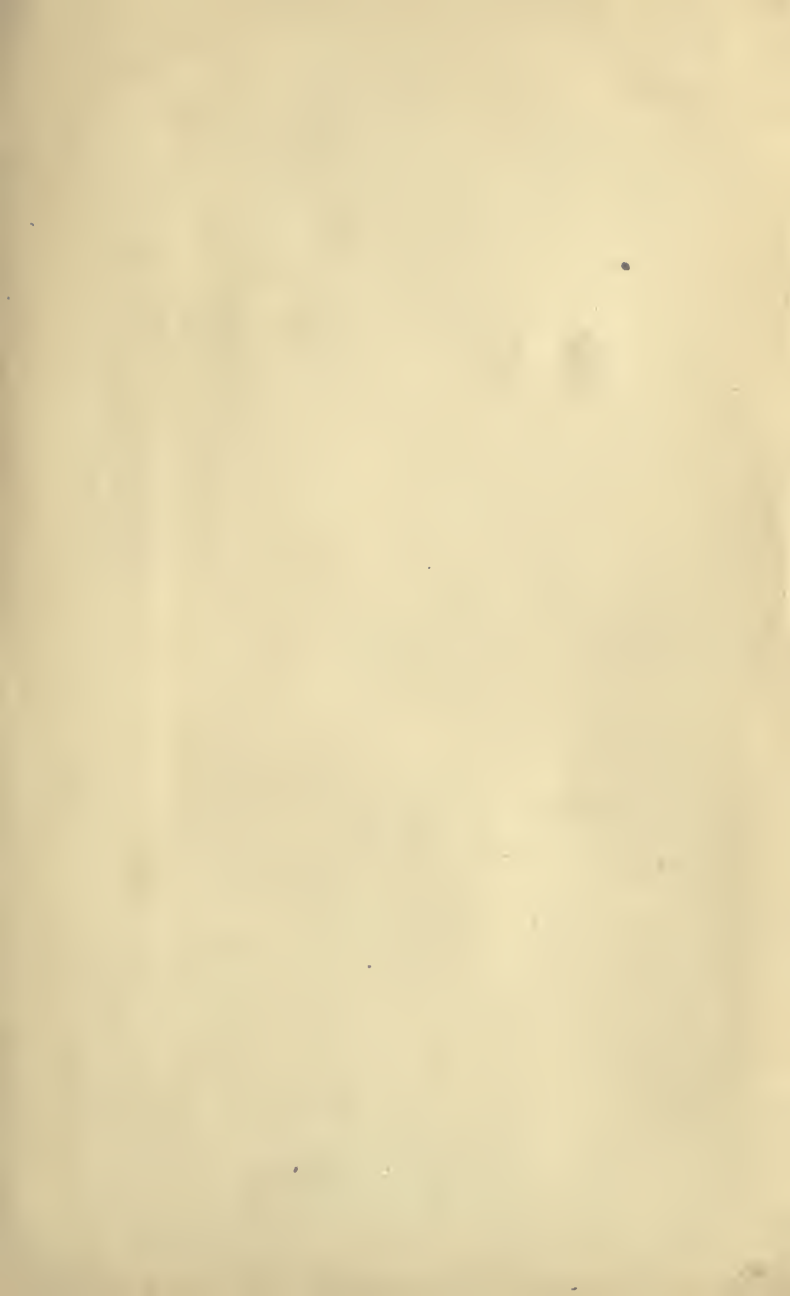
Education.—Public control of education is a modern development, and the question of free schools is one with which the present generation is familiar. It may be expected that in the future there will be more public money expended for education, and the subject as a science will receive further investigation. Many features of the question, such as courses of study and methods of teaching, will be left to experts, and great improvements will follow if the masses of the people are properly guided. Greater liberality will secure more commodious school buildings, larger playgrounds, free text-books, valuable school libraries and teachers of higher qualifications. Better provision for the prevention of truancy is required in cities, and some method of securing the advantages of a graded system of classification in rural districts. More attention will be given to manual training and domestic science in city schools, and agriculture will receive more prominence for those children who are to reside on the farm. The nineteenth century has attached great importance to the acquisition of knowledge. The twentieth century should have especially in view the formation of character. With this object, teachers with higher

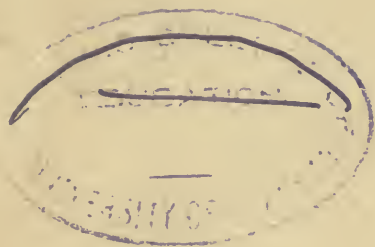
attainments are urgently needed, and scholarship, professional knowledge and experience will have higher value.

Socialism.—Communism is a species of socialism that has little to be said in its favor. Any plan of "dividing up" property is not to be entertained. Socialism and communism are not identical. Many of our modern methods of government are undoubtedly socialistic in their tendencies and deserve to be supported. The duty of the state is not limited to the question of police. The *laissez faire* politicians are losing ground, but care must be taken that help given by the government will not destroy the incentives of individuals. The state should give greater support to education, should adopt more stringent sanitary regulations, and should discourage, if it can not extirpate, parasites that are fattening upon our industries. As examples of parasites may be mentioned the criminal classes, paupers and gamblers, including some kinds of speculators. The liquor interest, as a gigantic, consolidated, and social force, directly and malignantly assailing the community, unwilling to submit to the voice of the electorate and destroying the happiness of home, must be dealt with earnestly but wisely. The prohibition of unnecessary Sunday labor must be maintained in the interests of the laboring classes. The hours of labor in some callings must be lessened. The sanitary inspection of factories, workshops and mines must be enforced. Arbitration must be made a legal method for settling disputes between employers and employees, and especially must this be insisted upon

in the case of all quasi-public corporations, such as railroad and telegraph companies and other bodies that have secured their franchise from the state or from the municipality. International disputes should be settled in a friendly way. The necessaries of life should be made as cheap as possible. The nationalization of land may not be feasible, but there should be some limitation insisted upon in the interests of individuals. Public ownership is a species of socialism and so far as tried has worked well. These and a hundred other questions will present problems sufficient to engage, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the earnest attention of all who love their country and have faith in the civilization which comes from the adoption of the principles of Christianity.







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